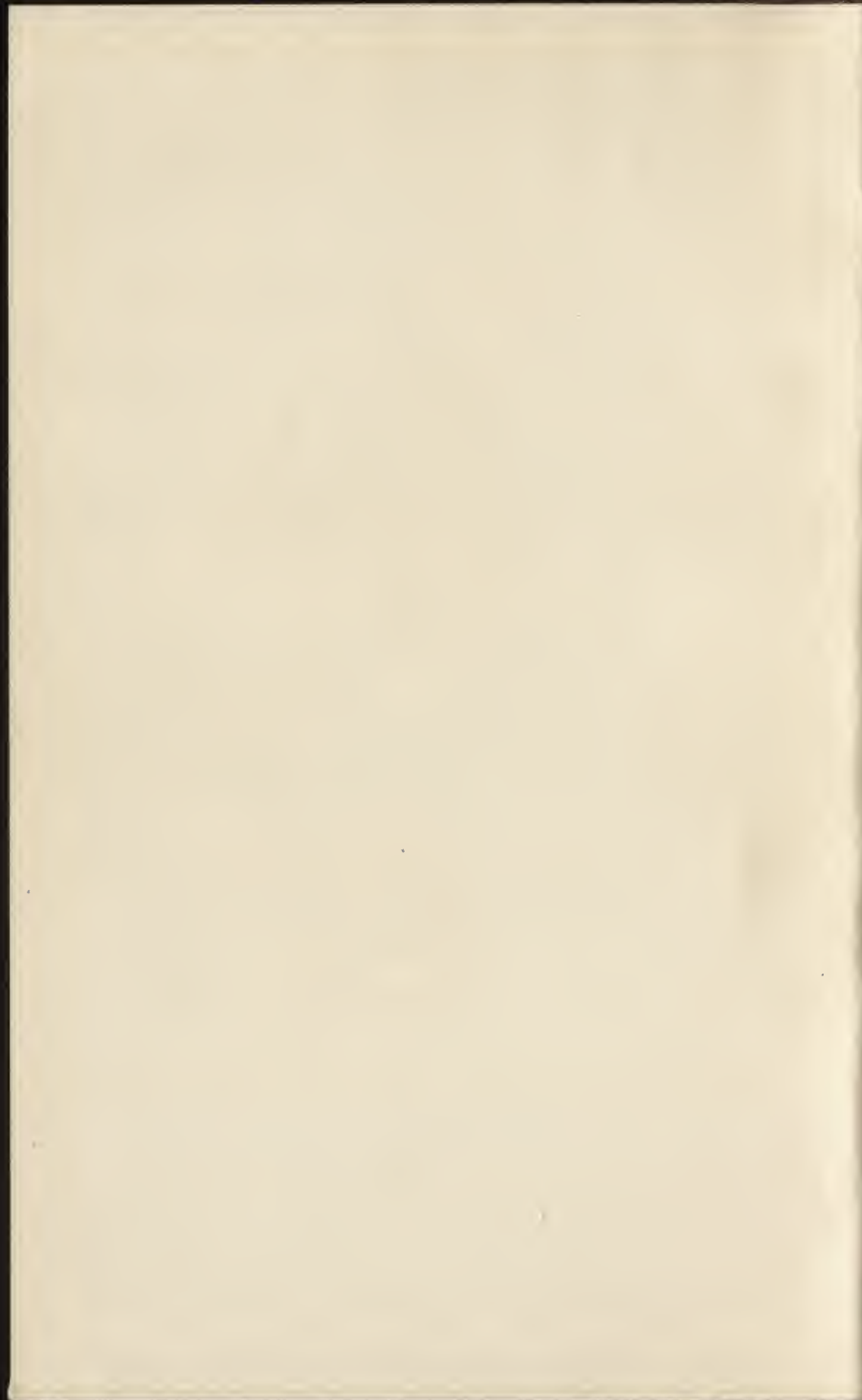




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G. E. Woodbine .

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ASSER'S  
LIFE OF KING ALFRED

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ASSER'S

LIFE OF KING ALFRED

TOGETHER WITH THE

ANNALS OF SAINT NEOTS

ERRONEOUSLY ASCRIBED TO ASSER

EDITED

WITH INTRODUCTION AND COMMENTARY

BY

WILLIAM HENRY STEVENSON, M.A.

LATE FELLOW OF EXETER COLLEGE

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## P R E F A C E

THE following pages constitute an attempt to supply one of the great *desiderata* in our early historical literature—a critical edition of the text of the *Life of Alfred*, and an endeavour to decide the question of its authenticity. The difficulty of establishing a text has been greatly enhanced by the destruction of the unique MS., the obviously corrupt nature of that MS., and by the scandalous treatment meted out to the text by the early editors who had access to it. The vexed question of the authenticity of the work itself could obviously be dealt with only by means of a thorough examination of its contents, and the canvassing of the possibility of every statement in it that might throw light upon the question. When I undertook this task, I had little idea of the labour it would involve. The reign of Alfred is a dark period of our history, illuminated only by the Old-English Chronicle and a few charters, preserved in much later chartularies, of a more or less suspicious nature. This paucity of evidence, while it adds greatly to the importance of the *Life* (if it can be shown to be genuine), renders the task of sifting and checking the statements of the work very difficult. Some little assistance is derivable from Frankish chroniclers of the time and from the papal records. But even then

there remain many statements in the Life that cannot be corroborated by any documents at our disposal, and their credibility can only be estimated by a careful consideration of all details, and by the aid of light reflected from later evidences. In many cases even this assistance is denied us. It was probably these considerations that led so distinguished a scholar as Reinhold Pauli to express, in his *König Ælfred*, a doubt whether the Life afforded sufficient material for establishing its authenticity. The attempt to weigh its credibility by the aid of later writings and, where possible, of earlier ones, although it is the only possible method in many cases, is necessarily somewhat unsatisfactory. Not only must every conclusion be carefully tested by the aid of views established by careful collation of later documents, but the applicability of the results to the work under discussion must always be given in a problematical manner, and the hypothetical nature of the arguments be constantly made evident to the reader. In endeavouring to do this I have had to qualify almost every statement or conclusion with a 'possibly,' a 'perhaps,' or a 'probably.' When, in addition to this, almost every shred of evidence has to be submitted to a critical examination, involving research into numerous subordinate questions, it becomes impossible to deal briefly with the numerous problems that have to be discussed. The annotation may be, I fear, accused of going into unnecessary detail, but I have preferred laying myself open to this charge rather than put forward definite assertions where the evidence at our command precludes hard and fast conclusions. For

the minute study of the work I have the support of Adolf Ebert, who, in his admirable *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, expresses the opinion that a relatively sure result could be reached only by a careful study of all the details of the Life. I can hardly flatter myself that the present work adequately fulfils this requirement, but the opinion of so sound a scholar is some justification for making the attempt.

In discussing the work I have attempted to approach it without any bias for or against it, and throughout my endeavour has been to subject every portion of it to as searching an examination as my knowledge and critical powers would permit. The net result has been to convince me that, although there may be no very definite proof that the work was written by Bishop Asser in the lifetime of King Alfred, there is no anachronism or other proof that it is a spurious compilation of later date. The serious charges brought against its authenticity break down altogether under examination, while there remain several features that point with varying strength to the conclusion that it is, despite its difficulties and corruptions, really a work of the time it purports to be. This result is confirmed by the important corroboration of some of its statements by contemporary Frankish chroniclers. Thus the profession of belief in its authenticity by such eminent historians as Kemble, Pauli, Stubbs, and Freeman agrees with my own conclusion.

It would be ungracious to take leave of my task without thanking those of my friends who have

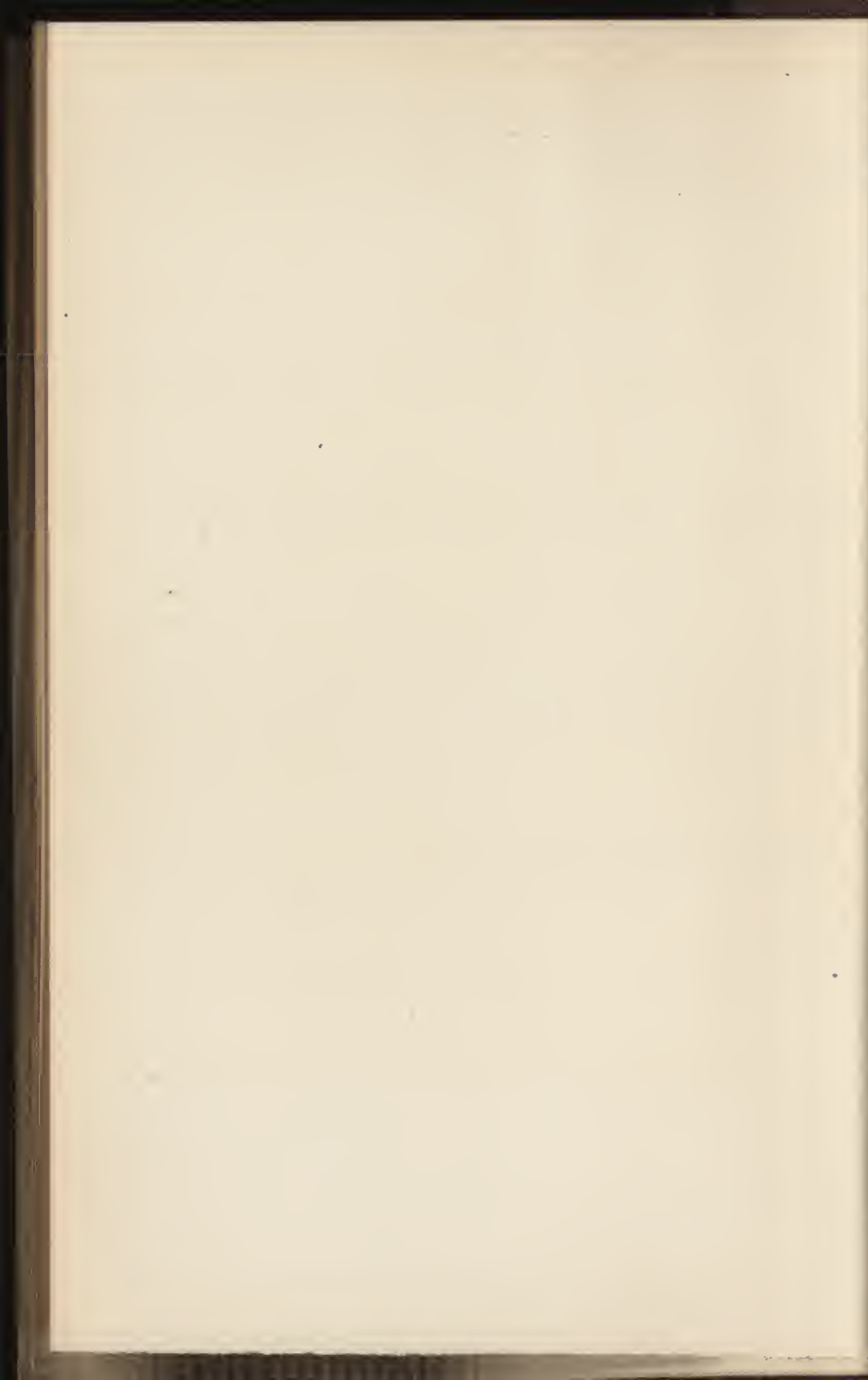
lightened its burden by their learning, aid, and advice. I am under great obligations for assistance in O.E. philology to Professor Napier and to Dr. Henry Bradley, and in Celtic philology and history to Professor Rhys and Mr. Egerton Phillimore. My thanks are due to the Societies of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and to Trinity College, in the same University, for the conveniences enjoyed in using MSS. in their libraries. The invariable courtesy and patience under many calls upon his time of Mr. C. W. Moule, Fellow and Librarian of C.C.C., Cambridge, I most thankfully acknowledge. I must also thank the Bodleian Librarian, Mr. Falconer Madan, and Mr. A. E. Cowley of the Bodleian Library, Dr. F. J. Jenkinson, the Librarian of the Cambridge University Library, and his assistant Mr. A. E. Rogers, for their good offices. The Keeper of the Oxford University Archives has been good enough to grant me special facilities for consulting the documents under his charge.



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## INTRODUCTION

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### 1. HISTORY OF THE TEXT.

§ 1. THE Life of King Alfred, known to us as the work of Bishop Asser, is one of the most important and at the same time most difficult of the sources of our early history. The work possesses unique literary interest as the earliest biography of an English layman, and as its subject was a very great man, it occupies in English sources much the same position as Einhard's Life of Charles the Great in the history of France and Germany. Probably no work of similar extent has contributed so much to English history. At an early period it was transcribed almost entirely into the continuous chronicles of Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham, and by their means it descended to Roger of Howden and the St. Alban's school of writers, whose influence upon mediaeval history-writing in England was all-pervading. But this copying of it into the usual handbooks of the later Middle Ages had the effect, not unusual at that time, of causing the original work to be neglected. When so important a work as the Chronicle of Matthew of Paris ceased to be copied because it was embodied in later compilations<sup>1</sup>, we need not

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sir Frederic Madden, preface to Paris's *Historia Anglorum*, i. pp. xxvii, xxxi. So also Bishop Stubbs, preface

be surprised at the oblivion into which the present work fell. It was transmitted beyond the Middle Ages by one copy only, and that a very unsatisfactory one. Owing to its great rarity it was selected by Archbishop Parker as one of the works printed by him in order to preserve them for posterity. His edition was awaited with much interest and received with enthusiasm. The great antiquity and personal interest of the work begot a somewhat exaggerated estimate of its supreme authority for the history of the latter part of the ninth century. It was usually given precedence of the Old-English Chronicle. Modern criticism has revised this estimate, and the process of depreciation set in. It has, in consequence, been denounced as a clumsy and bare-faced forgery of much later times than those of Alfred.

§ 2. The task of deciding upon the authenticity of the Life is by no means an easy one, and it has been rendered more difficult by the total destruction of the unique MS. in 1731. The work is known to us therefore solely through the medium of printed texts and transcripts. Of the four editions through which it has run two only are based upon the MS. The earliest of these is filled with arbitrary alterations and interpolations, which are distinguished in no way from the readings of the original (§ 6). The other affords us much aid in detecting these alterations and interpolations, but it occasionally makes the mistake of repeating as the reading of the MS. alterations in the MS. or misprints in the previous edition (§ 11). Hence we are assailed with constant doubts as to its giving faithfully the reading of the MS. Owing to these interpolations and the imperfect manner in

to Roger of Howden, i. p. xi, states that the publication of Higden's *Polychronicon* in the fourteenth century 'stopped the writing of new books (upon history) and ensured the destruction of the old.' The work bearing the name of Simeon of Durham is preserved in one MS. only.

which they are distinguished in the existing editions, the work has had to bear not only the weight of its own sins, but also those of the authors of the interpolations and of the editors.

§ 3. The first step in our task is obviously to ascertain, so far as the imperfect materials at our command will allow, what was the text of the lost MS. This is the main object of the present edition, in which the interpolations, some of which have become so embedded in our commoner histories that they possess an interest that forbids their being ignored, are for the first time unmistakably distinguished by the use of smaller type<sup>1</sup>. The text has been established by a minute collation of the existing

<sup>1</sup> The interpolated matter has not been sufficiently distinguished in the existing texts. Wise marks the interpolations by a footnote only at the beginning of the chapter, and the edition in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* distinguishes them by enclosing them in square brackets. When the interpolation is a lengthy one, the reader referring to the text is very liable to overlook these important footnotes or brackets. A few instances will show how distinguished historical writers have been thus misled into quoting the interpolated matter as the original text. Dr. Todd, *Wars of the Gaidhil with the Gaill*, p. lvi, note 5, cites c. 54 b as from Asser 'or rather in some copies of it.' Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, i. 539, note \*, quotes the interpolation at the end of c. 53 as the words of Asser. The passage from Matthew Paris, c. 50 c, is treated as coming from Asser by Eduard Winkelmann, *Geschichte der Angelsachsen*, Berlin, 1883, p. 146, who was probably misled by Reinhold Pauli, *König Ælfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte Englands*, Berlin, 1851, p. 118 note. In this case one has to refer back to the commencement of the preceding chapter in the *Monumenta* to discover the bracket marking c. 50 c as an interpolation. So great a scholar as P. A. Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, Christiania, 1852, i. part 1, pp. 614, 627, note 5, has been misled by the *Monumenta* text into citing c. 54 b as the words of Asser. The like mistake has also been made by J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, Copenhagen, 1876, i. 114, and by Sir J. H. Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, i. 240, note 6.

transcripts and editions and of the early compilers who embody matter derived from this work. By the aid of these compilers we are able to get back to twelfth-century texts, which are, in the nature of the case, superior to the printed texts. The foremost place amongst them is occupied by Florence of Worcester, the author of a translation of the O.E. Chronicle with additions. He died in 1118, and is an early writer with a high character for honesty. His readings are of such value that we have deemed it advisable to distinguish the portions copied by him by printing them in Roman type, and to give in italic type the portions that he omitted. Next in importance comes the work that is printed as an appendix to this volume, the so-called Annals of St. Neots. The author of this jejune compilation slavishly copied his originals, and his close reproduction of the passages derived from the Life of Alfred has been the great cause of the corruption of the text of the latter. Parker was so struck with this agreement that he assumed that the Annals were also the work of Asser, and he accordingly interpolated from them, in perfectly good faith, passages that did not occur in the Life, under the impression that they preserved a fuller text of the Life. In the third place we may put the extracts from the Life in the Durham compilations that bear the name of Simeon of Durham, one portion of which may possibly go back to the tenth century (§ 35).

§ 4. Archbishop Parker's edition of the work was published at London in 1574 by his printer John Day. The engraved title-page contains merely the words *Ælfredi Regis Res Gestæ*, the title given in Parker's hand to the best transcript (§ 28). Below this title is a portrait of King Alfred<sup>1</sup>, and the first four lines

<sup>1</sup> The portrait is, of course, entirely imaginary. How little value was assigned to it by Parker may be seen from his use of the same block as a portrait of Richard II, Duke of



of Henry of Huntingdon's verses on the king, which Parker added to his text (c. 106 c). No mention is made of the place or date of publication or of the name of the printer or editor. But the arms of the Archbishop appear, with his initials M. P., in the engraved initial letter of the text, which also contains the first portion of his motto *Mundus transit*<sup>1</sup>. The text was printed, as mentioned in the preface, in the Anglo-Saxon letters cut by John Day a few years before, and the author of the preface records that he had caused the O.E. gospels to be printed. They appeared in 1571 under the editorship of John Foxe, the author of the well-known *Acts and Monuments*, from the press of John Day, and Foxe states in his preface that the Archbishop had defrayed the costs of the edition.<sup>2</sup> The date of publication of the *Life of Asser* is established by a letter from Parker to the Lord Treasurer, William Cecil, Lord Burleigh, in November, 1574, sending to him a copy of the book<sup>2</sup>. The Archbishop died on May 17, 1575.

§ 5. Parker gives very little information regarding the manuscript used by him, but, as will be seen below, it was clearly the Cottonian MS. Otho A xii. The MS. was, he tells us, written in Latin letters, but, 'out of veneration for the antiquity of the archetype,' he caused it to be printed in Anglo-Saxon characters<sup>3</sup>. His words have been carelessly

Normandy, in his edition of Walsingham's *Ypodigma Neustriae*, issued by John Day in 1574. This was noticed by Hearne, *Collections*, ii. 78.

<sup>1</sup> His motto in full was *Mundus transit et concupiscentia eius*. See upon the arms and motto Strype's *Life of Parker*, ii. 428, 523, in Strype's *Works*, Oxford, 1821.

<sup>2</sup> See Strype, ii. 380. Mr. Arber, *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, v. 91, no. 1864, refers the publication to 1574. There is no entry regarding it in the Registers.

<sup>3</sup> 'Latina autem cum sint, Saxonice literis excudi curavimus, maxime ob venerandam ipsius archetypi antiquitatem, ipso adhuc (ut opinio fert mea) Ælfredo superstite, iisdem formulis descriptam . . . Sin autem quis requirit, quamobrem cum isthaec

taken to mean that the MS. used by him was written in these characters, and were hence cited to prove that the Cott. MS. was not the one from which he printed<sup>1</sup>. The MS. was, in his opinion, written during the lifetime of King Alfred, and he supported this view by the resemblance of the hand to the MSS. of Alfred's translation of the *Pastoral Care*. These were written in Anglo-Saxon characters, and therefore could not, strictly speaking, very closely resemble the 'Latin' hand of Parker's MS. By 'Latin' writing it is clear that he meant the development of the Caroline minuscule that was introduced into England in the tenth century, and which was used by English scribes in copying Latin after the middle of that century. In Alfred's time an English scribe would have used the Anglo-Saxon characters in writing Latin. The Cott. MS. was in this developed Caroline minuscule (§ 15), but O.E. words and names occurring in it seem to have been in Anglo-Saxon characters. It is, perhaps, these English names that led Parker to compare the hand with that of the MSS. of the O.E. version of the *Pastoral Care*. There are in existence three MSS. of this version that were the property of Parker<sup>2</sup>, and of these the only one that

Latinis literis memoriae mandentur, eadem tamen nos Saxonicis typis pervulgari fecerimus, nihil est, quod expedire tam facile possimus.'

<sup>1</sup> For example, by Wise, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> They are all eleventh-century copies, and are preserved in Cambridge. They are (a) Trinity College, MS. R. 5, which bears traces of Parker's use in the shape of red ochre pencilings, and a note in the hand of one of his secretaries that this was the very copy sent by Alfred to Sherborne. It seems to be a copy of the one sent thither, and to have been sent to Parker by Bishop Jewell from Salisbury, whither the see of Sherborne was transferred in the eleventh century (see Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 168, Dr. M. R. James, *Catalogue of Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, ii. 192). The copy is unfortunately incomplete, the king's prefatory letter, which would have mentioned the name of the bishop to whom



has any resemblance to the facsimile of the burnt Cott. MS. is that preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, the first hand of which is an early eleventh century one much resembling the Anglo-Saxon characters in the facsimile of the Cott. MS. (§ 15).

§ 6. Parker claims that in this, as in his other editions of historical works, he had faithfully followed his MS., altering or adding nothing. Unfortunately this is as untrue as it is in regard to his other works, in which he took the greatest liberties with the texts, correcting the style and spelling, interpolating from other works, and committing such sins that a modern scholar has been moved to describe his editing as 'wicked' and 'fantastic'.<sup>1</sup> Possibly this singular inaccuracy arose from the works being really prepared for press by some of his secretaries, as suggested by Sir Frederic Madden<sup>2</sup>. Parker was in bad health when the present work was published, and the duties of his exalted office in the stirring times of ecclesiastical and political strife in which he lived make it a subject for marvel that he could find any time to devote to such work as text-editing. Yet we know from the appearance of his characteristic red-ochre pencillings in the MSS. that formerly belonged

the original was sent, being missing. (*b*) Corpus Christi College, No. XII, in large folio, written in a very bold hand. (*c*) University Library, I, 1, 2, 4, in a large (Canterbury?) hand, addressed to Wulfsige Biscoep. See § 71. The letters from Jewell to Parker pasted in this volume (Wanley, *Catalogus*, pp. 153, 168) seem to refer to *a*, not to this MS.

<sup>1</sup> Luard, preface to *Flores Historiarum*, i. xliv; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, ii. xxii; iv. xvii. Similarly Sir F. Madden, preface to Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, i. xx, note 2, describes Parker's edition of the Flores as 'a mere piece of patchwork,' exhibiting 'an utter disregard of the ordinary rules to be observed in publishing an historical work.' Cf. the examples of Parker's treatment of the text given by him at p. xxxiv sqq., and Riley's remarks, preface to Walsingham's *Chronicle*, ii. p. xvii, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to Paris, *Hist. Anglorum*, p. xxxvii.

to him that he was a diligent student of MSS. His unparalleled services in rescuing for posterity so many priceless MSS. must cause his name to be ever held in honour by the student of English historical materials, and it is therefore a painful duty to blame him for his treatment of this and other texts. Textual criticism had hardly risen to a science in his time, and his sins in editing are to a very great extent to be ascribed to the faulty appreciation of differences in the age and value of MSS. evidence that prevailed in England long after his day. As a proof of the accuracy of his texts so wrongly vaunted, he states that he had willed that the *prima exemplaria* of them should be preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, so that any one comparing his printed texts with the originals might see that he had faithfully reproduced the latter<sup>1</sup>. After his death his MSS. were sent to the College, but, as appears from a note of his son, Sir John Parker, many of them had been 'either lent or embezeled,' so that they could not be delivered to the College<sup>2</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> Taken in conjunction with the terms of the Archbishop's will (Strype, iii. 338), it is evident that he was referring to an intended bequest of the MSS. printed by him, and did not mean to convey that he had already deposited the MS. of the present work in the College, as stated by Sir T. D. Hardy, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 79, § 187; *Descriptive Catalogue*, i. 552. The Archbishop's words are as follows: 'Quod autem ad historiae fidem attinet (lector humanissime), hoc te scire volo, eam me semper rationem secutum, in omnibus iis libris, quos divulgavi, nihil ut de meo adiecerim, aut diminuerim, sed cuncta prout in primis exemplaribus reperiuntur ad verbum expresserim. . . . Indicio erunt ipsa prima exemplaria, quae idcirco Cantebri-giae (<sic>), in bibliotheca Collegii Corporis Christi, ad sempiternum huius rei testimonium, extare volumus. Ubi si quis cum codicibus manuscriptis impressos comparare voluerit, enimvero nihil nos aut detraxisse aut addidisse inveniet, sed summam ubique fidem et religionem praestitisse.'

<sup>2</sup> Quoted in the *Dict. of National Biography*, vol. xliii, 260, from an original list at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, which cannot now be found.

MS. of the present work appears to have been one of the missing ones, for in 1600 it was vainly sought for in the College (§ 16). There is, however, in the library the transcript of the present work prepared for the Archbishop (§ 28), which follows his transcript of the Annals of St. Neots. The juxtaposition of the two is significant, for he incorporated from the latter into his text of the Life all the matter relating to England during the period covered by the Life<sup>1</sup>. This was, no doubt, done in good faith under the idea that the Annals preserved a fuller text of the work, but the result has been most disastrous. No hint was given of the falsification of the text. He did not scruple to supply here and there a word or two of his own in order to connect the interpolated matter with the text<sup>2</sup>. In accordance with his custom he changed the spelling of words<sup>3</sup>, substituted more classical words and expressions for those of his original that displeased him<sup>4</sup>, and altered into classical forms

<sup>1</sup> The words *Ex Annalibus Asserii*, noted by Wise from the Cott. MS. at the end of c. 50 d, are conclusive proof of the source of the interpolations. Cf. also c. 50 b, 4. In one case (c. 31, note to line 2) Parker interpolated from the Annals a passage derived by the latter from the Norman Annals. In cc. 68, 3; 70, 6 he interpolated from the Annals of St. Neots later inter-linear glosses to the latter.

<sup>2</sup> Thus he adds (c. 17 b) *Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis et nativitatis Ælfredi octavo* to the date in the Annals in order to harmonize with the style of the Life. Similarly *Dominicæ Incarnationis* appear in Parker's transcript (§ 28) in c. 50 c, 1, but were omitted in the printed text.

<sup>3</sup> The normalization of the spelling of the original to the Latin orthography of his age was what might be expected from any editor of his time. The addition of a final *e* to an English word, which there is reason to believe occurs occasionally, was also in accordance with the custom of the time. Thus William Lambarde, who acted as one of Parker's literary secretaries, added or omitted final *e*'s at pleasure when copying O.E. MSS. Cf. Liebermann, *Archiv f. das Studium d. neueren Sprachen*, vol. cii, p. 269. See below, p. lxxvii, note 3.

<sup>4</sup> Thus he alters *intrans*, c. 82, 5, into *dirigens*; *dispoliatis* into

the local names<sup>1</sup>. In one case he interpolated, in addition to a passage from the Annals, the account of the same event given by Matthew of Paris<sup>2</sup>. By inexcusable carelessness his note at the end of c. 50 b referring to the Annals for further particulars, the interpolation from the Annals and Henry of Huntingdon, cc. 106 b, c (the former of which is a passage from the Annals with an interpolation from Huntingdon), and, worst of all, the abstract from John Bale, c. 106 d, a contemporary and friend of the Archbishop, were printed in Anglo-Saxon characters as part of the original MS. The great carelessness thus shown in preparing the copy for press is also evidenced by the overlooking of errors of tran-

*evaginatis*, c. 97, 9; *subarravit*, c. 29, 6, into *expetivit*; *coeti* (for *coetus*), c. 27, 24, into *capti*; *elimavit*, c. 56, 29, into *elevavit*; *oppido*, c. 37, 11, into *similiter*; *nimirum*, c. 106, 15, into *nec mirum*; *quis*, c. 88, 42, into *queis*; *etiam*, c. 105, 13, into *lucro*. The characteristic *suatim utens* of the original he perverts into *sua ipsius*, c. 56, 18, into *sublevatus est*, c. 74, 21, and into *advocatos*, c. 106, 22. He changed *cultu*, c. 100, 5, 11, into *curto*, and *roborans*, c. 74, 59, into *laborans*. He gives no hint that *inhiabat*, c. 105, 14, and *metuens*, c. 74, 47, did not occur in the MS. The commencement of c. 40 he tacitly omitted. He took like liberties with the interpolated matter, substituting *cymbas* for *cyulas*, c. 50 c, 6.

<sup>1</sup> Thus he changes the regular O.E. Latin *Cantia* into the classical *Cantium*, cc. 3, 9; 5, 4; 6, 3; 18, 5; 20, 9; 66, 5; 67, 2. He has also, obviously, tampered with the form of the name of the Thames. By writing the quasi-Latin *Brechoniae*, c. 80, 11, an impossible form at the date of the writing of the Cott. MS. of the Life, he obscured the Old Welsh *Brecheniauc*, which we have restored to the text. The late spelling *Hynguari*, c. 54, 1, seems to be derived from the Annals of St. Neots. Such a spelling as *Londonia*, cc. 4, 4; 83, 2, could not have occurred before the Norman Conquest. The transcriber is probably responsible for the late spelling *-burgh* in *Eadburgh*, cc. 14, 6; 15, 7, and *Osbürgh*, c. 2, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cc. 50 c, 50 d. Here the making of the interpolation is clearly recorded, for his transcript (§ 28) has a note 'Deest annus 877,' and the interpolated matter is added on an inserted piece of paper. It appears in the body of his printed text.



scription, even in the interpolations<sup>1</sup>. These alterations and errors have been retained, almost without exception, in all the later editions. Most of the alterations and interpolations were written in the Cott. MS. by Parker's secretaries, in accordance with his custom<sup>2</sup>.

§ 7. The second edition, published at Frankfort in 1602-3 by William Camden<sup>3</sup>, is a mere reprint of

<sup>1</sup> Thus *Durngueis*, c. 49, 7, for the valuable form *Durngueir*; *Gnavewic*, c. 50 c, 19, for *Suanewic*; *Suanavine* for *Suanauuic*, c. 50 d, 3; *Stemrugam*, c. 17, 2, for *Steningam*; *Amgresbyri*, c. 81, 22, for *Cungresbyri*; *aprino*, c. 54, 21, for *a primo*; *Reafau*, c. 54 b, 2, for *Reafan*; *Habbe*, c. 54 b, 3, for *Hubbe*; *Ine se*, c. 63, 4, for *Mese*; *fulconarios*, c. 76, 5, for *falconarios*; *dixerit*, c. 78, 3, for *direxit*; *Farlus*, cc. 13, 8; 70, 1, 6; 85, 1, 13, for *Carlus*; *Domnanus*, c. 3, 3, for *Domnantis*; *habitabile*, c. 98, 3, for *habile*. *Cleotwulfo*, c. 51, 3; *refiam*, c. 52, 3; *qui*, c. 57, 4, for *quae* are probably errors of the press. *Humbsensis*, c. 26, 5, and *sex*, c. 38, 1, clearly arise from a printer's confusion of the Anglo-Saxon *ȝ* (= *s*) with *r*. *Wihzur*, c. 2, 6, for *Wihgar*, appears to owe its *u* to the transcriber and its *z* to the printer. *Escendun*, c. 39, 18, for *Æsces* (cf. c. 37, 3), and *Nunberctus*, c. 17 b, 4, for *Hunberchtus* seem to be clerical or typographical errors.

<sup>2</sup> Many of the MSS. that belonged to Parker have marginalia, interlineations, glosses, &c., added to them in the hands of his secretaries. Although he kept in his household 'such as could imitate any of the old characters well,' and especially one Lyly, 'an excellent writer, and <one> that could counterfeit any antique writing' (Strype, *Life of Parker*, ii. 500), the additions to the Cott. were made in the handwriting of Parker's time (§ 17). Lambarde records that he made, by the Archbishop's order, an interpolation in the *Textus Roffensis* (Strype, ii. 518). An interpolation in the Black Book of the Archdeacon of Canterbury made by Parker led to a fierce protest at the time (*ibid.* 456).

<sup>3</sup> In the volume entitled: 'Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta: ex quibus Asser Meneuensis, Anonymus de vita Gulielmi Conquestoris, Thomas Walsingham, Thomas de la More, Gulielmus Gemiticensis, Giraldus Cambrensis: plerique nunc primum in lucem editi, ex bibliotheca Gulielmi Camdeni. . . . Francofurti, impensis Claudii Marnii, et haeredum Iohannis Aubrii. Anno M.DCIII.' folio. This differs from the 1602 edition in having a dedication, lives of the authors, and the prefixing of Parker's name to his preface. See British Museum *Catalogue of Printed Books*.

Parker's text in Latin letters<sup>1</sup>, as, indeed, he seems to convey<sup>2</sup>. A superficial examination will show that he reprints Parker's texts of the present work and of the other works included in his volume that had appeared under Parker's editorship. Everything in Parker's edition of Asser and Walsingham is reproduced, with the exception of the index to the latter writer. The portraits of kings, the tables, the preface to the O.E. version of the *Pastoral Care* and the interlinear Latin translation, and even the table of Anglo-Saxon letters with their Latin equivalents are reprinted. The sole reason for giving the latter is that Parker's preface to Asser speaks of his printing the text in Anglo-Saxon letters. Camden's printer adds a note that he has used Latin types because he did not possess the necessary O.E. letters, and he did not think it worth while to have them specially cut for so small a work. From this we may conclude that Camden supplied him with Parker's text, and that the printer instructed his compositors to replace the O.E. characters by their Latin equivalents according to Parker's table. A careful collation of Camden's text has revealed no variations from Parker beyond a few errors due, probably, to the printers<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> This was seen by Sir John Spelman, *Life of Ælfred the Great*, ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1709, p. 181, § 35, and Petrie, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, p. 490 note, col. 2; Hardy, *ibid.*, p. 80 (his statement at p. 11, § 28, that the text was 'collated, however, with Camden's MS.' is groundless).

<sup>2</sup> In his preface: 'Anno vero 1575 Alfredi Regis res gestas, . . . Historiam brevem Thomae Walsingham . . . cum Hypodigmate Neustriæ sive Normanniæ 1574 publicavit (Parkerus), quos (libros) denuo, cum exemplaria in Angliâ rarius inveniuntur, Claudius Marnius e suo praelo nunc edit.' He nowhere mentions the MSS. of the works reprinted from Parker, whereas he speaks of the transcripts of the MSS. of the newly published matter.

<sup>3</sup> *Wanading*, c. 1, 3, for *Wanating*; *Ecgberhti*, c. 1, 7, for *Ecgberhti*; *Geada*, c. 1, 22, for *Geata*; *Wicgam-*, c. 3, 4, for *Wicgan-*; *Scheapieg*, c. 3, 6, for *Sceapieg*; *Marciam*, c. 7, 6, for *Merciam*; *Scnotengaham*, c. 30, 3, for *Snotengaham*; *Æthel-*

and one or two obvious corrections, which may have proceeded from the printer's reader<sup>1</sup>. In addition to these there are a few changes that have the character of emendations such as a foreign printer might deem needful<sup>2</sup>. The whole of Parker's marginal abstracts and interpolations are reproduced, and his marginal glosses are incorporated in the text. Even the note at the end of cap. 50 b and the abstract from Bale (c. 106 d) are repeated from Parker as if they were part of the text. It is clear that Camden's text does not rest upon any independent MS. basis, and that it is, therefore, valueless for any critical purpose. It has, however, been collated for the present edition, and all variants from it noted, so that the reader may see for himself how trivial are the differences between Camden's text and that of Parker<sup>3</sup>.

§ 8. But although Camden thus merely reproduced Parker, he inserted in the text, without any explanation, the famous chapter 83b. This had previously appeared

*berti*, c. 21, 3, for *-berhti*; *Danubio*, c. 21, 5, for *Danubia*; *Osbern*, c. 39, 21, for *Osbern*; *Hungari*, c. 54 b, 3, for *Hinguari*; *advocaril*, c. 78, 4, for *advocavit*; *Fernail*, c. 80, 7, for *Fernmail*. All these errors, except the first and third, are retained by Wise and Petrie. *Fatigatus*, c. 91, 6, for *fatigatur* is probably due to confusion of the Anglo-Saxon characters for *r* and *s*. Cf. p. xxi, note 1, above. *Gueryr*, c. 74, 20, for *Gueriir*, may be an emendation by Camden.

<sup>1</sup> *Tradant*, c. 1, 31, for *tradunt*; *Davidicis*, c. 1, 32, for *Daviticis*; *Indis*, c. 2, 5, for *Iutis*; *aufugerant*, c. 2, 13, for *aufugerunt*; *Tamesin*, c. 35, 10, for *Tamesen*; *Healfdenae*, c. 54, 1, for *-dene*; *Habbae*, c. 54 b, 3, for *Habbe*; the alteration of *querelaretur* to *querelabatur*, c. 76, 41; *mandari*, c. 16, 11, for *mandare*; *dividerentur*, c. 16, 29, for *divideretur*; *vasallis*, cc. 53, 3; 55, 3, for *vassellis*; *liberalibus*, c. 106, 47, for *litteralibus*.

<sup>2</sup> *Centuorios*, c. 3, 8, for *Cantuorios*, must be due to the foreign printer.

<sup>3</sup> The whole of Parker's alterations of words, &c., given above, p. xix, note 4, p. xx, note 1, and the errors of Parker's transcribers and printer mentioned in note 1, p. xxi, above, with the exception of *refiam*, are reproduced by Camden.

in his *Britannia* in 1600, as *ex optimo manuscripto Asserii exemplari*. It was intended to prove that there was already in existence at Oxford when Grimbald, one of Alfred's foreign scholars, and his followers are alleged to have begun teaching there, a body of *scholastici*, who resented the changes that Grimbald is asserted to have introduced. After three years of quarrelling the king is made to intervene, as the result of which Grimbald retires to Winchester. Grimbald is also said to have built the church and crypt of St. Peter's-in-the-East, Oxford—a twelfth-century Norman church. The object of this interpolation is plain. It was to prove that the University was in existence before Alfred's time, and that it had enjoyed usages sanctioned by St. German, Gildas, Nennius, and Kentigern. It was thus a powerful argument for the Oxford champions who maintained, with a credulity only equalled by that of their opponents, that their University was an older foundation than that of Cambridge. This interpolation was not without its good effects, for the uproar caused by its publication directed attention to the MS. of the present work. Cambridge men pointed out that it did not appear in Parker's text, and denounced it as an interpolation and a forgery. The Oxford reply was that Parker, being a Cambridge man, had suppressed the passage purposely, because it told against the claims of his University, or that the MS. used by him, if it did not contain the passage, was imperfect, &c.<sup>1</sup> It is needless to go further into this absurd

<sup>1</sup> A full account of the arguments and counter-arguments will be found in Wise's *Apologia* for Camden, printed at the end of his edition of Asser, pp. 133-164. Mr. James Parker, *Early History of Oxford*, Oxford Historical Society, 1885, pp. 40-47, also treats of this dispute. An important part of the case of the Oxford scholars who defended the authenticity of the passage was the view that Camden did not print from the Cottonian but from some other MS., and the consequent opinion that the latter was imperfect. The appearance of the words



dispute as to the relative antiquity of the two Universities, for modern criticism has shown that both are much younger than either side believed. The dispute was still rife in Wise's time, and he produced arguments as pitiable as anything advanced by Twyne, Wood, or Hearne to justify this passage. In strong contrast to the childish and disingenuous arguments advanced by these Oxford antiquaries stands the calm and accurate decision of Archbishop Ussher, that the passage was an unjustifiable interpolation by Camden<sup>1</sup>.

§ 9. It is difficult to excuse Camden for this falsification of the text, whether he inserted the passage in good faith or not. On February 18, 1622-3, the credulous but well-meaning Brian Twyne succeeded, at an interview with Camden, in extracting a statement from him, which, if Twyne's account is

*probabant et ostendebant, idque indubitato veterum annalium* in the edition of the Life (c. 83 b, 16-17), and their absence from the 1600 edition of the *Britannia* are alone sufficient to throw doubts upon Camden's good faith. They are obviously intended to strengthen the claim put forth in the interpolation, which had been immediately challenged by the Cambridge advocates.

<sup>1</sup> *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, c. xi (*Opera*, ed. Elrington, Dublin, 1847, v. 392). Hearne, *Collections*, ed. Doble, i. 229, endeavoured to discount Ussher's evidence by the absurd suggestion that he was biased in favour of Cambridge, because Trinity College, Dublin, the Archbishop's college, 'was, as it were, a colony from Cambridge.' The first Oxford scholar to estimate this interpolation at its true value was William Smith, Fellow of University College, who informed Hearne in 1705 that the passage was a forgery (Hearne's *Collections*, i. 146), an opinion that he still held when he published his *Annals of University College*, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1728, pp. 76, 173, 193. In this work he censures 'the nice arguings and sophisms' of Wood in maintaining the early history of the University (p. 53), in which he disbelieved. He exposed the origin of the fiction of the foundation of University College by King Alfred, and was evidently sceptical of the existence of the University in that king's time. With such critical views it is not surprising to find that he was described by Hearne (*Collections*, i. 38) as being 'known to be a man of but little judgment.'

true, throws a dark stain upon his fame<sup>1</sup>. Twyne desired him to state the origin of the passage, so as to clear himself of the charge of having interpolated it, a charge that had been hanging over him for twenty years. Camden's answer was most unsatisfactory. In the first place he said that he had already done so, and then that the charge came from his enemies who had so long persecuted him, and he attempted to fob off Twyne by telling him that his extensive researches into the antiquities of the University would enable him to appreciate the genuineness of the passage, although it must have been obvious that he had failed to convince himself, willing as he was to believe it, that it was true. Finally Camden, after further pressure, said, in answer to the question whether he had received the passage from any one, or whether he had taken it from an approved exemplar, that he had caused 'the whole entire history of Asserius, which I published, to be transcribed out of a manuscript copie, which I had then in my hands, wherein that place now questioned was extant, and in the very same forme as there I found it, and in none other.' This statement is incompatible with the clear proof that he simply reprinted Parker's text. The mysterious MS. alleged by him, which he had called *optimum exemplar* in his *Britannia*, he now stated was written, as he thought, about the time of Richard II. It was a monstrous thing under these circumstances to set

<sup>1</sup> From a declaration by Twyne, printed from an attested copy in Wood, *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, ed. Gutch, Oxford, 1792, i. 22. The original declaration was sought in vain among Twyne's papers at Corpus Christi College by Wise (p. 139), but he states that Hearne had seen it there not long before. It occurs, however, among Twyne's MSS. in the University Archives (Twyne MSS. xxii. 385-7), where it is preceded by what appears to be a first draught of the declaration. Camden was probably in bad health at the time of the interview. He was described in the April preceding as being 'much decayed' (Ussher's *Opera*, xv. 173)-

up its evidence against that of Parker's MS., which he could easily have ascertained was much older than this date. But this mysterious MS. has evaded the search of all subsequent investigators.

§ 10. Twyne professed himself satisfied with this explanation, 'forasmuch as some give out, as though there was never any such copie at all to be seen, and as though he, who I heare was the owner of that copie, had been also the author thereof (especially of that place now questioned), namely one Mr. Henry Savile of the Banke <sup>1</sup>, &c. Twyne elsewhere records, upon the authority of Thomas Allen <sup>2</sup>, a well-known Oxford collector of MSS., that Savile lent the MS. from which the passage was alleged to have been taken to one Nettleton <sup>3</sup>, that Savile proceeded against Nettleton at law to recover it, but did not succeed, and that Nettleton's books, at his death, came into the hands of Savile, a baron of the Exchequer <sup>4</sup>, when this volume alone was found to be missing <sup>5</sup>. It is an

<sup>1</sup> Henry Savile, 1568-1617, of Bank, near Halifax, known as 'Long Harry Savile,' is to be distinguished from Sir Henry Savile, the famous Warden of Merton College, 1585-1621, and Provost of Eton, 1596-1621, with whom Mr. Parker, *Early History of Oxford*, p. 43, has confused him. He was a B.A. of Merton College, taking his M.A. from St. Alban Hall in 1595. An account of him is given by Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. 2, i. col. 419, and *History and Antiquities of the University*, ed. Gutch, i. 24; *Dict. of National Biography*, l. 369. He died April 29, 1617.

<sup>2</sup> Of Trinity College and Gloucester Hall. See *Dict. of National Biography*, i. 312.

<sup>3</sup> Probably Thomas Nettleton, of Thornhill, near Dewsbury, co. York, a neighbour of the Saviles of Bank.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Savile, 1545-1607, Baron of the Exchequer, 1598, brother of the Warden of Merton and a friend of Camden's. See *Dict. of National Biography*, l. 371. A letter from him to Camden is printed in Camden's *Epistolae*, ed. Smith, London, 1691, p. 36.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia*, Oxford, 1608, lib. ii. p. 144. Thoresby, the Leeds antiquary, seems to have searched for this alleged Savile MS., for he writes to Hearne, on

unsatisfactory story. Ussher, a friend of Camden's, also refers to the view that the passage in question was derived from a MS. in the possession of Henry Savile<sup>1</sup>. It is to be regretted, as Wise has remarked<sup>2</sup>, that Twyne did not follow up the clue before Henry Savile's death. The latter was an accomplished scholar, interested in antiquities, and living in London. He can hardly have failed to learn something of the controversies excited by the publication of the passage, but no utterance of his was known to the persons interested in maintaining its authenticity. It is obviously spurious, and it cannot have been much older than Savile's time, for it employs *divus* for 'saint,' a usage due to the classicalism of the Renaissance scholars<sup>3</sup>. It is noticeable that Henry Savile was suspected of interpolating a passage relating to Oxford University in Ingulph<sup>4</sup>.

§ 11. In 1722 the Oxford University Press published an edition of the work by Francis Wise, M.A., Fellow of Trinity College<sup>5</sup>, adorned with a portrait of King

16 October, 1708, 'I am sorry the MS. you enquire of, cannot be found at Mr. Savile's' (Hearne's *Collections*, ii. 140).

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquitates*, c. xi (Opera, v. 392). Ussher's deliberate statement that Camden never saw the copy whence this passage was alleged to be derived, was, no doubt, founded upon something that Camden had told him.

<sup>2</sup> Page 135. Twyne refers erroneously to Henry Savile as an old man in 1608, probably through confusion with some other Savile.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Professor Mayor, introduction to Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale*, ii. pp. cv, clxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Wood, *Athenae*, i. col. 420, *Hist. and Antiqq.*, i. 24. John Jocelyn, in a composite chronicle made by him and preserved in his own writing, Cott. MS. Vitellius E xiv, used a work described in the early seventeenth century table of contents, which is probably copied from one by Jocelyn, as *Per anonimum* (sic) *apud Mr. Savell Eboracensem*. If this was, as Strype thinks (*Life of Parker*, ii. 250), a work commenced by Jocelyn under Parker's directions, the Mr. Savell can hardly be Long Harry Savile.

<sup>5</sup> Wise, who was a sub-librarian of the Bodleian, was an antiquary of some repute. He was a young man in 1722. He



Alfred and admirable vignettes of Parker and Camden by George Vertue, and other illustrations. It also included a facsimile of the first fourteen lines of the first page of the MS. (§ 15). Unfortunately Wise did not see the MS. himself, but relied upon collations made for him by his friend James Hill, of the Middle Temple<sup>1</sup>. It is evident that Hill performed his task in a very perfunctory manner, for Wise's text reproduces almost all the alterations and errors of Parker's text that were retained by Camden<sup>2</sup>, and also most of those due to Camden and his printer<sup>3</sup>. Hence it is clear that Hill used a copy of Camden's text for the purpose of collating. On two occasions Wise gives readings from the MS. in chapters that he had marked as not occurring in it<sup>4</sup>. As the interpolations were written in the MS. in a Parkerian hand (§ 16), it is clear that Hill has in these instances failed to distinguish between the hand of the MS. and the Parkerian one. This confusion renders it probable that in other cases the readings given by Wise as those of the MS. were really alterations by Parker<sup>5</sup>.

was born on June 3, 1695, and survived until 1767 (*Dict. of National Biography*, lxii. 238).

<sup>1</sup> Wise, p. 137 and preface, p. [2]. Hill was a Herefordshire antiquary. See *Dict. of National Biography*, xxvi. 394. Hill was also a member of Trinity College, matriculating on May 15, 1713, age 16 (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*).

<sup>2</sup> He retains uncorrected the misprints in Parker's edition noticed above, p. xxi, note 1, under cc. 49, 7; 50c, 19; 50d, 3; 81, 22; 76, 5; 70, 1, 6; 85, 1, 13; 51, 3; 57, 4; 2, 6; 39, 18.

<sup>3</sup> All the errors noted at p. xxii, note 3, remain uncorrected except 1, 22; 91, 6, and also all the alterations mentioned at p. xxiii, note 1, are reproduced.

<sup>4</sup> See cc. 17 b; 54 b. Petrie, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 472 note d, 481 note c, thinks these may have been derived by Wise from another MS. There are no grounds for this belief.

<sup>5</sup> Wise prints silently Parker's alterations as specified above, p. xix, note 4 in cc. 97, 9; 56, 18, 29; 74, 21, 59; 106, 22, and the alterations of *Cantia* into *Cantium* in the seven examples given at p. xx, note 1. He does not notice that the MS. had *cultu* and not *curto* in c. 100, 5, 11, where the former reading is supported

Wise, probably relying upon the absence from Hill's collations of any notes to the contrary, occasionally states that the MS. had forms that we have evidence did not appear in it. Thus the word *Indis*, c. 2, 5 which he says occurred in the MS., has no other basis than an error or alteration in Camden's text, for we have the clear evidence of Archbishop Ussher that the reading in the MS. was *Iutis*<sup>1</sup>, as in Parker's text and the transcripts. Similarly Wise prints *Wanading*, c. 1, 3, from Camden, whereas his facsimile shows that the MS. had *Uuanating*. In some cases Wise states that the MS. had readings that do not appear in the best transcript, and which seem to be due to the carelessness of Parker's transcribers or printer<sup>2</sup>. There are in addition numerous other passages in which we may well doubt whether the MS. had the readings given by Wise in the body of the text. He makes no note that the passage at the end of c. 53, referring to the Life of St. Neot, was an interpolation of Parker's, as we may conclude that it was from its absence from two transcripts, and from the existence of a note of Parker's in the best transcript, which plainly led him to interpolate this and the succeeding chapter<sup>3</sup>. We are, therefore, unable to endorse the great praise that has been bestowed upon Wise's edition, and hold that for textual purposes its value

by Florence of Worcester, and by its occurrence in the MS., according to Wise's own note, in line 21 of the same chapter. The *curto* of c. 81, 10 was also, probably, an emendation of Parker's.

<sup>1</sup> See the note to this passage.

<sup>2</sup> Thus *Faroli* for *Caroli*, c. 13, 8; *capti* for *coeti* (i. e. *coetus*), c. 27, 24; *Ine se* for *Mese*, c. 63, 4; *fulconarios* for *falc-*, c. 76, 5. In the latter case the correct reading appears in Parker's transcript (Co), the corrupt one in transcript B. The misreading of *a* as *u*, which is easy in Elizabethan hands, is a most unlikely error in transcribing an eleventh century MS.

<sup>3</sup> Similarly Wise has no note that *genere suo*, c. 83, 4, *lucro*, c. 105, 13, and the alterations and errors of Parker and Camden retained by him, did not occur in the MS.

is below that of the Corpus transcript (§ 28). It is, however, of great service in strengthening the evidence of the transcript in question that certain passages were absent from the MS., and also in occasionally giving corrections from the MS. From it also we are able to distinguish the parts that were in the early hand from those in the later one. But here, again, the evidence is incomplete, for Wise enables us to divide the work between two scribes only, whereas in his description of the MS. he says it was written by several (§ 22).

§ 12. The last edition was that of Henry Petrie in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, published in 1848, but prepared many years before. So far as the text is concerned, this edition is merely a reprint of Wise's, so that the errors and alterations of Parker and Camden, and even those of Wise, are retained. The value of the edition lies in the fact that the transcripts and the Annals of St. Neots were collated. The collating, however, was not done in a very trustworthy manner<sup>1</sup>, and many discrepancies will be found between the readings given in our apparatus and those cited by Petrie. In every case of difference we have re-collated the passages, so that the reader may rest satisfied that any reading given by Petrie that does not appear in our apparatus, or that varies from our reading, does not really exist. The interpolations are distinguished by the use of square brackets, but, as we have seen (§ 3), the means adopted have been inadequate for the purpose.

§ 13. A translation of the Life was published by Dr. J. A. Giles in *Six Old English Chroniclers*, in Bohn's 'Antiquarian Library,' London, 1848, and another one by Joseph Stevenson, in the *Church Historians of England*, London, 1854, ii. 441 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noted that in Petrie's collations B refers to the Corpus transcript (Co), and C to the British Museum transcript (B), not, as stated by him (p. 467 note a), *vice versa*.

Still another version is given in *Alfred and the Chroniclers*, by Edward Conybeare, London, 1900, p. 85 sqq.

## 2. DESCRIPTION OF THE LOST MANUSCRIPT.

§ 14. The only MS. of the work of which we have any record formed the first tract in a composite volume of MSS. in the Cottonian collection, marked Otho A xii. This volume was almost entirely destroyed in the unfortunate fire in the Cottonian Library on October 23, 1731. The 'Report of the Committee appointed to view the Cottonian Library, published by order of the House of Commons, London, 1732,' marks the first tract of the volume, *Asserius Menevensis de gestis Alfredi Regis, caractere antiquo*, as 'lost, burnt, or intirely spoilt.' Some fragments of the volume survived the fire, and have been restored in modern times. They are now preserved in the British Museum under the old press-mark. No portion of Asser has been found amongst them, and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson informs us that no fragments of the Life exist in the Museum, unless in the form of charred and illegible relics of the fire.

§ 15. Under these circumstances we are dependent upon secondary sources for our knowledge of the MS. Amongst these the facsimile published by Wise naturally ranks first. It was supplied to Wise by James Hill<sup>1</sup>, by whom the unsatisfactory collation for Wise's edition was made (§ 11). The facsimile is evidently a very inaccurate one, giving an appearance of irregularity that is alien to the handwriting of the tenth or eleventh century. It is difficult to reconcile this with Wise's statement that the MS. was neatly written (§ 22). So far as one can trust this facsimile, it seems to represent a hand of the early part of the

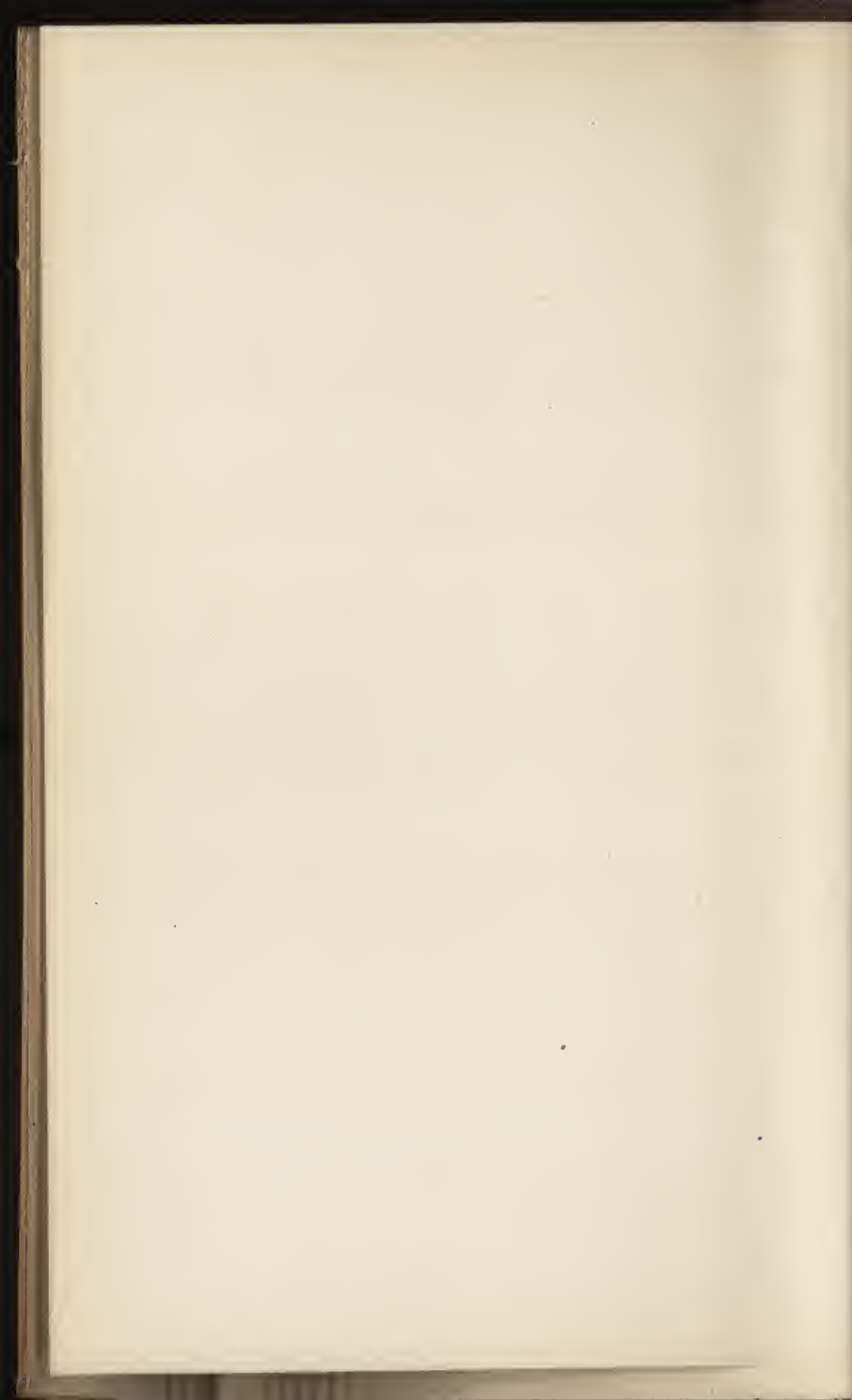
<sup>1</sup> Wise, preface, p. [2]. It is here reproduced.



**D**OMINO MEO VENERABILI PISSIMOQUE  
OMNIVM BRITANNIE INSULAE xp̄IANO  
RVM . RECTORI . ÆLFRED . ANGLORVM SAXO  
NVM . REGI . ASSER . OMNIVM . SERVO  
RVM DEI VLTIMVS . MILLE MODAM  
ADVOTA DESIDERIORVM . VTRIVSQUE  
VITAE . PROSPERITATEM .

**A**NNO DOMINICAE  
INCARNATIONIS . DCCC . XLIX . natus  
est Ælfred angul saxonum rex in ulla  
regia que dicitur in ana tang mill a paga  
que nominat<sup>r</sup> berroc scire que paga taliter  
uo catur a berroc silua ubi buxus babundan  
issime nascit<sup>r</sup> cuius gene<sup>a</sup>logia talis talyserie

FACSIMILE OF COMMENCEMENT OF THE LOST MS. OF ASSER  
REPRODUCED FROM WISE'S EDITION



eleventh century<sup>1</sup>. There is a great variety in the forms of certain letters in the facsimile, some of which are no doubt ascribable to careless tracing of the original. That the scribe of this portion of the MS. was an Englishman is proved by the fact that he uses the Anglo-Saxon forms of *f*, *r*, and *d* in *Ælfred*, line 10. The rest of the facsimile is written in the modification of the Caroline minuscule employed by English scribes in writing Latin in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries<sup>2</sup>.

§ 16. We now come to descriptions of the MS. by scholars who saw it before the Cottonian fire. Parker gives us very little information regarding it, except that it was in a very ancient hand (§ 5). It was clearly his own property<sup>3</sup>. The MS. seems to have been

<sup>1</sup> Amongst other traits pointing to such a date may be mentioned the absence of the hyphen as a mark of the division of words at the ends of the lines in all cases (*Christiano-rum*, *Saxo-num*, *servo-rum*, *habundan-eissime*, an error in tracing for *hab-?*). The hyphen seldom occurs before the eleventh century, when it came gradually into general use (Wattenbach, *Anleitung zur lateinischen Palaeographie*, ed. 4, 87). The curling backwards of the down-stroke of the *s* in *serie*, last line of facsimile, occurs in Cott. Charter Augustus, ii. 22, a contemporary text of 1001 (Brit. Museum *Facs.* iv. pl. 12), the hand of which has several features in common with that in Wise's facsimile.

<sup>2</sup> A Welsh scribe of the ninth or tenth century would have employed the Hiberno-Saxon hand throughout, and would not have used it simply for writing English names.

<sup>3</sup> This may be concluded from his preface, and from the writing and marks made by him in the MS. (§§ 16, 17, 19). It is also confirmed by a note of Jocelyn's in Cott. Nero C iii 47, fo. 191 b, of the *Nomina eorum, qui scripserunt historiam gentis Anglorum, et ubi extant*, printed by Hearne, *Robert of Avesbury*, p. 269 sqq. Here we read *Asserius Menevensis. Vide Baleum*, and a marginal note '*Habet Mr. Boyer et Stowe, et Domina Cheke, et Archiep. Cant. print.*' Of these, Stowe's MS. was, no doubt, the translation mentioned by Bernard, *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae*, Oxford, 1697, ii. p. 387, No. 10,006, in the library of Sir Symond D'Ewes, which was written in Stowe's hand. Lady Cheke's and Bowyer's copies were probably transcripts. See, however, p. xxxv, note 1 below.

previously in the hands of John Leland, the antiquary, who died in 1552. He describes it as 'Asserii Menevensis Historia, qui Alfredi res gestas accurate perscripsit,' and as 'Asserii Annales<sup>1</sup>.' The passages quoted by him from it agree very closely with the text of the Cottonian MS.<sup>2</sup>, and in one case his quotation omits the verb, just as the Cottonian MS. did<sup>3</sup>. Unfortunately he gives no indication of the

Possibly Jocelyn includes the Annals of St. Neots, which were then held to be the work of Asser.

<sup>1</sup> *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, ed. Anthony Hall, Oxford, 1709, pp. 144, 148, 149, 150, 153, 154, 157. By 'Annales' he does not mean the Annals of St. Neots, often called 'Asser's Annals' by later writers, but the Life. Leland's enthusiasm led him to take a higher view of the literary merits of this work than modern critics have done (p. 157): 'quod Asserius patroni sui memoriam, famam, gloriam, modis omnibus cum longissimam tum clarissimam efficere studens, eius vitam atque adeo facta illustria omnia libro *Annalium* victuro eleganter, pro rei maiestate, tanquam rarus Apelles, depinxerit; ac demum tabulas vel medio foro spectandas produxerit; quarum et Marianus Scottus (< i. e. Florence of Worcester >), venustate totus captus, flores ex eisdemavidus, veluti stellulas, quibus suam interpolaret historiam, selegit.' In the notes to his *Cygneae Cantio*, published in 1545, under 'Alfridus,' he mentions 'Asserius Menevensis,' afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, as author of the History of Alfred; 'cuius ego historiam plurimi merito facio, quod Alfrido regi praeceptor aliquando fuerit, et eius factorum oculatus plane testis' (in Hearne's edition of Leland's *Itinerary*, ix. p. 32).

<sup>2</sup> In the *Commentarii* he quotes c. 77, 10-24 at p. 144, c. 81, 12-15 at p. 150, c. 102, 17-19 at p. 149, and c. 77, 20-24, with variations, at p. 150, but more correctly at p. 144. These passages cannot have been derived by him from the Annals of St. Neots, which omit them. He refers to c. 106, 32 sqq. at p. 151, and uses information derived from this chapter in his notices of Alfred, Asser, Edward the Elder, and Werfrith. William of Malmesbury's reference to the King's *Enchiridion* he traces to c. 89, 20 at p. 150, and in like manner he refers this author's description of Edward as *litteratissimus* to Asser (< c. 75, 21 > at p. 153. See § 36, p. lxiii, below. Leland's statement that Æthelwulf was buried at Steyning, p. 145, is derived from the Annals of St. Neots (see c. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Cap. 75, 26-31, at p. 157, omitting the verb in line 28.

place where he found the MS.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Henry Bradshaw asserted that the Cottonian MS. came from St. Augustine's abbey, Canterbury<sup>2</sup>, but he adduced no authority for the statement, and we have been unable to find any proof of it. The Life is not mentioned in the list of books in the library at St. Augustine's given by Leland<sup>3</sup>, and it does not occur amongst the historical books in the mediaeval catalogue of this library<sup>4</sup>. John Bale seems to have had access to this or some other MS. of the Life, for in his notice of Asser<sup>5</sup>, which, like the rest of his work, is based upon Leland, he mentions the persecution of Asser and his kinsman, the bishop of St. Davids, by King

<sup>1</sup> Upon Leland's death in 1552 his MSS. were taken possession of by Sir John Cheke, by order of Edward VI. See the note of William Burton, the Leicestershire antiquary, at the end of Hall's edition of the *Scriptores*. Upon Cheke's death in 1557 the MSS. came into the hands of William Cecil, and others. According to Jocelyn, Cheke's widow had a MS. of Asser (see p. xxxiii, note 3, above). As this note seems to have been written after the Cottonian MS. had come into the possession of Archbishop Parker, it can hardly refer to that MS., unless we assume that the Archbishop acquired it from Lady Cheke and that Jocelyn, his literary secretary, was ignorant of the identity of Parker's copy with that of Lady Cheke.

<sup>2</sup> *Collected Papers*, p. 485. This learned scholar does not display his usual accuracy in dealing with the Life, for he refers here and at p. 467 to the existence of fragments of the Cottonian MS. See p. cxii, note 3, below.

<sup>3</sup> *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, iii. p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> Printed by Sir Frederic Madden in *Notes and Queries*, Second Series, i. 485, and in Edward Edwards, *Memoirs of Libraries*, 1859, i. 102. Dr. Montague R. James, who is preparing a complete edition of this catalogue, informs us that he is unable to find any mention of the Life in it. The catalogue is, however, incomplete. The fourteenth-century catalogue of the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, contains nothing that can be identified with the Life (Wanley, *Catalogus* 'praefatio,' sign. b 2 verso; Edwards, *Memoirs*, i. 122 sqq.). Parker obtained his MSS. from other places besides Canterbury.

<sup>5</sup> *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum . . . Summarium, in quasdam centurias divisum*, Ipswich, 1548, 'Centuria Secunda.'



Hemeid (c. 79, 54), which does not appear in Leland or in Florence of Worcester. Bale gives no clue to the *provenance* of the MS., but in the MS. notebook containing the materials for his *Summarium* he cites the Life 'ex bibliotheca Ioannis Lelandi<sup>1</sup>.' We next hear of the Life in connexion with the controversy engendered by the claim made on behalf of Cambridge University to greater antiquity than Oxford upon the occasion of Elizabeth's visit to it in 1566. John Caius, the Cambridge champion, in his curiously discursive work on the antiquity of his university<sup>2</sup>, refers to 'Asser seu Asserus, oculatus et auritus testis, qui ex intimis Alphredi familiaribus fuit, qui in eius aula vixit, res eius et domesticas et forenses novit, atque etiam cum doctis regiae familiae viris consuetudinem habuit, omniaque in vita et in morte diligenter observavit, ut solent qui historias veras scribere decreverunt<sup>3</sup>.' He refers incidentally to Asser's account of Alfred's life in Athelney<sup>4</sup>, but as he also cites the vision of St. Neot as from him<sup>5</sup>, it would seem that he has identified the Annals of St. Neots with Asser. Several of his references occur in Leland's *De Scriptoribus*<sup>6</sup>, from the MS. of which he may have obtained them, but he clearly knew of the Life as distinct from the Annals of St. Neots, for he mentions the relation of the attack upon John the Old Saxon as occurring in Asser's 'libro de gestis Alphredi atque etiam in Annalibus<sup>7</sup>,' a passage that

<sup>1</sup> *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole, Oxford, 1902, p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> *De Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae, libri duo . . . Londinensi Authore*. London, 1568. Reprinted by Hearne, Oxford, 1730.

<sup>3</sup> Page 209, ed. Hearne. He describes Asser as 'Aluredi sacellanus,' p. 203. Cf. also pp. 205, 218.

<sup>4</sup> Page 223.

<sup>5</sup> Page 204.

<sup>6</sup> Page 118 (Leland, p. 149); pp. 212, 218 (Leland, p. 149).

<sup>7</sup> Page 159. Clear evidence that he used the Life and not the Annals or Florence may be found in his statement that



shows his acquaintance with the titles given by Bale or Parker to the *Life* and to the *Annals*. As Parker was his literary executor, it is probable that he derived his knowledge of the *Life* from Parker's MS. The Oxford champion, Thomas Caius, who died in 1572, frequently quotes or cites Asser<sup>1</sup>, but most of his quotations are taken from the *Annals*<sup>2</sup>. He, however, copied c. 75, 11-21 from the *Life*<sup>3</sup>, for this passage was omitted by the compiler of the *Annals*. It cannot be derived from Florence of Worcester, since it contains words that Florence did not copy into his work. We now come to clear and undoubted references to the MS. The first occurs in a letter, dated March 31, 1600, from Thomas James, the first Bodley's librarian, to Thomas Allen<sup>4</sup>. In this letter James says that he had received Allen's letter on the last day of December in Cambridge, and that he had, in consequence, 'sought and sought again' for the MS. of Asserius Menevensis amongst the MSS. of Parker's gift in Benet (i.e. Corpus Christi) College, and elsewhere, but unsuccessfully. He writes that he had discovered the MS. in London, in Lord Lumley's library, within the preceding three weeks. His letter is principally concerned with the Camden interpolation (c. 83 b), in

Asser wrote the king's life down to his forty-fifth year (p. 214), referring to c. 91, 4.

<sup>1</sup> In his animadversions on John Caius, first printed by Hearne with the work of John Caius.

<sup>2</sup> Pp. 374 (c. 47, 9-12), 408 (c. 92, 5-7), 426 (c. 52, 7-8), 427 (c. 42, 30-35; c. 43). There are several other quotations that may have been taken either from the *Life* or the *Annals*, being passages in which the compiler has introduced no alterations.

<sup>3</sup> Page 423.

<sup>4</sup> James's letter is preserved among Twyne's MSS. in the Oxford University Archives, iii. 25, and a copy in ii. 75, and another in Rawlinson MS. D in the Bodleian Library, olim 1290, nunc 912, fo. 685. See Clarke's edition of Wood's *Life and Times*, Oxford Historical Society, ii. p. vii; iv. 198.

which Allen was evidently deeply interested. James identified the Lumley MS. as the one used by Parker from information obtained by him and from the evidence of the volume itself. He describes the MS. as containing notes in red ochre in Parker's hand, with many corrections of errors by the Archbishop's pen, and as an ancient MS. written by at least two hands, the latter part being in a hand that he considered much later than the other one. This later hand, however, used many Anglo-Saxon characters<sup>1</sup>. He notes in the Catalogue that he was then engaged upon, which was published in the same year, that there were two copies of the work in Lord Lumley's library<sup>2</sup>. As he makes no mention of a second MS.

<sup>1</sup> 'I have not only found out a coppie of him (which peradventure you have seene and so hath Mr. Camden likewise elsewhere, yet wOULD not answeere you), but the very same copy which I knowe most assuredly the Archebysshop used and you longed to heare of. This booke I sawe, and <it> is to be seene, in the riche and well-furnisht librarie of the right Honourable and right courteous Lord Lumley, with whome I have beene diuerse times, and have from him a copy of all his manuscripts, which, ere it be long, you shall see. That this booke did belong unto the Archbysshop sometimes, it was told me by the keeper of his librarie, and I fownd it by the Archbysshop's notes of redd oker in diuerse places of the booke, which was usually by him used in all his bookes which he read, as I had seene at Cambridg amonge his bookes there.' He then notices the absence of Camden's interpolation. He proceeds: 'Nevertheles for this copie which the Archebysshop used, though it beare good antiquitie in show, yet I take it to be very faultie; and the Archebysshop hath noted very many escapes (i. e. *lapsus*) with his pen; and besides it was written by two diuerse scribes at the least, whereof the later parte of the book, where the poynte in controversie lyeth (c. 83 b), is by much in my opinion the latest, yet hath it many Saxon letters, especially the letters *y* and *f*, but hereof judge you. The whole booke contayneth pages 107 in the least folio or greater quarto.' He then sets out the dedication, commencement and end of the text (c. 106), which agree exactly with the Cottonian MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Ecloga Oxonio-Cantabrigiensis . . . opera et studio T. I. Novi Collegii in Alma Academia Oxoniensi Socii, Londini,*

in the library in his letter to Allen, in which he recounts the lengthened searches that he had made for MSS. of this work, we may conclude that the second MS. was a transcript. Lumley inherited his library from his father-in-law, Henry, Earl of Arundel, 1511-1580, and at Lumley's death, in 1609, it was sold to King James for the use of Henry, Prince of Wales, and subsequently became part of the Royal Library, now in the British Museum. Hence this transcript may be B (§ 29), which seems to have come from the Royal Library, or Ar (§ 30), which bears the name Arundel upon its first page.

§ 17. In the Lumley Library the MS. was seen by Brian Twyne, who, for controversial purposes, maintains the imperfection of the MS. and doubts whether it was the copy from which Parker printed. He describes it as being marked with red ochre by Parker's own hand, as being imperfect in places, and as filled out with appended pieces of paper in modern handwriting<sup>1</sup>. This marking in red ochre is a well-known characteristic of Parker, and its presence in

1600, lib. ii. 78. In addition to his personal acquaintance with Lumley's library, he received information from Lumley, as appears from his letter to Allen, and from his advice to the reader in his *Ecloga*, ii. § 5.

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia*, Oxford, 1608, p. 144, § 80: 'nisi eum (Parkerum) imperfecto exemplari (quod fortasse in Domini Lumlai bibliotheca rubra ocre manu propria notatum vidi, mancum tamen et plurimis in locis imperfectum et chartulis appenditiis recenter scriptis suffultum) usum fuisse dicas.' Twyne's MSS. iii. 254 in the University Archives contain a memorandum of his, written shortly after 1630, to inquire 'what is become of the copy of Asserius that was in the Lord Lumley's library, of which Dr. James writes to Mr. Allen, &c.: because at the ende thereof he saith it set downe at large the foundinge, not the repayinge of the university by Alfred. Mr. Richard James thinkes it is in St. James library.' The passage thus unwarrantably described by Dr. James in his letter of 1600 (see p. xxxviii, note 1, above) seems to be c. 102, 17-19, the nucleus of the mediaeval stories connecting the University of Oxford with Alfred.

the Lumley MS. is, as stated by James, proof of the identity with Parker's MS. It was described as still in the Lumley Library in 1602 by Pits<sup>1</sup>.

§ 18. We next hear of the MS. in the possession of Cotton, in whose library it was seen by Archbishop James Ussher, who collated it for his great work, the *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Ioannis Pitsei Relationum Historicarum de rebus Anglicis tomus I*, Paris, 1619, p. 172: 'Vitam et res gestas Regis Ælfredi Latine. Librum unum. Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis 849. MS. in bibliotheca Baronis Lunleiani. Extat anno 1602.' From Pits, Bishop Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 53, copied this reference to the Lumley MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Praefatio*, p. 6: 'Ac primum, ne quid hic me fugeret, editorum nostrorum historicorum antiquiores quidem, Gildam, Adamnanum, Bedam, Asserium Menevensem, integros, posteriores vero, ubi videbatur opus, cum manuscriptis codicibus diligenter, nec sine fructu, contuli.' Twenty-five years before the publication of his book he wrote to Camden: 'I have been as carefull as I could in viewing the places of authors by me alleged, and, as much as might be, would trust no man's eyes but mine own. Yet in some manuscripts, which were to be had only beyond seas, I have been forced to give credit unto others.' April 28, 1614 (*Opera*, xv. 78). As he spent much time in England, and was frequently borrowing MSS. from the Cottons, we may conclude that he collated the MS. of the present work himself. He refers specifically to the MS. in correcting an error of Camden's (see note to c. 2, 5). His correspondence contains notices of extensive borrowings from the Cottonian collection. Thus on August 4, 1625, Selden asks him for two of Cotton's MSS. of the Old English Chronicle, which he promises to return to him, if he wish (xv. 290). In 1622 Cotton acknowledges the return of eight MSS. from Ussher, who still had others in his hands. Cotton offers to send him whatever MSS. he might wish for (xv. 171). At one time Ussher had in his hands three MSS. of the Chronicle belonging to Cotton (xv. 230). Other notices of borrowings and long-detention of MSS. of Cotton's occur at pp. 274, 283, 386, 428. Some idea of the care with which Ussher worked may be formed from the statement that he used eleven MSS. of Nennius (xvi. 231). In 1624 he borrows from Patrick Young, the keeper of the Prince's Library (xv. 266), a copy of the present work (xv. 270), which seems obviously to be the transcript referred to at xv. 233, and hence is probably our B (§ 29) or Ar (§ 30).



which was given to the world, after many years' labour upon it, in 1639. The testimony of this great scholar regarding the MS. is of much greater importance than that of any one else who has left us an account of the MS., with the solitary exception of Wanley. Ussher was immeasurably superior in critical power to the writers whom we are able to cite. Passing from Parker, Camden, Anthony Wood, Hearne, and Wise to Ussher gives one the impression of being suddenly transferred from the critical atmosphere of the later Middle Ages to that of modern times. He describes the MS. as a copy written in Anglo-Saxon characters, and dating, if not from Asser's own time, certainly from a period not far removed from it<sup>1</sup>. Although the Archbishop has ascribed too high an antiquity to the handwriting of the MS., his evidence is valuable as showing how antique the hand seemed to a very careful and diligent student of ancient MSS., and one with a special knowledge of O.E. MSS. Unfortunately his collations of the MS. are not to be found amongst his papers in Trinity College, Dublin<sup>2</sup>. They would have been of the greatest importance in constituting the text.

<sup>1</sup> After quoting Twyne's description (§ 17), Ussher states that the matter added upon inserted pieces of paper is not taken from any copy of Asser, but from certain annals (those of St. Neots) that have been wrongly attributed to Asser because they contained much matter transcribed from him. He protests against Camden's description *optimum exemplar* of the alleged Savile MS.: 'quum antiquissimum antigraphum, si non ipsius, quod omnino videtur, Asserii, certe proximis ab eo temporibus, characteribus Saxonici exaratum, adhuc in Cottoniana Bibliotheca conservetur' (*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, Dublin, 1639, c. 11, *Opera*, v. 393). By Saxon characters he probably meant that it was written in a hand older than the Norman Conquest, although not in specifically Anglo-Saxon characters.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Lawlor has been kind enough to examine for me the two copies of Parker's edition and the three copies of Camden's in the library of Trinity College, without finding any *marginalia*.

§ 19. Through the intervention of Ussher Sir John Spelman, who died in 1643, was enabled to inspect the MS. He states that it was, in the opinion of many, the MS. used by Parker, that it was written in a character resembling the Anglo-Saxon, and that it had marks in red ochre, by which, as he says, Parker was wont to note MSS. used by him. He mentions that it contained interpolations in a later hand, among which, however, the Camden interpolation did not occur<sup>1</sup>.

§ 20. Anthony Wood, in his *History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford*, published in Latin in 1674, repeats as his own words what Dr. James said in 1600 (§ 16)<sup>2</sup> regarding the correction of the errors in the MS. by Parker 'or else his assistant, Mr. John Josseline,' as he adds, and the later date of the second hand, omitting, however, the mention of the use of Anglo-Saxon characters. We may therefore doubt whether Wood really saw the MS., especially as he refers to a 'paralipomenon written by an old writer, and added thereunto, as Camden and Baleus tell us.' Had he seen the MS. he would have found that

<sup>1</sup> *Life of Ælfred the Great*, ed. Hearne, p. 182: 'I . . . have seen an ancient manuscript *Asser. Men(evensis)* conceived by some to be the very original, by which the archbishop first published that author: and probably enough both for the affinity the character has with the Saxon letters, and also for the lines and marks of red oaker, with which the archbishop was wont to note the manuscripts that he perused. In this manuscript there were the clauses, which in Mr. Camden's edition do immediately precede and follow the clause of the discord (c. 83 b), and they are both in that part of the book, which is of the ancients and most undoubted hand, whereas other parts are of a later hand and seem supply'd. But I find not in this MS. the clause of the discord, nor any word of the matters therein contained, nor anything at all otherwise than as the archbishop has published.'

<sup>2</sup> This may be seen more clearly in his English text, which was published at Oxford in 1792, i. 45, under the editorship of John Gutch.



this was an addition of Parker's, c. 106 d. Bale, his authority, was referring to the Annals of St. Neots, and it was this work as seen by Leland that Wood quotes, in a very disingenuous way, against the antiquity and completeness of Parker's MS. of the present work. It is difficult to believe that Wood could possibly have been guilty of such confusion as he has made in this passage if his sense of evidence and logic had not been lulled to sleep by his infatuated belief in anything that supported the view taken by him of the excessive antiquity of the University.

§ 21. Thomas Gale in 1691 states most decisively that the Cottonian MS. was the one used by Parker, although many had denied that it was<sup>1</sup>.

§ 22. Wise in 1722 describes the MS., no doubt from information derived from James Hill (§ 11), as an ancient and elegantly written MS., the work of several scribes, none of whom was well versed in Latin. It was not written in O.E. characters, as a proof of which he refers to the facsimile published by him<sup>2</sup>. He describes the portion from c. 88, 11 to the end of c. 98 as being written by a *recentior manus*, but he gives no hint of its age. This seems to have been an eleventh-century hand (§ 24), though Wise thoughtlessly describes Parker's interpolations, cc. 50 b, c, d, as being also written by a *recentior manus*. The Parkerian hand he describes elsewhere more

<sup>1</sup> *Scriptores Quindecim, i. praefatio*, sign. b verso: 'Eam (vitam Alfridi) edidit Archiepiscopus Parkerus: codex ipsissimus quo ille usus est, stat in Bibl. Cottoniana. Hoc monui, quoniam id vellent aliqui ita non esse.' From a note of Hearne's derived from the papers of Thomas Smith, keeper of the Cottonian Library, who died in 1710, it would seem that Smith doubted, despite Gale's statement, whether this was the MS. used by Parker (*Collections*, iii. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Page 137: 'Est codex sane vetustus, elegans et bonae notae, cui describendo plures navarunt operam amanuenses, quorum tamen nemo linguam Latinam videtur apprime calluisse. . . Et "characteribus Saxonis" minime conscriptum esse, ostendit paginae annexum specimen.'

accurately as *nova manus*<sup>1</sup>. He ascribes c. 106 d to Parker himself.

§ 23. Wise was, however, fortunately able to obtain the judgement of a much greater scholar, Humphry Wanley. The Cottonian collection was well known to Wanley<sup>2</sup>, and there was no one who had so minute a knowledge of O.E. manuscripts as he possessed. His accuracy in dating O.E. MSS. is astonishing to modern palaeographers, who, with all the advantages they enjoy for the minute study of handwriting in the shape of accurate photographic facsimiles, seldom find reason to dissent from him<sup>3</sup>. According to Wise, this singularly sagacious scholar assigned the first and earliest hand of the MS. to about the year 1000 or 1001<sup>4</sup>. The limits of age assigned are curiously narrow, but Wanley must have had good reason for

<sup>1</sup> Cap. 70, 3. He notes that a *nova manus* had added 'ergo nec Oxonii' after *lectores boni* in c. 24, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Wanley, besides his work upon this library when compiling his famous *Catalogus*, had been engaged, together with Matthew Hutton and John Anstis, to report upon the Cottonian collection to the Trustees. Harley's copy of this report, in the form of an annotated copy of Smith's catalogue of the library, is preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS. Bodl. Add. D 82). In this Otho A xii is described as *Cod. membr. in 4to, constans foliis 155*.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. G. F. Warner, of the Department of MSS., British Museum, agrees with the high estimate of Wanley's judgement expressed above, and, making allowances for the bad facsimile of the MS., sees nothing in it to conflict with Wanley's ascription of date. It is peculiarly gratifying to find one's conclusions endorsed by a scholar who has so deep a knowledge of O.E. hands as Mr. Warner possesses. Professor Napier informs me that he has seldom found reason to differ from Wanley's statements as to the age of O.E. MSS., which have frequently proved to be wonderfully accurate by philological tests.

<sup>4</sup> Page 137: 'Prior et antiquior huius codicis scriptura (iudicium sequor viri pereruditi, et rei antiquariae accuratissimi indagatoris, Cl. Humfredi Wanleii) circiter annum Domini 1000 vel 1001 exarata fuit.' Wanley, in his *Catalogus*, p. 232 b, published in 1705, refers to the MS. as 'illud Asserii Menevensis exemplar, quo usus est Dn. Matthaeus Parker, Archiep. Cant.'

this precision of statement<sup>1</sup>. In the Cottonian Library he had at hand a unique collection of O.E. MSS. for the purposes of comparison, and this consideration adds greatly to the improbability of his being anything like a century wrong in his dating of this MS.<sup>2</sup>.

§ 24. We may therefore sum up the evidence regarding the MS. at our disposal as follows. It was a small folio or large quarto volume, containing 107 pages (p. xxxviii, note 1), and, as it was written in two or more hands and contained numerous errors of transcription (§§ 16, 17, 20, 22), it was obviously not the autograph of the Welsh author. This is also proved by the fact that the scribes used Anglo-Saxon characters (§§ 14, 16, 18), and the English spelling *fas(s)ellus* for *vassallus* (cc. 53, 3; 55, 3). The oldest hand dated from about the year 1000 or 1001 (§ 23). Of the second hand the only information we possess is Wise's description of it as *manus recentior* (§ 22), and James's statement that it was much later than the other. It, however, contained Anglo-Saxon characters (p. xxxviii, note 1). James states that the passages in the neighbourhood of c. 83 b were in this later hand, but

<sup>1</sup> It is possibly influenced by the Cott. Charter of 1001 cited at p. xxxiii, note 1, with which Wanley would have an opportunity of comparing the MS.

<sup>2</sup> Wanley has given a description of his method of fixing the date of MSS. in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1705, pp. 1993-2008. It consisted of careful comparison with hands the dates of which were known. He states that he 'never entertained any notion, or relied upon any observation, but as I found it confirmed by the suffrage of concurring circumstances, and sufficient authority' (p. 1996). He was collecting as early as 1699 fragments of Latin MSS. for use in dating others (*Original Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, ed. Ellis, Camden Society, 1843, p. 275). Compare also what he says in 1697 of the Hatton MS. of the O.E. translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, which he rightly took to be as old as the time of Alfred, but wished to compare with the Cottonian MS. as he 'loves two strings to his bow' (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, i. 97).

Sir John Spelman (p. xlii, note 1) was, apparently, unable to distinguish the hand hereabouts from the oldest hand, and Wise makes no note of its being the later one. There is evidence that the chapters in the later hand formed part of the original work in the similarity of style, and in the fact that the older hand or hands resumed, as we may conclude from Wise's silence, after the later hand ceased. The conclusion that the part written in the later hand was part of the original is also supported by the appearance of portions of it in Florence of Worcester, the Annals of St. Neots, and the early part of the work known to us by the name of Simeon of Durham. Three chapters only, cc. 89, 90, 95, have been entirely passed over by these compilers. We have thus evidence that, whatever might have been the age of the later hand, the portion written by it was older than the beginning of the twelfth century. If, as there is reason for believing (§§ 25, 33), the MS. was the one used by Florence of Worcester, it is obvious that the portion in the later hand was an integral part of the work in his time. It must, therefore, have existed then either in the recent hand or in an older one. But, as the recent hand began in the middle of a sentence, it is unlikely that it had replaced an earlier one, and the corresponding portions in Florence agree so closely with it, reproducing even grammatical errors, that we may fairly conclude that in the MS. used by him this portion was written in the later hand. Therefore the later hand cannot have been later in date than the eleventh century.

§ 25. The Cottonian MS. was, as we have seen (§§ 16, 22), described as carelessly written by ignorant scribes, and as containing, in consequence, numerous errors. It is probable that many of these are reproduced in the Co transcript, which has many clerical errors, wrong divisions of words, &c. To the carelessness of the scribes of the MS. may be ascribed the



confusions caused by the omissions of verbs<sup>1</sup>, and the corrupt passages that have baffled all emendations<sup>2</sup>. It is curious that Florence of Worcester, who seems clearly to have used this MS., has retained a number of these errors. Thus he has *Cætwa*, c. 1, 36, for *Tætwa*<sup>3</sup>; *suppetebat* for *suppeteret*, c. 30, 18; *Fingodwulf* for *Fin, qui fuit Godwulf*<sup>4</sup>, c. 1, 21; *Thornsæta*, c. 49, 8, for *Dornsæta*; *sumere debere sciret*, c. 38, 5; *occidit*, c. 49, 21, for *occidentem*; *Orientelem*, c. 67, 10, for *Orientalium*; *cultu*, c. 100, 5, 11, 21, for *curto* (?); and the apparently erroneous *peraudacitatem . . . decipientes*, c. 42, 26, for *paucitatem . . . despicientes*. The *et legit*, c. 23, 14, is also common to Florence and the MS. Strong evidence that he used the Cottonian MS. is afforded by the error in c. 55, 4, where the scribe's eye has wandered from *pagae* to *paganos*. Florence repeats the error in number in c. 54, 5, and the blunder concerning Pipin, c. 70, 10. He omits with the Cottonian MS. the reference to the armlets of the Danes in c. 49, 15, but he supplies, probably from the Chronicle, the passage omitted from the end of this chapter. He has with the Life eight battles instead of nine in c. 42, 31, but he supplies the account of the battle of Meretun, which should have appeared in c. 40, the omission of which in the Life has been supposed to be the cause of the difference between the number of fights given in the

<sup>1</sup> See cc. 24, 3; 74, 7; 74, 47; 75, 28; 91, 26; 105, 14. Whether the omission in c. 18, 3 is to be ascribed to the MS. is doubtful. See p. xlviii, note 4, below. Cf. however p. cxxxi, below.

<sup>2</sup> See cc. 38, 5; 40, 1-2; 75, 6; 76, 16-20; 79, 51; 91, 14; 99, 5-8; 105, 13; 106, 12.

<sup>3</sup> This misreading seems to have arisen from the small *t* of Welsh hands of the ninth and early tenth centuries, in which the top-stroke commenced far to the left of the down-stroke, which is barely crossed, so that confusion with *c* is easy.

<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, Florence has *qui fuit Esla*, c. 1, 16, and *qui fuit . . . Freothegar*, c. 1, 18, 19, which were omitted in the Cott. MS. and do not appear in the first part of Simeon of Durham.

Chronicle and in the Life, c. 42, 31. He retains *aedificia*, c. 56, 33, which is, apparently, an error for *beneficia*; the active for the passive infinitives<sup>1</sup>; and the *et*, c. 29, 11, for *quac*<sup>2</sup>. The *Stratdutesenses*, c. 47, 8, may be a mistaken reading of Parker's of *Stratcludenses*, which is given by Florence. In other cases he corrects the readings, as *Anglorum* for *Saxonum*, c. 21, 7; *rediret* for *dormiret*, c. 67, 9; *elevavit*, c. 56, 29, for *elimavit*; *servando*, c. 20, 4, for *servato*; *ceram* for *coram*, c. 104, 2; *conservare* for *cum servare*, c. 103, 17; *Ecgbrihti* for *Ægbryhta*<sup>3</sup>, c. 55, 6; and supplies the missing *defunctus est*<sup>4</sup> of c. 18, 3 and the *et Lundeniam* of c. 4, 4. Florence has a passage at the end of c. 38 that, apparently, did not occur in the MS.<sup>5</sup> He omits, possibly owing to their obscurity, *cuius numerus*, c. 75, 6, and c. 91, 14-16. In the parts not copied by Florence we have *Eadred*, c. 80, 8, for *Æthered*, c. 80, 22, an error obviously caused by the scribe misunderstanding the latter name as standing for Eadred; *infirmantibus*, c. 25, 8, for *infirmatibus*; *quod*, c. 69, 3, for *qui*. In c. 26, 1 the scribe wrote *Karolus* for *Ælfredi*. He has confused *indiculus*, c. 79, 38, 40, with *in diluculo*. The *avis*, c. 76, 62, for *apis*, may be due to Parker's transcriber. The MS. seems also to have been used by the author of the first part of the work known to us under the name of

<sup>1</sup> *Facere*, c. 14, 5; *scribere*, c. 16, 6; *mandare*, c. 16, 11; *portare*, c. 16, 28; *aedificare*, c. 98, 3; *construere*, c. 92, 7; *pensare*, c. 104, 4. He corrects *appellare*, c. 13, 15, and omits *execrare*, c. 14, 10.

<sup>2</sup> This looks as if the scribe had mistaken a compendium for *quae* as a sign for *et*. The *et* of c. 23, 14, may, therefore, also be a misreading of *qui*.

<sup>3</sup> This, however, may be merely a blunder of Parker's transcriber.

<sup>4</sup> It is possible, despite Wise's statement, that these words really occurred in the MS., and that he ought to have said that *Occidentalium Saxonum* only did not occur.

<sup>5</sup> The words 'Anglice, Latine Anglorum Campus', c. 35, 13, he may have supplied himself.



Simeon of Durham (§ 35), for he writes *Cetwa*, c. 1, 36, *peraudacitatem*, c. 42, 26; had evidently the reading *sumere debere sciret*, c. 38, 5, *dormiret*, c. 67, 9, *et legit*, c. 23, 14, *servato*, c. 20, 4, and probably the *aedificia* of c. 56, 33. He makes the obvious correction *Anglorum* in c. 21, 7, and supplies *defunctus est* in c. 18, 3. The other instances are omitted or disguised by him. Most of these errors also appear in the Annals of St. Neots, which has, however, several better readings (§ 34).

§ 26. The scribe of the Cottonian MS. seems to have modernized some of the names in chapter 1. In two other cases we have passages that fit in so badly with the context that we have little hesitation in bracketing them as interpolations. They were, it is evident, made at the time of the writing of this MS. in order to bring the information down to that date. One is the *et, ut credo, usque ad obitum vitae suae* in c. 25, 15, which has not the verb in the future or past tense that is required to make sense. In the other the words *et nunc etiam Sanctus Niot ibidem pausat*, c. 74, 21, are awkwardly inserted after *in qua Sanctus Guerir quiescit*<sup>1</sup>. This appears in Florence. There is also a curious confusion of present and imperfect tenses in reference to Alfred, which may perhaps be due to the copyist. Thus, c. 106, 46, 49, 50, we read *valeret, si haberet . . . si aliter non habeat*, followed again by imperfects; in c. 22, 16 *laborat . . . fuit*. C. 91 begins by speaking of the king in the imperfect tense, but the present occurs in line 6, twice in line 7, and again in line 9. In this chapter the verbs referring to the king and his subjects are in seven instances in the imperfect and in fifteen in the present.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Lingard, *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, London, 1845, ii. 427-8, ascribes this mention of St. Neot and c. 53, 11-12, which is really due to Parker, to the scribe of the Cottonian MS. There are, however, no grounds for holding that the copyist was a monk of St. Neots (§ 75).

Similarly the customs of the court are mentioned in c. 100 in the imperfect in five cases, but the present is used in summing up the administration, line 21. In c. 106 the imperfect is used fifteen times, but there is a present reference in *huius temporis*, line 57. The habits of the king are in the present tense in cc. 22, 16; 25, 17; 81, 12, 38. There are other instances of the present in cc. 12, 11, 12, 13; 74, 68, 69; 75, 26, 29, 31; 76, 68, 69; 80, 3; 93, 4. Cf. *hucusque cotidie*, c. 74, 7; *adhuc*, c. 91, 50. Imperfects occur cc. 24, 6, 9; 25, 3; 74, 13, 16; 75, 21; 76 *passim*; 77 five times; 88, 7, 9; 89, 22, 23; 92, 3, 5, 7; 101, 4, 6, 13; 102, 3 *bis*, 9; 104 six times; 105, 6, 8, 10. The theory that these imperfects are due to a forger who has momentarily forgotten that he ought not to speak of the king, in whose reign he professes to be writing, in the past tense (§ 73), is difficult to reconcile with the numerous instances in which the imperfect occurs and with the frequency of the present. A forger would surely have corrected all or none of the verbs in his draught; he would not be likely to issue it to the world with these contradictions. The view that the imperfects are due to a transcriber who frequently omits to change the presents of the copy before him is much more probable. Thus Florence of Worcester corrects the present tenses in cc. 91, 6, 7, 9, 47, 69, 70; 100, 21 into imperfects, but retains the presents in c. 12, 11, 13, and the *quorundam hominum relatu audivimus* of line 15, which was in place in the mouth of a writer in the time of King Alfred but is ridiculous in that of Florence. But it is quite possible that the author used the imperfect although the king was then alive, just as the Frankish Thegan did (§ 51).

§ 27. To the carelessness of the scribes we may also assign the singular errors regarding the age of the king at certain years. These are not present in Florence and the Annals of St. Neots, as they omit the dating by the king's age. The king, born in 849,

is in his third year in 851 (c. 3, 2), but in his eleventh in 853 (c. 7, 2), in his seventh in 855 (c. 10, 2), which is correct, in his twelfth in 860 (c. 18, 2), also correct, in his twenty-first correctly in 869 (c. 31, 2). This is repeated in 870 (c. 32, 2), and the king's age is consequently one year too little until 875 (c. 47, 2), where a similar repetition is made, so that there is a mistake of two years in 876 (c. 49, 2). Then, owing to the confusion of the entries of 877 with 878 or to the omission of the former, another year is dropped in 878 (c. 52, 2). Consequently from here until the end of the work the king's age is understated by three years. It has been suggested that these mistakes are proof that the work is spurious (§ 86), but a forger who prided himself upon his rhetorical Latinity would surely have had sufficient knowledge of elementary arithmetic to avoid such glaring contradictions as are here involved. The errors are parallel with those that occur in innumerable chronicles, and must be due to the same cause, the carelessness of the copyist and not of the author. We have therefore emended them in the text. It is possible that the omission of the mention of the battle at Meretun in 871 is due to the carelessness of the scribe<sup>1</sup>. The assignment of the events given in the Chronicle under 885 to 884, and the consequent omission of the brief entry for the latter year, have every appearance of being due to a clerical error. The copyist wrote DCCCLXXXIII and then his eye wandered a line or so lower to DCCCLXXXV, the entries under which date he proceeded to copy (c. 66).

### 3. THE TRANSCRIPTS.

§ 28. The most valuable transcript (Co) is the one preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. No. 100, forming part of the collection

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pauli, *König Ælfred*, p. 11.

of MSS. bequeathed to the College by Archbishop Parker. The transcript was clearly made for his use, and has at fo. 324 the title *Alfredi Res Gestae* in red chalk in his handwriting. At the top of fo. 325 is the title *Alfredi Res Gestae auctore J.*<sup>1</sup> (erased) *Asser*, in the hand of the copyist. The transcript forms part of a folio volume of transcripts on paper made for Parker, in which it follows the transcript of the Annals of St. Neots, and extends from fo. 324 to 361 verso. It and the Annals are in the same hand, a large clerical one, with large initials and engrossed first words at the commencement of chapters and sections. It appears to be a very close copy made by an indifferent scholar. Many of the mistakes in it probably reproduce those of the MS., and we have therefore noted them in the apparatus. Parker has corrected many errors, and has occasionally altered a word or substituted another for it. It contains occasional marginal abstracts, written in a Parkerian hand. These form part of the marginalia in Parker's edition. The great value of this transcript lies in the fact that it was copied from the Cottonian MS. before the interpolations in the latter were made by Parker<sup>2</sup>. The only ones represented are cc. 50 c, d, which are written on a small piece of inserted paper in the hand that wrote the index at the commencement of the volume. There is a note at the end of c. 50 in the scribe's hand *Deest annus 877*. This is obviously the cause of the interpolated slip, Parker having taken the first chapter from Matthew of Paris and the second, which relates to the same events, from the Annals of St. Neots. At the end of c. 53 is a note *Hic inseritur in alio opere ascripto Asser scriptum quoddam in Vita*

<sup>1</sup> Upon the erroneous ascription of the name John to Asser, see note to c. 106 d.

<sup>2</sup> It has, however, the word *Erigena*, c. 78, 8, which Parker had written in the MS., as we learn from Dr. James's letter of 1600, and *Occidentalium Saxonum*, c. 53, 2.

*Sancti Neoti.* This note is the germ of the most famous of Parker's interpolations in his printed text, the story of Alfred and the cowherd's wife. Collations from this transcript, somewhat inaccurately made, are given by Wise at the end of his edition. He describes this transcript as a copy of the Cottonian MS. in his preface. It contains the strange sentence at the commencement of c. 40, which Parker omitted from his edition, although it occurred in the Cottonian MS.

§ 29. The British Museum transcript (B), Cott. MS. Otho A xii\*, is a quarto volume on paper in a large, Elizabethan hand, which gradually falls away from a text hand into a cursive one. This is supposed to be the transcript in the Royal Library, No. 577, which Wise mentions, but did not examine. Its origin is obscure. There are no signs of its being used by Parker, and yet it has some of his interpolations. Possibly it was a transcript made for Lord Lumley, whose MSS. came to the Royal Library after his death in 1609 (§ 16). It omits the interpolations cc. 10; 36, 2; 53, 9-10; 53 b; 53 c; 54 b, and, of course, Camden's interpolation, c. 83 b. The interpolations given in it seem all to have been written in the MS.; c. 17 b was clearly added to the MS. as Wise gives collations from it; cc. 50 b, c, d, we are expressly told were written in the MS.; cc. 106 b, 106 c, were probably also added in the MS. as well as 106 d. It would therefore seem that this transcript was made from the MS., and that the copyist reproduced such interpolations as Parker had already inserted in the MS. As c. 54 b is omitted, it would seem that this was written in the MS. after this transcript had been made. Further proof that it was copied from the MS. and not from Parker's printed text is afforded by the absence of the errors of the press, such as *Eowwa*, c. 1, 8, *Faroli*, c. 13, 8. This transcript is very carelessly written, abounding in errors, transpositions of words, blundered



forms, omissions, and wrong case and tense endings. These errors have not been corrected by collation with the original. The transcript is followed by a copy of the Latin translation of Alfred's will, which is given in Parker's edition, ending with *mecum tota nobilitas Westsaxoniae*, near the end. There are no marginal abstracts.

§ 30. The Arundel transcript (Ar), in the University Library, Cambridge (Add. 3825), is a late sixteenth-century copy on paper, purchased at the Frere sale in 1896. It bears on the first page 'Arundel,' and was probably the property of the fourteenth Earl of Arundel (§ 16). It is carefully written in a clear, bold hand. The dates are given in Roman numerals, agreeing in this respect with Parker's printed text. It adheres very closely to Parker's text, and reproduces some of his typographical errors. Others, however, are absent, and it has in several respects a close affinity with the British Museum transcript. Thus *Durngueys*, c. 49, 7, seems to be a misreading of the *Durnguers* of B, the *r* being read as *y*; Parker prints *Durngueis*<sup>1</sup>. But as it has all Parker's interpolations<sup>2</sup> and all his marginal abstracts, and his changes in the text, it is evident that his edition must have formed the basis of this copy. Possibly it was made from an early proof, and has thus some variations from the published text.

§ 31. Wise, in his preface, refers to a loan made to him by Roger Gale of a modern transcript of this work, which, he says, seems to be a copy of Parker's edition. This is the transcript preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge (O 7, 25), a very small octavo volume, written in two or three hands in the latter part of the seventeenth century. It contains, in addition to the text, Parker's preface, the Latin

<sup>1</sup> The omission of c. 39, 23-25 by homoeoteleuton also occurs in B.

<sup>2</sup> Except the word *pagae*, c. 55, 4.



version of Alfred's will and of his preface to the translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, which are given at the end of Parker's edition. It reproduces all Parker's interpolations. At page 10 is written *Cod. MS. in Cott. Bibl. Otho A 12, forte Cambdeni*, but there are no signs of collation. The transcript is of no value for critical purposes. It was presented to the College by Roger Gale, with other books in the section O, in 1738<sup>1</sup>. The copy was at one time in the possession of Thomas Gale, for at page 56 there is a marginal note (c. 79, 57) *et Novis Antistitem prop(osui)*, and this emendation is given by Gale in the preface to his edition of the Annals of St. Neots. In the same hand are written (p. 79), at the end of c. 106 *Hic desinit Codex Cottonianus*, and *peopiscirum over gentium* in c. 13, 29. There is also a note at p. 104 in a large cursive hand, that the fable concerning Grimbald (c. 83 b) is not in Camden's exemplar, which the writer of the note held to be the Cottonian MS. because it contained notes by him. These notes were, however, in Parker's hand, not Camden's<sup>2</sup>.

§ 32. The copy of the Life mentioned in Dr. Bernard's *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae*, &c., Oxford, 1697, 5191, 19, amongst the Junius MSS. in the Bodleian Library, is merely the printed sheets of Parker's text.

#### 4. EXCERPTS FROM THE WORK IN LATER COMPILERS.

§ 33. The first place amongst the compilers from this work is, as we have said, held by Florence of

<sup>1</sup> M. R. James, *Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College*, i. p. vii. This was, no doubt, the 'Asser' that Gale promises Dr. Charlett, on April 2, 1720, to send for from Yorkshire (*Letters written by Eminent Persons in the seventeenth and eighteenth Centuries . . . from the originals in the Bodleian Library*, London, 1813, ii. p. 58).

<sup>2</sup> See Wise, p. 163.

Worcester (§ 3). How largely he borrowed from it may be seen by the passages printed in Roman type, which represent the portion of the text supported by his testimony. As he was writing a continuous chronicle, he omitted almost all the references to Asser and very many of the purely biographical details of the king's life. It has hence been maintained that the Life has been fabricated from these passages in Florence (§ 78), but this extreme view is precluded by the evidence as to the age of the MS. of the Life, and also by a dispassionate consideration of Florence's treatment of the text. The omissions are intelligible when we consider the nature of his work. He exercises great licence in transposing parts of the Life, but his reasons are not far to seek. Thus he gives most of the biographical matter relating to Alfred under 871, the year of his accession. He removes the passage relating to Bishop Werferth of Worcester from c. 77 to the year 872, under which he records his consecration. This leads him, naturally enough, to transcribe the greater part of this and the following chapters, which are intimately bound up with the subject that led to the mention of Werferth in the Life. The passage in c. 77, 19, 20, he transfers to the end of the portion that he copies from the next chapter. The reason for this is obvious. In like manner he adds, after the mention of the king's beginning to read and interpret in c. 87, 3, the date of his commencing from c. 89, 14. His transpositions in c. 74, 17, 36, 41, 59, make this confused chapter much clearer. It is unnecessary to multiply instances of his treatment of the text, as they all find explanations in the scope of his work, and his desire to render the information taken from the Life more concise. Purely rhetorical passages he rigorously cuts out, and he frequently omits a word or phrase that is not quite clear in meaning. The readings preserved by him agree so closely with those of the Cottonian MS., that it would seem that he copied

from it, for he repeats most of its errors (§ 25). He copies the mistranslation of the Chronicle at cc. 18, 5; 83, 6, but he changes the too literal *superius* of c. 62, 3 to *saepedictus*, and he corrects the *dormiret*, c. 67, 9, probably by comparison with the Chronicle. From the latter he has perhaps added the missing annal for 884, and has corrected in consequence the date of c. 66. He also supplies, no doubt from the Chronicle, the missing annal of 877 (see c. 50, 26). From the same source or from personal knowledge he has added *et Lundoniam* in c. 4, 4. He usually changes the present tenses to imperfects (§ 26). Despite his rearrangement of the matter he gives the conclusion of the Life under 887, under which it appears in the Life itself. This alone is a strong proof that he was copying from the Life<sup>1</sup>. At the end of c. 38 he has a sentence that does not appear to have been in the Life. With the exception of this, the addition of the *Terente* at c. 49, 6, and the erroneous date of Æthelred's death (c. 41, 4), he has no additions that he could not have got from the Chronicle, or supplied by emendation, or from his own knowledge. These exceptions do not seem important enough to cause us to believe that he used some other MS. than the Cottonian.

§ 34. The unknown compiler of the Annals of St. Neots copied very largely from the Life. As he has numerous passages that are not in Florence of Worcester, it is obvious that he did not derive his matter from him, but from a MS. of the Life. This MS., although agreeing closely with the Cottonian (§ 25), had more correct readings in cc. 49, 20; 55, 4; 70, 10, and, probably, in c. 42, 26. In c. 48, 2 the Annals agree with the MSS. of the Chronicle in giving the

<sup>1</sup> The view that Florence derived the annalistic part of his work for the period covered by the Life from hypothetical Latin annals embodied in the latter and translated by the compiler of the Chronicle, is shown to be untenable in § 53.

number of the ships as seven, against the six of the Cottonian MS. of the Life, Florence, and the two parts of Simeon of Durham. Similarly, the Annals have *Iglea* in c. 55, 17 with MSS. A, B, and C of the Chronicle, the oldest and best MSS., whereas the Cottonian MS. of the Life had *Æglea*, which reappears in Florence, and represents the *Æglea* of MSS. D and E of the Chronicle. In c. 45, 5 the Annals have *Turkesige*, which is mentioned in the Chronicle, and in the second part of Simeon, but is omitted in the Life and in Florence. The Annals also mention the armlets of the Danes in c. 49, 15, which are omitted by the Life and Florence. There is a possibility that all or some of these corrections may have been derived from the copy of the Chronicle used by the compiler. The most remarkable reading in the Annals, one that is peculiar to them, is that of Steyning instead of Winchester as the burial place of King Æthelbeald (c. 17)<sup>1</sup>. As the compiler adhered very closely to his MS., apart from the alterations necessitated by the plan of his work, his evidence is important. It is, therefore, to be regretted that he occasionally abridges the text, and omits most of the merely biographical part.

§ 35. We now come to the work known by the name of Simeon of Durham, a monk of the early part of the twelfth century, whose important work is, like the Life, known through one MS. only. Modern research has shown that Simeon's work consists of two parts, of which the first, which we have distinguished as SD 1, is of peculiar interest. It represents a compilation that copied the lost Northumbrian Annals from 731, the end of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, until 801. After that time until 849 the compiler had hardly any material, except the story of Eadburh under 802, which he has taken from the

<sup>1</sup> See note to this chapter.

Life (c. 14 sqq.). From 849 to 887 he borrowed very largely from the Life, and he experiences a scarcity of material from this time until 951, which seems to have been the end of the compilation. It was later continued to 957. As a monk of Durham about the year 1120 embodied in one volume this work and another history (SD 2), extending from 848 to 1120<sup>1</sup>, in which the matter derived from the Life is taken directly from Florence of Worcester, it has been assumed that the first compilation was older than the second one, and was probably written about 951. We may readily grant that SD 1 was an older compilation, but the evidence that it was drawn up in the tenth century is, in the absence of a MS. of that period, necessarily hypothetical. The copy of the Life used by the compiler of SD 1 had a remarkable resemblance in its errors to the Cottonian MS. (§ 25), and it had most of the errors in the reckoning of the king's age. It is probable that the compiler used this very MS., but a definite conclusion on the point is rendered difficult by his habit of paraphrasing the language of the Life. There may also be reflex influence from Florence of Worcester, owing to the copying of the latter in SD 2. The remarkable readings *Mucel Wudu* for *Selwudu*, c. 55, 7, and *civitas aquae* for *Exac*, c. 49, 23, appear in both SD 1 and SD 2, and are therefore proof of influence upon one another. So also are the added *praeceptore ostendente*, c. 23, 14, and *motus*, c. 56, 18. Similarly SD 2 must have derived the three verses in c. 1, 26-28 from SD 1 or the MS., as they do not appear in Florence. But, as a rule, the readings of SD 2 agree very closely with those of Florence<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Stubbs, *Roger of Howden*, i. p. xxx. The prefaces of Hinde's edition of Simeon of Durham for the Surtees Society, 1868, and Mr. Arnold's in the Roll Series may also be consulted.

<sup>2</sup> In c. 56, 29 *elimavit*, which it has with the Corpus transcript, appears to come from the MS. Florence substitutes



§ 36. William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, the first edition of which was published in or before 1125, derives most of his matter relating to Alfred from the Life. Bishop Stubbs holds that he borrowed directly from the Life, which he made 'the chief and primary authority' for the section of his work dealing with the reign of Alfred<sup>1</sup>. Since he rewrites the history derived from the Life, as in the case of his other sources<sup>2</sup>, we cannot get much assistance from him in verifying readings, or any light upon the MS. used by him. He does not mention the Life amongst his sources, but this may be accounted for by the fact that he mentions only the continuous histories used by him<sup>3</sup>, passing over in silence the greater number of writers from whom he borrows matter<sup>4</sup>. It is not, however, certain that he did not use Florence of Worcester instead of the Life, for all the matter embodied by him from the latter may be found in the Worcester writer. This renders Stubbs's conclusion that William was unacquainted with the work of Florence<sup>5</sup> difficult to prove, and there is one passage that tells strongly in favour of the view that he used Florence and not the Life. He states<sup>6</sup> that Alfred's wife Egelswitha bore to him Ethelswida, Edward, and the other children named in the Life (c. 75). In the spelling of William's time Egelswitha and Ethelswida both represent one name, O.E. Æthel-swith. The name of Alfred's wife is not given in the Life. Her name was Ealhswith<sup>7</sup>, and Malmesbury

*elevavit*. In c. 70, 11 it has a curious agreement with the Annals of St. Neots.

<sup>1</sup> Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. xvi.

<sup>3</sup> *Prologus*, vol. i. p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Stubbs, *l. c.*, ii. p. xv.

<sup>5</sup> *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. cxxxi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, c. 121 (p. 129).

<sup>7</sup> She is described as the mother of King Edward in Chronicles B, C, and D under 903, where A merely gives her name. She



has either confused this name with Æthelswith, or has substituted the latter, a form more familiar to him. Nothing is known of a daughter of Alfred called Æthelswith or Ealhswith, and Malmesbury's Ethelswida seems to have originated in a misunderstanding by him of Florence's words. The Worcester writer in transcribing c. 75, 2 of the Life added the name of Alfred's wife, his text reading in consequence: 'Nati sunt ergo ei filii et filiae de supradicta coniuge sua Ealhswitha Egelflæd primogenita, post quam Eadward,' &c. Malmesbury has plainly taken Ealhswitha as a nominative, instead of an ablative, and has thus ascribed to the king a daughter of the same name as his wife. He has added to the confusion by substituting the name of this imaginary child for that of Ælfthryth, who married Baldwin of Flanders. Bishop Stubbs suggests that Æthelswith may have been one of the children who are recorded in the Life as dying in their infancy, but he thinks it is more probable that William meant by this name Ælfthryth<sup>1</sup>. The latter is mentioned by him, under the form Elfreda (intended for Elfdreda, an Anglo-Norman spelling of the name), but he makes her, like her sister Æthelgeofu, a nun. This is a violent attempt of his own to find a place for the imaginary daughter Æthelswith—Ealhswith, and to account for Ælfthryth, whom the Life (c. 75, 21) describes as an unmarried daughter living in her father's court. We do not think these errors afford any support for Stubbs's suggestion that Malmesbury may have 'used for this part of the story a more complete copy of

is, we may conclude, the Ealhswith whose death is recorded in all four under 905, and, in error, by B and C also under 902. She is mentioned, without any description, in Alfred's will (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 178, 23, 26), and is described as the mother of Edward the Elder in the Hyde *Liber Vitae*, written *circ.* 1016,

p. 5.

<sup>1</sup> Note to Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, p. 129.

Asser than is now extant<sup>1</sup>. The statement in the Life, that Alfred had three daughters, is corroborated by the evidence of his will<sup>2</sup>. Clear proof that Malmesbury used Florence may be found in his reproduction of part of Florence's encomium of Edward the Elder<sup>3</sup>, the source of which Bishop Stubbs has not recognized. William used the Appendix to Florence, which Stubbs suggests may be an older compilation<sup>4</sup>, but which, if not the work of Florence himself, has been influenced by him<sup>5</sup>. Other proofs of the use of Florence may perhaps be found in the story of King Æthelwulf's diaconate<sup>6</sup>, the account of the rowing of King Edgar upon the Dee by tributary kings<sup>7</sup>, and the narrative of the murder of Bishop Walchere of Durham<sup>8</sup>. The genealogy

<sup>1</sup> Note to Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Carl. Sax.* ii. 178, 13, 25. This double reference to the king's three daughters is a fatal objection to Malmesbury's ascription to him of a fourth, and it precludes any suggestion that the death of Ealhswith, recorded in Chronicles B and C under 902 and 905, refers to the wife and to a daughter of Alfred.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 125 (p. 135); Florence, an. 901.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Regum*, ii. xxi. He has, for instance, the statement that King Sigiberht of East Anglia was brother *ex parte matris* of Eorpweald, c. 97 (p. 97), which is derived from Florence's appendix. Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 15; iii. 18 merely states that Sigiberht was the brother of Eorpweald. There are other traces of copying from Florence in Malmesbury's account of Sigiberht.

<sup>5</sup> See, however, p. 110 below. It uses passages from the Life in the account of Alfred, and adds the name of Alfred's queen, as Florence has done in the body of his work in copying the Life. The Scandinavian form of the name of the people of Götland, *Gouti* = O.N. *Gautar*, O.E. *Gēatas*, is suggestive of a Worcester origin. See below, p. 170, note 4.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. c, note 2. This, however, may be an interpolation from Malmesbury. See below, § 41, and p. 108.

<sup>7</sup> See below, p. 108, note 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 271 (p. 330); *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 132 (p. 271); Florence, an. 1080.

of Alfred's house given by Malmesbury<sup>1</sup> has names that occur in Florence, but not in the Cottonian MS. of the Life. These omissions may, however, have been supplied either from the Chronicle or from one of the numerous copies of the West-Saxon royal pedigree. It is noteworthy that he adds to it matter taken from Æthelweard. The mention of Alfred's *Enchiridion* in the Life (c. 89, 20), which is omitted by Florence, may have been derived by William<sup>2</sup> from the book itself, which was apparently still extant, as the passage in which it occurs is not taken by him from the Life, but is of his own composition. Elsewhere he calls it the King's 'Manualis Liber<sup>3</sup>,' which is the gloss of the Greek word given in the Life. But as the latter word was fairly well known and the gloss is the obvious one, it would be unwise to attach much importance to this agreement with the Life as against Florence.

§ 37. Giraldus Cambrensis, the brilliant, egotistical, and inaccurate Welsh writer of the latter part of the twelfth century, appears to have had access to a copy of the Life. In his 'Life of St. Ethelbert' (King Æthelberht of East Anglia) he quoted as from Asser the account of Eadburh, Offa's daughter (cc. 14, 15), and also cited Asser, *historicus veraxque relator gestorum Regis Alfredi*<sup>4</sup>, as the authority for the statement that King Offa commissioned two bishops

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 116 (p. 120).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* c. 123 (p. 132).

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 188 (p. 333).

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii v, p. 244\* note b, 245\* note c; reprinted in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Brewer, iii. 420, note b, 422; Brompton's Chronicle, in Twysden's *Quindecim Scriptores*, col. 753. Upon Giraldus's Life of Ethelbert Brewer's Preface, p. xlv, may be consulted. It is not certain that the quotation given above comes from Giraldus, but it is improbable that Brompton, who elsewhere displays no first-hand knowledge of the present work, has added it. Possibly the other reference to Asser may have been added by the Bollandists.

to inquire into the miracles alleged to have been performed by St. Ethelbert. Nothing of this appears in the Life of Alfred, and it must, unless it be a figment of Giraldus, come from some other work of Asser's. Unfortunately this work of Giraldus has not come down to us, the copy in Cott. MS. Vitellius E vii having disappeared. A copy of this MS. was sent by Dugdale to the Bollandists, but they printed the Life of Ethelbert from the late compilation bearing the name of John Brompton, and gave parallel passages occasionally from Giraldus. It would seem that the Life in Brompton was derived from that of Giraldus. This reference to Asser as the writer of a Life of King Alfred is the only mediaeval one we have met with, and it is noteworthy as coming from a writer who was closely connected with St. Davids, where Asser was brought up (§ 43).

§ 38. Of other twelfth-century compilers little need be said. Alfred of Beverley has much matter from the Life, but it seems to be taken from Simeon of Durham and Florence of Worcester. Ethelred of Rievaulx derives his matter from Florence or SD 2. Bishop Stubbs has remarked that it is not easy to decide whether the compiler of the *Historia post Bedam*, the twelfth-century compilation from which Roger of Howden derived his extracts from the Life, took all his matter direct from Florence or Simeon, or had also a copy of Asser by him at the same time<sup>1</sup>. The author of the St. Albans compilation, the basis of the chronicles of Roger of Wendover and Matthew of Paris, clearly used Florence and Simeon of Durham. Henry of Huntingdon is the only prominent twelfth-century chronicler who takes no matter directly or indirectly from the Life. All the later compilations, such as the *Flores Historiarum*, Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, Richard of Cirencester's

<sup>1</sup> *Chronica Rogeri de Hoveden*, i. 35.

*Speculum Historiale*, the Malmesbury *Eulogium*, &c., borrow from Howden, the St. Albans writers, or William of Malmesbury, and not from the Life direct.

#### 5. THE AUTHOR. INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE TEXT.

§ 39. Apart from the present work little is known of Bishop Asser, who was, according to the dedication, the author. King Alfred mentions him as *Assere*, *Asserie*, *minum biscepe* (in the dative case), in his preface to the translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, in the preparation of which he was assisted by him<sup>1</sup>. The form *Asserie* agrees with the Latinized *Asserius*, which occurs in later writers. His death as Bishop of Sherborne is recorded in the Chronicle under 910, and in the *Annales Cambriae*, a work closely connected with the diocese of St. Davids, under 908<sup>2</sup>. It is difficult to say which is the correct year. The dates in the *Annales* are occasionally a year earlier than those in the Chronicle, placing, for instance, the death of Æthelflæd in 917 against the 918 of the Chronicle, and the death of Alfred in 900 as against 901 in the Chronicle. Bishop Asser occurs as a witness of charters of Edward the Elder in 900, 902, 903, and 904, but these texts are not free from suspicion<sup>3</sup>. The Wells register preserves a copy of

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Sweet, 6, 21 ; 7, 21. *Asserie* is the reading of the Cotton MS., *Assere* that of the Hatton MS. These are both late ninth-century MSS.

<sup>2</sup> This portion of the *Annales* seems to have been composed about 950. See Mr. Phillimore's excellent article and text in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 144.

<sup>3</sup> Pauli, *König Ælfred und seine Stelle in der Geschichte Englands*, Berlin, 1851, p. 6, states that Asser subscribes until 909, but there is no proof of this beyond Kemble's assignment of no. 1087 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 262, a portion of which is preserved in the early eleventh century *Liber Vitae* of Hyde Abbey, p. 155) to 901-9, the earlier date being fixed by its being witnessed by King Edward and the later by the death of Bishop Denewulf in 909. The charters in which Bishop Asser occurs as a



a grant by King Edward to Asser, Bishop of Sherborne, of lands in Somerset in exchange for the monastery of Plympton, which is possibly genuine<sup>1</sup>. From the Chronicle we know that he was Bishop of Sherborne, and this is confirmed by the occurrence of his name in the old lists of bishops of that see<sup>2</sup>. The dates of the consecration and death of his predecessor Wulfsige (who appears as Alfsige in Florence's list) are unknown. A Bishop Wulfsige witnesses a charter of 889 in Heming's Worcester chartulary, which we are inclined to think is genuine<sup>3</sup>. He also occurs

witness are in 900, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 235, 22; 241, 13; 247, 32; 249, 41; in 901, *ib.* 232, 36; 251, 28; in 903, *ib.* 253, 30; in 904, *ib.* 261, 26; 262, 27; 269, 11, 31; 271, 32; 275, 32. It is not certain that any of these texts are genuine, as no contemporary charters of Edward are in existence. The texts cited above come principally from suspicious sources, the Hyde, Winchester, and Wilton chartularies. But the text at 247 is preserved in a copy written about the beginning of the eleventh century, and a portion of that at 262 is preserved, as stated above, in a copy written about 1016. Bishop Asser is alleged to have drawn up a charter the attestation clause of which is preserved in the Athelney chartulary, p. 126, Somersetshire Record Society. It is evidently spurious.

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 268-9. The fact that it is an exchange of a monastery is in favour of its antiquity. Part of its proem agrees with the texts of Æthelwulf's donation, all of which are suspicious. The Bath charter of 1061 (*Codex Diplomaticus*, iv. 150), is clearly modelled upon this grant to Asser, and is probably spurious.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliquiae Antiquae*, ed. Wright and Halliwell, London, 1841-5, ii. 170 (*circ.* 990); the Hyde *Liber Vitae*, p. 20 (*c.* 1016); Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, i. 237.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 201, 22. Heming is generally of a high character, but he has included a few spurious charters in his collection, so that his evidence is not quite so valuable as that of the *Textus Roffensis*. In the present charter the language is of the highly rhetorical nature to which we are accustomed in tenth-century charters, and indeed, some of the formulas occur in texts of that period. Cf. 200, 4 sqq. with 531, 2, 5, and the anathema agrees with that at 488, 29; 522, 8; 531, 26; 533, 20; 557, 7; iii. 26, 33; 105, 25. But as portions of formulas of earlier date than this reappear in tenth-century charters, these agree-

as a witness to a spurious charter of 892<sup>1</sup> and, as Ulfricus, Wlfricg, to a spurious undated Malmesbury charter<sup>2</sup>. King Alfred in his will, which may be dated between 873 and 888<sup>3</sup>, bequeaths a hundred mancusses each to Bishop Esne, Bishop Wærferth, 'and to him at Sherborne.' It is possible that Asser is the bishop meant<sup>4</sup>, for he and Wærferth were

ments are capable of being explained as survivals or imitations of earlier formulas. Against this may be placed the presence in this text of earlier features, which are usually absent from forged texts, such as *in ecclesiasticum ius conscribimus*, 200, 28, an early phrase, the mention of roboration *propriis manibus subscripserunt*, one of the most ancient phrases in the O.E. charters, the exhortation to succeeding generations to observe the charter, the title *rex Anglorum et Saxonum* (see note to Dedication of present work), and, generally, the absence in the body of the charter of ordinary formulas commonly known and used by forgers. The charter is drawn up on the model of Mercian ones, not on West-Saxon lines.

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 209, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 210, 19. Both forms are miscopied for *Wulfsige* owing to the resemblance of O.E. *ȝ* (*s*) to the later forms of *r*.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 178, 33. The date 880-5 assigned by Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* ii. 112, and repeated by Birch, and Earle, *Land Charters*, p. 144, seems to have no support. The will was dated by Manning, *The Will of King Alfred*, Oxford, 1788, p. 14, note *n*, between the king's accession in 871 and 885, 'when Esne died.' The latter is an error due to Bishop Godwin's assignment of the death of Esne, bishop of Hereford, to that year, instead of 787 or 788. The will, however, is later than 873, the date of the consecration of Bishop Wærferth of Worcester, and before the death of Archbishop Æthered of Canterbury, which is recorded in the Chronicle under 888, in which year also the death of Æthelwold, a legate in the will, is recorded. It is probably earlier than 884-5 (see note to c. 77, 10). The king states that he had made a previous will, since the making of which the number of his kinsmen had been reduced (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 179, 9). As the name of Esne does not occur in any of the lists of bishops of this time, Stubbs has been led to suggest that the name is an interpolation in the text of the will (*Dict. of Christian Biography*), the oldest copy of which dates from the early part of the eleventh century.

<sup>4</sup> Parker in the Latin version of Alfred's will at the end of his edition of the Life reads *Assero, episcopo de Schireburn*, which

literary assistants of the king, and the bequest is of a large sum. The omission from the will of any mention of Plegmund is, however, difficult to reconcile with this identification of the Bishop of Sherborne<sup>1</sup>. Bishop Esne is otherwise unknown.

§ 40. A later writer, William of Malmesbury, tells us that Asser explained to the king the difficult passages in Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, and that the king made his translation from this simplified version<sup>2</sup>. The king in his preface to his version states that he had rendered the work sometimes word for word, sometimes by paraphrase, making no mention of Asser's assistance<sup>3</sup>. Malmesbury's account of Asser's share in the work agrees curiously with the statements in the Life that the author read and interpreted to the king<sup>4</sup>. What grounds Malmesbury may have had for his statement it is now impossible

is repeated by Camden and Wise. But as the first two words are absent from the Latin version in the *Liber de Hyda*, with which Parker's text agrees, it would seem that we have here another of Parker's wanton falsifications of historical texts.

<sup>1</sup> See note to c. 77, 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 122 (p. 131) 'Habebat ex Sancto Dewi Asserionem quendam, scientia non ignobili instructum, quem Scireburniae fecit episcopum. Hic sensum librorum Boetii *De Consolatione* (*Philosophiae*) planioribus verbis enodavit, quos rex ipse in Anglicam linguam vertit'; *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 80 (p. 177) 'Asserus, ex Sancto Dewi evocatus, non usquequaque contempnendae scientiae fuit, qui librum Boetii *De Consolatione Philosophiae* planioribus verbis elucidavit, labore illius diebus necessario nostris ridiculo. Sed enim iussu regis factum est, ut levius ab eodem in Anglicum transferretur sermonem.' These words hardly justify the belief that Asser was the author of the Latin commentaries on Boethius used by the king, as pointed out by Dr. Schepss. See Sedgfield's edition of Alfred's version, Oxford, 1899, p. xxxv.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Sedgfield, p. 1 'Ælfred Kuning wæs wealhstod ðisse bec. . . . Hwilum he sette word be worde, hwilum andgit of andgite' (King Alfred was the translator of this book. . . . Sometimes he rendered it word for word, sometimes sense by sense).

<sup>4</sup> cc. 81, 10; 87-89. Cf. also c. 77, 20.

to say. He was acquainted with the king's hand-book<sup>1</sup>, but we know too little of the nature of the contents of this work to affirm or deny the possibility of its containing information regarding Asser's share in the learned labours of Alfred.

§ 41. The MSS. of Florence of Worcester contain under the year 883 the statement that in that year Swithelm, who, it says, bore Alfred's alms to India, succeeded to the see of Sherborne upon the death of Asser. It is evident that this strange entry has grown out of the mention in some MSS. of the Chronicle of the sending of alms by the king to India in 883 by Sighelm and Æthelstan<sup>2</sup>. The passage is clearly one of the interpolations in Florence's text derived from William of Malmesbury<sup>3</sup>. The latter appears to have identified Sighelm with the Bishop of Sherborne of that name, *circ.* 926 to 933, and to have inserted him between Asser and Æthelweard, omitting him from his real place<sup>4</sup>. The Worcester interpolator seems to have miswritten the name as Swithelm, to have concluded that Sighelm was bishop at the time of the alleged mission, and that consequently Asser must have died before the date of the mission, which he derived from the Chronicle. Yet the list of bishops in the Appendix to Florence has three names between Asser and Sighelm, and the name of Swithelm does not appear. There can be no question of setting up this evidence against that of the Chronicle and the *Annales Cambriae*, and we need not hesitate to reject it with Pauli and Hardy as a blunder<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See page 153, below.

<sup>2</sup> See below, note to c. 65.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 108.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 80 (p. 177); *Gesta Regum*, c. 122 (p. 130). In Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale*, ii. 21, Asser himself becomes one of the envoys to India.

<sup>5</sup> *König Ælfred*, p. 6; *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 78; *Descriptive Catalogue*, i. 552.



§ 42. The name Asser, although not of Celtic origin<sup>1</sup>, is met with in Welsh documents, and it is not found in use in England<sup>2</sup>. An Asser witnesses after Cyfeiliog, Bishop of Llandaff, amongst the *clerici* a grant by King Howel ap Rhys<sup>3</sup>, who died in 885<sup>4</sup>. Mr. Phillimore suggests to us that this may be the author of the Life, and it is by no means improbable. We find him, apparently, in this district about this year<sup>5</sup>. A little earlier an *Asser filius Marchiud* occurs in the same locality<sup>6</sup>. A *Gulcet filius Asser* is mentioned in the time of William the Conqueror<sup>7</sup>, and a grandson of another Asser also appears in the same notice<sup>8</sup>. An *Asser mab Riderch*

<sup>1</sup> The St. Asarius of the calendar of saints seems to have arisen in some way through confusion between St. Macarius and St. Asterius, prelates from Palestine and Arabia who were concerned with the council of Sardica in 347. See Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus*, Paris, 1740, iii. 667; *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii iv. 11. It is unlikely that the Welsh name can be derived from these obscure eastern saints.

<sup>2</sup> It must be distinguished from the later English name Asser, which is occasionally found, as e.g. Asser de Prestdive, co. Derby, in the Pipe Roll, 28 Edward I, roll 15. This is an English development from the Old Norse name *Qzurr*, adapted into O.E. under the form *Atzur*, which already appears as *Atser* in the eleventh century in Heming's Worcester Chartulary, p. 269. This Atser, a kinsman and chamberlain of Bishop Brihteah of Worcester, is called *Assere* in the Evesham Chronicle, p. 97, but appears as *Azor* in Domesday, i. 174, col. 1; 175, col. 2. Similarly the *Asserus filii Tolrii* (= Toki?) of the Latin version of a deed of 1049-52 preserved in Matthew Paris, *Additamenta*, p. 30 (= Kemble, *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 285, 18), who is probably identical with the Worcestershire landowner last mentioned, clearly bore the O.N. name.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, ed. Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1893, p. 236, 29.

<sup>4</sup> *Annales Cambriae*. His death, however, is referred to 894 in the Gwentian Brut (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, series 3, x, p. 18, quoted in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 207).

<sup>5</sup> See note to c. 79, 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, 223, 21.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 276, 18; 277, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 277, 8.



was living about the same time<sup>1</sup>. Giraldus Cambrensis mentions a canon of St. Davids of this name, a supporter of his<sup>2</sup>. It is possible that the hamlet of Tref Asser, in the parish of Llanwnda, Pembrokeshire, where the author of the Life is said to have been born, really derives its name from this canon.

§ 43. From the Life itself we learn that the author was a relative (*propinquus*) of Nobis, Bishop of St. Davids (c. 79, 57), who died in 873<sup>3</sup>, and that he was nurtured, taught, tonsured, and ordained in the western parts of Wales (c. 79, 16). This clearly refers to St. Davids, as it was for that monastery and diocese that he, by the counsel of his colleagues, desired Alfred's protection against the attacks of Hemeid, the King of Dyfed (Pembrokeshire and part of Carmarthenshire), who had expelled Bishop Nobis and the author from it (c. 79, 58). In the latter passage he seems to include himself amongst the bishops (*antistites*). His name appears amongst the Bishops of St. Davids<sup>4</sup>, but Bishop Stubbs would explain this as meaning that he was a monk, not bishop, of St. Davids, and that he was Bishop of Sherborne<sup>5</sup>. The author states in his confused way that he was sent for by King Alfred *his temporibus* (c. 79, 1), which is usually taken to mean

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, 279, 24.

<sup>2</sup> *De iure et statu Menevensis ecclesiae*, distinctio iv. (*Opera*, iii. 214).

<sup>3</sup> *Annales Cambriae*, ed. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 166. Whether this is the same person as Nobis, Bishop of Llandaff, it is impossible to decide. The date of the latter, so far as it can be deduced from the notices in the *Liber Landavensis*, would seem to offer no obstacle to the identification of the two, and the name is a very uncommon one. Some little support for the theory of the identity may perhaps be derived from the occurrence of the name of Asser in the diocese of Llandaff (§ 42), since the author of the Life has described himself as a *propinquus* of Nobis.

<sup>4</sup> *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 77; *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii. 551.

<sup>5</sup> *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, ed. 2, p. 217.

884<sup>1</sup>, the last date mentioned by him in the annalistic portion of the work. It is however uncertain whether he means that he came to the king in 884, or whether he mentions his visit to the king in connexion with the coming of the other scholars concerned in the revival of learning under the auspices of Alfred. He expressly states, in c. 73, that he is breaking off from the annalistic portion of his work, and he goes back from there to the king's wedding (c. 74), which occurred in 868 (c. 29), and in c. 77, 10 he mentions the participation of Archbishop Plegmund, whom the king had attracted from Mercia, in Alfred's efforts. It was not till 890 that Plegmund was made Archbishop, but it is probable that he was with the king some time before he became primate<sup>2</sup>. Bishop Stubbs has remarked that 'Alfred's revival of learning seems distinctly to have begun under Archbishop Plegmund<sup>3</sup>,' and he has assigned the arrival of Grimbald, whom the author of the Life mentions in the chapter preceding the account of his own first visit to the king, to 892 or later<sup>4</sup>. Thus if any attention is to be paid to the sequence of the narrative, the author's arrival would have to be placed in 892 or later. Yet he records that the king began to read and interpret with him in 887 (c. 87 sqq.). We have here a good instance of the confused order in which he writes. He was conducted to the king at *Denu*, in Sussex<sup>5</sup> (c. 79, 7). The king desired him

<sup>1</sup> Really 885, the events of that year being merged with those of 884, possibly owing to a scribal error in the Cottonian MS.

<sup>2</sup> See note to c. 77, 10.

<sup>3</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* See, however, note to c. 78, 4, within.

<sup>5</sup> Probably East or West Dean, near Seaford. It is noteworthy that the early thirteenth-century 'Proverbs of Alfred' represent the king as presiding over a meeting of bishops, earls, thanes, and others (a *witena-gemōt*) at Sevorde (ed. Morris, *An Old English Miscellany*, Early English Text Society, p. 102). These proverbs are seemingly of older date than this text, for Æthelred of Rievaulx says, in his account of Alfred, 'extant parabolae eius plurimum habentes aedificationis, sed et

to remain in his service, but, upon his demurring to this, suggested that he should remain half of each year with him, spending the other half in Wales (ll. 10-23). On his journey homewards to consult his colleagues he was stricken down with fever in *Wintonia civitate*, and suffered from it for a year and a week (line 33). This has usually been taken to refer to Winchester, and doubts have been thrown upon the authenticity of a work that could say that the writer lay ill in the capital<sup>1</sup> for so long a period without the king's knowledge. Here again it seems to us that a forger would not have committed such a stupid blunder as this. The explanation of the passage seems to be that *Wintonia civitas* is not Winchester but Caerwent, which was on his way to St. Davids<sup>2</sup>. On his recovery, with the counsel and licence of all the inmates of St. Davids (*nostrī omnes*), he agreed to the proposed arrangement, in the hope of enlisting the king's support for St. Davids. He then details his second visit to the king (c. 81, 9), which was protracted to eight months, during which he read and explained to the king such books as he wished (line 10). With difficulty he obtained leave to return home (line 15), and the king conferred upon him, on Christmas eve, the monasteries of Congresbury and Banwell, with other gifts (line 22). At a later time Alfred bestowed upon him Exeter and its diocese in Saxony and Cornwall (line 30). We may assume that the author then relinquished his half-yearly sojourn in Wales. Beyond this he tells us nothing about himself, except the mention of his assistance to the king in his studies (c. 88 sqq.). The king, we are told, began to read and interpret in 887 (c. 87), at Martinmas (c. 89, 14).

venustatis et iocunditatis' (apud Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 355).

<sup>1</sup> It is an anachronism to speak of a capital in the ninth century.

<sup>2</sup> See note to this passage.

Beyond this year the chronological portion is not continued, and there are no indications of later dates except the statement that the king suffered from a bodily affliction from his twentieth to his fortieth year and after (c. 74, 9), i. e. after 888 (according to the author's method of reckoning the years), and the statement that the king suffered from illness until his forty-fifth year (c. 74, 63), in which year c. 91, 4, was written. This would fix the date of the composition in 893. The work finishes in an abrupt manner.

§ 44. Throughout the *Life* the author speaks as a contemporary, and he occasionally cites men from whom he derived his information. The king is quoted as his authority in c. 13, 31; and he reports sayings of his in cc. 24, 9; 25, 3; 76, 41; 88, 29; 106, 32. With his own eyes he saw that the king always carried about with him his handbook (c. 24, 4; cf. 88, 6) and that he was a skilful huntsman (c. 22, 19). He states that he saw Alfred's mother-in-law a few years before her death (c. 29, 9), and that he had seen a 'pagan' boy-monk at Athelney (c. 94, 9). He mentions that certain men had informed him of Abbot John's acquaintance with the art of war (c. 97, 11), and he cites the evidence of men who had been present at the battle of Ashdown (c. 37, 14). The character of King Æthelbald he gives upon the authority of informants (c. 12, 15)<sup>1</sup>. From eye-witnesses he derived the account of Eadburh's begging in the streets of Pavia (c. 15, 24), a city frequented by the English pilgrims on the road to Rome. His knowledge of Berkshire, where the king had large estates, appears in his mention of the abundant growth of box in Berroc wood (c. 1, 4), and in his statement that he had seen the thorn-tree growing on the battle-field of Ashdown (c. 39, 6). The situation of the fortress of Cynuit in Devon is described from personal know-

<sup>1</sup> Compare also c. 13, 18.

ledge (c. 54, 13). This would be in his diocese. His description of the position of Wareham (c. 49, 8) is probably also from his own observation<sup>1</sup>. He describes the geographical position of London (c. 4, 4), Surrey (c. 5, 2), Wilton (c. 42, 18), Chippenham (c. 52, 4) Cirencester (c. 57, 5), Fulham (c. 58, 4), Athelney (c. 92, 10), and Rochester (c. 66, 6). In the case of the Isle of Sheppey (c. 3, 7), he states that there was a monastery in it.

§ 45. Of Wales his knowledge seems to have been larger<sup>2</sup>. This is fully in accordance with his character as a Welshman. In c. 80 he mentions the Welsh kings of his time, and, so far as the scanty Welsh records of this time go, he makes no mistake in regard to them. This chapter alone is a very strong argument in favour of the authenticity of the work. It is impossible that an imaginary twelfth-century English forger (§§ 69, 78) could have written this chapter without betraying himself into some grievous error, and it is questionable whether any Welshman of that period could have got together so accurately the names of these ninth-century rulers of Wales. Mr. Bradshaw has already remarked that the Welsh words in the Life 'are of such unmistakable purity, that it is an absolute impossibility that the work can be a forgery of the twelfth century<sup>3</sup>.' Professor Rhys, who has examined the names for us, agrees with this pronouncement. He states that he should date these forms

<sup>1</sup> Possibly also that of Reading (c. 35, 10), and of Shaftesbury (c. 98, 1).

<sup>2</sup> The reference to Offa's Dyke, c. 14, 3, is probably to be ascribed to his local knowledge of Wales, and not to information gleaned by him in England.

<sup>3</sup> *Collected Papers*, Cambridge, 1889, p. 467. The Welsh names used by the author are, in addition to those cited in the next section, *Degui* (c. 79, 52, 56), *Hemeid* (cc. 79, 54; 80, 2), *Nobis* (c. 79, 57), *Demetica regio* (cc. 54, 2; 80, 4), *Rotri* (c. 80, 5, 12, 13), *Houil* (line 6), *Ris* (ib.), *Gleguising* (ib.), *Brochmail* (ib.), *Fernmail* (line 7), *Mouric* (ib.), *Guent* (ib.), *Helised* (line 10), *Teudubr* (line 11), *Brecheniauc* (ib.), *Anaraut* (line 13).



between about the middle of the ninth and that of the tenth century. It therefore seems clear that the writer of this work, in addition to his accurate knowledge of Welsh history of the ninth century, uses accurately Welsh of that period. To do this must surely have been beyond the power of any forger, more especially an English one, of the twelfth century. The statement that the Danes came to Devon from Dyfed (c. 54, 2) is another proof of acquaintance with events in South Wales.

§ 46. Further evidence of the Welsh origin of the author may be found in the Welsh names given by him to places in England. Thus he tells us that Exeter was called in the British tongue *Cairuuisc* (c. 49, 23), Cirencester *Cairceri* (c. 57, 5), Dorchester *Durngueir* (c. 49, 7). These are the regular Welsh descendants of the Old Celtic forms recorded in the Roman names of these cities. *Cairceri* may have been derived from the list of cities added to the *Historia Britonum* (Nennius), but the other two do not occur in it. In addition he gives us the British names of Selwood *Coit Maur* (c. 55, 8), and of Nottingham *Tigguocobauc* (c. 30, 3), which are elsewhere otherwise unknown<sup>1</sup>, and he uses Welsh forms of English river names. Thus the Wiley is the *Guilou* (c. 42, 19), the Frome is the *Frauu* (c. 49, 6), the Exe the *Uuisc* (c. 49, 24), the Wiltshire Avon the *Abon* (c. 52, 5). Of these the first three show specific Welsh developments in form that are later than the time when these names were taken over into English. It would not be difficult for a Welshman to recognize the Welsh *Abon* in the O.E. *Æfen*, but the variations

<sup>1</sup> The explanations of the meaning of local names should probably also be regarded as a Welsh trait. Giraldus Cambrensis in such phrases as 'Ridhelic, quod Britannice Vadum Salicis, Anglice vero nunc Wiliford, dicitur' (*Itinerarium Cambriae, Opera*, vi. 165) curiously resembles the expressions of the author of the *Life*.

between the English and Welsh forms of the other names are too great to be reconciled in this way, and we must therefore conclude that they were derived from Celtic-speaking people. It may be argued that these forms might have come from a Cornish author<sup>1</sup>, but the intimate knowledge of Wales displayed in the work supports the writer's statement that he came from Wales. The British name of the Isle of Thanet *Ruim* (c. 9, 4) may have been derived from Nennius. It is possible that we have also a Celtic form in *Cynuit* (c. 54, 6). A clear proof of the Celtic origin of the writer is afforded by his use of *dexterális* for 'south' (cc. 35, 10; 79, 4; 80, 2), a literal translation of the Welsh *deheu* 'south, right hand.' Similarly *sinistralis* for 'northern' (cc. 52, 4; 79, 11) represents the Old Welsh *clod* 'north,' Modern Welsh *clodd* 'left (hand),' *go-gledd* 'north.' He uses Welsh spellings of English names in *Geguis*, O.E. *Gewisse* (c. 1, 18), *Guihtgara*, O.E. *Wihthara* (c. 2, 11).

§ 47. It is in accordance with his character as a Welshman that we find evidence of imperfect knowledge of O.E. grammar. Thus he occasionally misunderstands the O.E. of the Chronicle<sup>2</sup>, and he takes over O.E. case-endings that are out of place in a Latin version. He uses O.E. datives singular as nominatives or accusatives<sup>3</sup>, and nominatives as genitives<sup>4</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the spurious Glastonbury charter of 682 'iuxta collem, qui dicitur Britannica lingua *Cructan*, apud nos *Crycbeorh*' (*Cart. Sax.* i. 97, 24).

<sup>2</sup> See notes to cc. 18, 5; 56, 26; 62, 3; 66, 13; 83, 5. The error at c. 49, 20 appears to be due to the copyist and not to the author.

<sup>3</sup> *Aclea*, c. 5, 6; *Æglea*, c. 55, 17; *Cippanhamme*, c. 9, 12; *Exanceastre*, cc. 49, 22; 52, 3; 81, 28; *Cirrenceastre*, cc. 57, 4; 60, 3; *Hrofesceastre*, c. 66, 6. The final *-e* in such forms as *-scire* (c. 1, 4); *Grantebrycge* (c. 47, 11), may possibly be due to Parker's transcriber (see above, p. xvii, note 2). Æthelweard similarly uses *Aclea* as nominative (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 511 D, 514 E).

<sup>4</sup> *Stuf* and *Wihthgar*, c. 2, 6.

ablatives<sup>1</sup>. In the case of the datives plural of the names of people and towns, he treats them as nominatives or accusatives<sup>2</sup>. In one case he substitutes the accusative plural *Basengas* (c. 40, 5) for the dative plural of the Chronicle. Faulty knowledge of O.E. is also responsible for the erroneous translation of *Æsces-dun* as 'mons fraxini' (c. 37, 3).

§ 48. The only hints suggestive of any knowledge of the continent are the mention of the monastery at Condé (c. 65, 6), the description of Charles as *rex Alamannorum* and of his election (c. 70), the situation of the Seine and Paris and the siege of the latter (c. 82), and the statement that Chézy was a *villa regia* (c. 84, 11). The description of the southern portion of the North Sea and the English Channel as the 'marinus sinus, qui inter Antiquos Saxones et Gallos adiacet' (c. 70, 4), which the Chronicle simply calls 'this sea,' is noteworthy in this connexion. The language of the work also shows continental influence (§ 58), and the time of day given for the eclipse in c. 59 seems to be derived from observation in Flanders or North Germany. The author nowhere mentions how he learnt English. If he was acquainted with Old Saxon or Flemish, he would not have experienced much difficulty in understanding English. He refers to German customs in c. 13, 29.

§ 49. The object of the work is referred to upon two occasions only. In the first instance the author states that his principal aim was to put on record as much as he knew of the infancy and boyhood of Alfred (c. 21, 13). In c. 73 he defines his purpose as that of recounting the life, manners, conversation,

<sup>1</sup> *Cerdic* and *Cynric*, c. 2, 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Seaxum*, cc. 3, 8, 10; 4, 6, 7; 79, 5. In c. 69, 3 he uses the dat. plural of the Chronicle as a gen. plural. The *Seaxam* of c. 18, 5 seems to be an alteration of Parker's from *Seaxum*. Æthelweard occasionally uses *sætum* and *Defenum* as either indeclinable or as genitives.

and, to some extent, the history of the king. The variation between the two statements is due to the confused style of the author (§ 56). He seems to refer to c. 21 in the *ut promisi* of c. 73, 10, although there is no promise there or anywhere else<sup>1</sup>. The work is dedicated to the king. Notwithstanding this he speaks of England and the English as if he were addressing his own countrymen. They are *illa gens* (cc. 1, 17; 42, 36; 93, 7, 13), their country is *illa regio* (c. 93, 9), where the pronoun is used as a demonstrative, not as a mere article as it became in the Romanic languages. Cf. also *eiusdem gentis* (c. 79, 6). The *nostro more* of c. 54, 9, would seem to refer to the Welsh. Wessex he calls *Saxonia* (cc. 12, 21, 22; 14, 29), which is in accordance with Welsh usages and not with English. He is more interested in the spiritual side of life than the secular (c. 16, 12), as one might expect from his profession.

§ 50. The form chosen by the author for his work is certainly a remarkable one. He begins abruptly, after the dedication, by giving the birth and genealogy of his hero. He then takes up the Chronicle from that time and renders it into Latin. Into this he inserts the account of the rising against Æthelwulf upon his return from Rome (c. 12), which was instigated by a Bishop of Sherborne, and would therefore possess some interest for a later bishop of that see. He then records, on the authority of Alfred, Eadburh's crimes and death (cc. 13-15); next he relates the

<sup>1</sup> This seems a more probable explanation of the *ut promisi* than Lingard's view that it refers to a promise made by the writer to his brethren at St. Davids (*History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, London, 1845, ii. 421). It is possible that the author sent a copy to St. Davids, where it may have been seen by Giraldus Cambrensis (§ 37), but it is difficult to believe that the brethren of St. Davids were sufficiently interested in the personal history of the king to exact a promise from Asser to compose a biography of their distant protector. It is hardly credible that the *ut promisi* can refer to c. 16, 17.

provisions made by Æthelwulf in his will (c. 16). He then resumes the translation of the Chronicle, which he abruptly deserts in c. 21 in order to tell us what he knew of Alfred's childhood (cc. 22-25). The following ten chapters are derived from the Chronicle, the translation of which he interrupts in order to relate what he had learnt about the Battle of Ashdown (cc. 36-9). He follows the Chronicle from here to c. 53, adding occasionally somewhat to its matter. In c. 54 he deals at length with the battle of Cynuit, which is briefly mentioned, though not by name, in the Chronicle. That work supplies his material from here to the end of c. 72, when he states that he now returns to the object of his work, that is, to give an account of Alfred's life and manners. He recurs to the Chronicle at cc. 82-6. The remaining twenty chapters are biographical, and are not derived from any source known to us.

§ 51. This curious mixture of chronicle and biography has exposed the work to much adverse criticism (§§ 62, 76). But even if the work were unique in character, this arrangement would not condemn it as spurious. It has also been objected that it is an unparalleled circumstance that the author wrote the book before the king's death and did not complete it. A ready parallel for this may be found in the *Encomium Emmae*, which was written during her lifetime<sup>1</sup>. A closer parallel exists in the *Life of Ludwig the Pious* by Thegan, which was written in the emperor's lifetime, and was not continued to his death. This author, like our own, drew up his work partly on annalistic lines, began with the genealogy

<sup>1</sup> Another parallel is to be found in the Latin verse life of King Æthelstan quoted by Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 132 sqq., which, he tells us, was written during the king's lifetime. Æthelweard, it may be remembered, carried his Chronicle down to the death of Edgar in 973, although he lived until 998 (*Crawford Charters*, p. 118).



of the emperor's house, and vaunted the superiority of the younger son over the elder ones (c. 3). He also uses the imperfect and past tenses in speaking of the emperor's figure, habits, &c. (c. 19). Yet this work was undoubtedly written before the death of Louis, and is free from any suspicion of spuriousness. Another Frankish work that may also be cited is the *Life of Ludwig* by the unknown author described as the 'Astronomer.' This was written after the death of the emperor, and is, like the present work, highly rhetorical. It agrees also with the *Life of Alfred* in deriving the chronological backbone of the work from the annals, in this case the Frankish imperial annals, which are amplified and, even more than in our author, corrupted and confused. Like the *Life of Alfred* it gives an account of the childhood of the hero, but this is derived from the monk Adhemar, who was brought up with Ludwig. It is certainly noteworthy that among the scanty list of royal biographies of the ninth century that of Alfred should find two such close parallels in a country so intimately connected with Britain as Frankland. That the author of the *Life* should have taken these Frankish biographies as his models is by no means improbable, for there are suggestions of an acquaintance with the empire in the few instances of local knowledge given in § 48; there is stronger evidence in the language in which the work is written (§ 58); and, finally, there is evidence that he was acquainted with the greatest of the Frankish biographies, the *Life of Charles the Great* by Einhard. In c. 73 he adapts to his own purpose the language of the preface of this famous work<sup>1</sup>, and in the following chapters we can perceive some indications that the order of his biographical matter has been influenced by that in Einhard. It is

<sup>1</sup> A phrase is also adapted from it in c. 21, 15. Possibly the phrase *eo amplius* is also borrowed (§ 56).

to be regretted that he did not, like Einhard, give us a description of his hero's appearance. Possibly his Latinity was unequal to this task, for so good a scholar as Einhard was compelled to depict the character and person of the great emperor by means of a patchwork of phrases drawn from Suetonius's life of Augustus. It may be that this was reserved for a later part of the work, as in Einhard, where it comes just before the account of the death of Charles, and that this was never written. The author of the Life is much more accurate than Einhard in his historical details (§ 62).

§ 52. The fact that the Life relates nothing later than 887, although it was written in 893 (§ 43), and although the author survived the death of his hero in 899 by nine or ten years, has also brought condemnation upon the work. But, as we have seen, the work of Thegan, the authenticity of which is unquestioned, is open to the same objection, and we cannot therefore attach much weight to it in the present case. It has been suggested that the author worked from a copy of the Chronicle that had been brought down to 887 only<sup>1</sup>, but it is possible that he omitted the annals after that year on account of their unimportant nature. In 893, according to the chronology of the Chronicle, the Danish attacks upon England recommenced, but it was not until the next year that anything beyond the capture of a small fort in Kent is recorded. The Chronicle seems to be a year in advance of the real date hereabouts, but if we reduce these dates by one year there would still remain the possibility that the author might have written this work in 893 before

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, London, 1842, i. 409; Hardy, *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 78, note 13; *Descriptive Catalogue*, i. 550; Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. xv; Ernst Grubitz, *Kritische Untersuchung über die angelsächsichen Annalen bis zum Jahre 893*, Göttingen, 1868, pp. 32-3.

the news of the king's laborious and successful campaign reached him in his distant diocese. The years from 887 to 892 were years of quiet, which is reflected by the triviality of the entries in the Chronicle. It is precisely in these peaceful, uneventful years that the writer's intimacy with the king is placed. The last few years of Alfred's life were equally quiet, and a later forger would be at least as likely to place his imaginary intimacy with the king in those years. By so doing he would have been able to include in his work the most brilliant achievements of his hero. Of the encomiastic nature of the work, whether genuine or spurious, there can be no doubt. We may therefore recognize in this silence as to the great events of 893-4 evidence in favour of the authenticity of the work.

§ 53. It has been suggested by Prof. Pauli that the Latin annals embedded in this work may reproduce an earlier contemporaneous series of memoranda written in Latin, and that the Chronicle is translated from this hypothetical Latin work<sup>1</sup>. Whatever basis

<sup>1</sup> *König Ælfred*, p. 6. So also Stubbs, preface to *Roger of Howden*, i. xc. Cf. Lingard, *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 423. Stubbs, preface to Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, ii. xxi, cxxviii, suggests that it is 'possible, and even probable, that there was a Latin version of the Chronicle which formed the basis of the work of Florence of Worcester and Simeon of Durham.' Mr. Plummer also expresses his inclination to the view that the author of the Life and Florence took the annals for this view are that 'though Florence is as a rule briefer than Asser, yet he has here and there phrases which are not in the latter, e.g. *sui patris rogatu* i. 74 (c. 8, 5), *in sancta . . . solennitate ib.* 103' (c. 87, 3). As c. 87 is not represented at all in the Chronicle, it is not a part of the hypothetical Latin annals but of the Life, and the words referred to by Mr. Plummer are simply taken by Florence from c. 89, 14, and are not derived by him from any other source or added by him. The only other ground given is at ii. 97, where Florence has *rediret* instead of the *dormiret* of the Cottonian MS. of the Life (c. 67, 9). It

there may be for assuming a Latin original behind the Chronicle at an earlier period<sup>1</sup>, there seems to us to be no reason for doubting that the author of the Life translated direct from the Chronicle. The evidences of mistranslations of the O.E. of the latter work, and the presence of case-endings that can only be explained as being derived from something written in O.E. (§ 47), and the phrases *loco funeris dominati sunt* and *victoriam accipientes* for 'gaining a victory' are even stronger proofs that an O.E. original lies at the back of the Latin annals of the present work. These phrases are too literal translations of O.E. phrases that are commonly used in the Chronicle<sup>2</sup>. The forms *Iuthitta*, *Iuthitha* for *Fudith* (cc. 11, 11; 13, 8; 17, 5; 70, 7) also point to the use of an O.E. original. The use of such Welsh expressions as *sinistralis* for north (§ 46), and the occurrence of the author's characteristic *suatim utens* (c. 56, 18) may be explained away as occurring in phrases added by him

would seem that he has in this corrected the Life by the aid of the Chronicle (§ 33). The *sui patris rogatu* added by him in c. 8, 5 are hardly sufficient to support the conclusion hinted at by Mr. Plummer. So far from Florence using an independent source for these Latin annals, it seems from his reproduction of the errors in the Cottonian MS. of the Life that he actually used this very MS. (§ 25 sqq.). The blunder in c. 49, 20, which Florence has made worse by adding the word *rex*, is a strong argument in favour of the view that he took his annals from the Life, and the presence in his text of the British names of places is further proof of this. The omission of the mention of Torksey in c. 45 by Florence suggests that he copied from the Life and not from the Chronicle or its hypothetical Latin original.

<sup>1</sup> There is, of course, clear evidence of the use in the earlier part of the Chronicle of the Latin *Recapitulatio* at the end of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, but no evidence of the existence of Latin annals for Alfred's time has ever been produced, and from the fact of the author of the Life making his own Latin version from the Chronicle direct we may conclude that he was ignorant of any such Latin original or version of the Chronicle.

<sup>2</sup> See note to c. 5, 13.

to the Latin annals, but the presence of the Celtic *per gronnosa loca* to render the *on morfastenum* of the Chronicle (c. 53, 3) cannot be so easily disposed of. Moreover this hypothesis of the existence of Latin annals of this time is faced by the difficulty that the three writers who independently copy these Latin annals into their own chronicles, and who undoubtedly elsewhere copy the Life (§§ 33-5), Florence of Worcester, the compiler of the first part of Simeon of Durham, and the author of the Annals of St. Neots, agree in the version of the Annals only for so long as they have the guidance of the present work. Florence and the Annals of St. Neots have independent translations of the Chronicle before and after the time covered by the annalistic part of the Life. The first part of Simeon of Durham has nothing after 801, when the Northumbrian annals ceased, until the period covered by the Life is reached. After the end of the Life the Durham writer suffers from want of material (§ 35), so that it is evident the Latin annals used by him agreed exactly in duration with those in the Life. It is therefore clear that all these three writers derived their Latin annals for this period from the Life. In the case of the Annals of St. Neots all doubt that the compiler copied from the present work is removed by the fact that he stupidly repeats the passages in which the author of the Life states that he was told such and such details by King Alfred, or by men who were present at certain events.

§ 54. The version of the Chronicle used by the author did not agree with any MS. of that work that has come down to us. It had older forms of names than any of the existing MSS. in *Coenred* (c. 1, 13), *Sceapieg* (c. 3, 6). The oldest existing MS. of the Chronicle (A) dates from the very end of the ninth century, the earlier part being apparently written in 891. The Life agrees with this MS. in omitting the



king's mission to India in 883, which is awkwardly inserted in the other MSS., and in having no mention of the capture of the raven banner of the Danes in 878. The *Inwari* of c. 54, 1, represents the correct *Inwæres* of A. But the author of the Life did not use this MS., for he has the correct *Caziei* (c. 84, 11) in place of the *Cariei* of A, and the copy used by him differed, as we shall see, from A in other respects. Of all the existing MSS. it bore the closest relationship to the next oldest MSS., namely B and C, which agree so closely with one another that they seem to have been copied from a common original. With them it read 'few' (*fēa*) instead of the 'many' (*feala*) of A in c. 2, 9, and it also had *Wihagara-byrig* (*Guuhtgara-burhg*) with B and C, instead of the incorrect *Wihgaras-* of A. It also agreed with B and C against A in having the name Creoda in the royal genealogy between Cerdic and Cynric, and in the names Hathra, Bedwig, and Sceaƿ (c. 1, 15, 37); in the position of c. 6, which is given in A after the account of the battle of Wicganbeorg (c. 3, 5); in the mention of the death of the ealdormen in c. 9, 8, of the siege of the Danes in c. 30, 16, of the name Ceolwulf in c. 46, 16, and of the hostages in c. 49, 12, of Paris in c. 82, 7, and of the Marne twice in c. 84. It agreed with C against A, B, D in omitting Essex in c. 18, 5, but agreed with A, B, D, E in reading *Winburnan* in c. 41, 4 instead of *Scireburnan* in C. The reading *Geata* (c. 1, 22) appears in B only<sup>1</sup>. But it had important differences from B and C. Thus it gives the name of the Hampshire ealdorman in c. 18, 10 as Osric with A, instead of Wulfheard of B and C. In c. 6, the position of which agrees with B, C against A, the number of ships is given as nine with A against the eight of B and C, although the word *comes* seems to agree with the

<sup>1</sup> This is so remarkable as to suggest that B has been influenced by the Life. See, however, note to c. 1, 22, p. 160, below.

*caldorman* from the latter MSS. against the *dux* of A. It differed from A, B, and C, and agreed with the later D and E in having *Caziei* in c. 84, 11 instead of the blundered *Carici* of A, B, C, and in reading correctly *Sture* in c. 67, 4 for the *Stufe* of A, B, and C<sup>1</sup>. Finally it differed from all the MSS. in having correctly *Carlomannus* in c. 68, 1 instead of *Carl*. It would thus seem that none of the existing four families of MSS. was copied from a lost original that agreed exactly with the copy of the Chronicle used by the author, and the genealogy of the MSS. has to be carried beyond the lost original of each of the four groups<sup>2</sup>. The copy used by the author cannot, there-

<sup>1</sup> The reading *Æglea* in c. 55, 17, corresponding to the *Æglea* of D and E, against the *Iglea* of A, B, and C, is curious. As it appears as *Eglea* in Florence, it can hardly be one of Parker's alterations in the Life. Yet the Annals of St. Neots have *Iglea*, which appears to have been the reading of the archetype of the Chronicle. This may represent the true reading of the Life, of which the compiler seems to have possessed a better copy than the Cottonian MS. (§ 34). Florence may have corrected his form by the aid of his copy of the Chronicle, which closely resembled D (Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. p. lxxxiii), but correction by the compiler of the Annals is also conceivable.

<sup>2</sup> This result differs somewhat from those of other writers. Ernst Grubitz, in his able *Kritische Untersuchung über die angelsächsischen Annalen*, Göttingen, 1868, p. 7 sqq., concluded that the author of the Life used a copy of the C type. Karl Horst, *Zur Kritik der altenglischen Annalen*, Darmstadt, 1896, p. 14, stated that it was of the C or D type. The conclusion of M. Kupferschmidt, *Ueber das Hss.-verhältniss der Winchester Annalen*, in *Anglia*, xiii. p. 168, that the author used a text medium between A, G and B, C is more in accord with our own. Mr. Plummer, ii. p. lxxxiv, note, holds that the copy used was of the southern type, and probably not 'identical with any of the existing MSS.' The northern version is, no doubt, later in date than the time assigned for the composition of the Life (Plummer, ii. p. lxxi), but this use of the southern version cannot safely be used as an argument in favour of the authenticity of the Life. A later southern writer would probably have known only the southern version.

fore, have been far removed from the archetype of the Chronicle, for the variations represented in the four groups had clearly not yet arisen<sup>1</sup>. This antiquity and accuracy of the copy of the Chronicle used by him is what one would expect from a writer in whose time the Chronicle was, to all appearances, drawn up. Although this ancient copy is not a decisive argument in favour of the authenticity of the work, it certainly places it upon a somewhat higher level than if we had detected proofs of the writer using one of the later and more corrupt copies<sup>2</sup>.

§ 55. The author occasionally adds to the annalistic matter derived from the Chronicle. Most of his additions seem to be mere elaborations of the details contained in the Chronicle. But he gives important information regarding the battle of *Æscesdun*, the site of which he had seen (c. 39, 6); adds the account of

<sup>1</sup> The position of c. 6 in A after the battle of *Wicganbeorh* (c. 3, 5) is probably to be ascribed to the besetting sin of the scribe of this portion of that MS., that of being misled by homoeoteleuton (cf. Karl Horst, *Zur Kritik der altenglischen Annalen*, Darmstadt, 1896, p. 25 sqq.). In the present case his eye seems to have wandered from the *wæl geslogon* and *sige namon* referring to the battle of *Wicganbeorh* to the same words in connexion with the battle of *Acleah*. He then discovered his error, and added 'the heathen army first wintered' (which follows the account of *Wicganbeorh* in B, C, D, and E), although this passage is out of place after the defeat of the Danes at *Sandwich*. Then he copies the remainder of the entry relating to this year.

<sup>2</sup> The chronology is naturally that of the Chronicle. There is no indication of the commencement of the year, and the author must have agreed with the year-commencement, whatever it was, used by the compilers of the Chronicle. It would not be a matter of very great importance to him. There is no proof that he commenced the year with the Incarnation, March 25, as Hardy, *Mon. Hist. Brit.*, Introduction, p. 118, note 3, argues: The addition of *ab Incarnatione* does not prove that the year began with that feast, and the years of the Chronicle are reckoned from the Incarnation. Hardy's other ground is that the eclipse of c. 59, ascribed to 879, was that of March 14, 880. The eclipse, however, seems clearly to be that of October 29, 878.

the Danish *vallum* between the Thames and the Kennet at Reading (c. 35, 9); and the ample details of the fight at Cynuit (c. 54) which is briefly referred to, though not by name, in the Chronicle. The scene of this battle was in Asser's diocese, and the author states that he had examined the site. He also supplies the name of the place where the marriage of Burhred with Alfred's sister was celebrated (c. 9, 12); the name of Alfred's father-in-law and mother-in-law (c. 29, 5, 7); states that the Danes slain at Cynuit came from Dyfed (c. 54, 2); mentions the site of the fortress of the Danes at Rochester, and that they had brought with them from France the horses captured by the English (c. 66, 8, 13). As there are no means of checking these additions to the Chronicle, their credibility must stand or fall with that of the Life. In their favour we may urge that there is nothing improbable in them, and that they mostly relate to events in a country with which Asser was familiar. The author states correctly that Archbishop Ceolnoth was buried at Canterbury (c. 34, 2), and supplies the time of day when the eclipse in c. 59 occurred. There is some support for his account of the surrender by Æthelwulf of the kingdom of Wessex to his son (c. 12); and his account of the custom of not crowning the wives of the West-Saxon kings (c. 13, 12), and of the marriage of Judith to Æthelbald, her step-son (c. 17, 5), are corroborated by a Frankish chronicle of the time (§ 90).

§ 56. The style of the work is highly rhetorical, and gives one the impression that the author thought more of the display of his powers of composition and command of recondite words than of the matter conveyed by them. Sometimes, it is true, he shows a tendency to excessive explanation, but more often his meaning is obscured by a cloud of verbiage<sup>1</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> In c. 29, 8 'nos ipsi propriis oculorum nostrorum obtutibus . . . vidimus' is a considerably worse pleonasm than the 'ego

construction of his sentences is occasionally so involved that they have puzzled the scribes of the Cottonian MS., who have added to the confusion by omitting verbs or other important members of the sentences (§ 25). Confusion is also caused by the author's unmethodical habit of anticipating events and then returning suddenly, without due notice, to the theme from which he has wandered away. In one case he states that he is narrating events out of their chronological order (c. 74, 41). The aimless wandering to and fro in this chapter has led to its being frequently misunderstood, and has in consequence subjected the work to much misrepresentation. This chapter affords a good example of the author's ornate style, of his over-elaboration of details whilst still leaving his main subject enveloped in a nebulous atmosphere of words and clauses. This chapter also shows his tendency to wander off into side issues that considerably perplex his narrative. We have already pointed out the difficulty of extricating the date of his arrival from the bewildering arrangement of his materials (§ 43), and the confused statement of the object of his work (§ 49). Further instances of these qualities may be found in cc. 22-25; 76; 79; 81; 91; 97, 9-19; 106. He has a fondness for long words, which occasionally leads him to do violence to their meaning, e.g. *velamentum* is used for *velum* (c. 21, 10), and in many other cases a literal translation of his Latin would read like nonsense, owing to the perverted senses in which the words are employed. He evidently revelled in the long-drawn out metaphors at cc. 76, 62; 88, 39; 91, 30. Frequently he wanders off into passages that have the air of sermons (cc. 76, 45 sqq.; 88, 15 sqq.; 89; 90; 91, 55 sqq.; 95; 96, 20 sqq.). There are occasional traces of alliteration, especially at c. 76, 62 sqq. He has a liking for certain phrases,

*oculis meis vidi*' instanced by Quintilian, viii. 3, § 53. There are many instances of the parallel defect of macrology.



such as *a primaevae iuventutis suae flore* (cc. 16, 19; 74, 37, 42); *aequali lance* (cc. 37, 6; 99, 25; 104, 6); *veredicus referens* (cc. 13, 32, 33; 37, 13; cf. 97, 12); *omnia praesentis vitae studia, or curricula, or impedimenta, or dispendia, or temporibus* (cc. 16, 3; 22, 8; 24, 5; 25, 2, 13; 40, 1; 75, 28; 76, 2: cf. cc. 81, 14; 91, 35; 100, 20; 105, 7). Other repetitions will be found in cc. 21, 15 = 73, 4; 25, 2 = 76, 41; 25, 10 = 91, 10; 25, 3 = 106, 55. He is somewhat given to climax, strengthening his previous predication by *immo* (cc. 12, 18; 13, 16, 34; 16, 6; 22, 2; 23, 5; 25, 7; 105, 4). Somewhat similar is the use of *eo amplius* (cc. 22, 12; 74, 10, 63; cf. 91, 4 note; 105, 3).

§ 57. Any argument from the style of the Latinity is rendered difficult by the entire lack of specimens of Welsh Latin of this period. From the early part of the ninth century, when the *Historia Brittonum* took its present form, no Welsh Latin is known until we reach the later notices of gifts of the ninth and tenth centuries in the eleventh-century *Liber Landavensis*. There is also a handful of saints' lives of uncertain date. But it is noticeable that the vocabulary of the author resembles that of these texts, on the one hand, and, on the other, that in use in the chanceries of the English kings in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In addition to the Celtic Latin *graphium* (c. 11, 4), *gronna* (cc. 92, 9; 97, 25), and perhaps *gabulum* (c. 89, 11), it has the word *expeditio* for army (c. 42, 40), and certain archaic Latin words, derived originally from glossaries or grammatical treatises, such as *quis = quibus* (c. 88, 42), the adverb *oppido* (cc. 8, 6; 37, 11), *suatim*<sup>1</sup> (cc. 56, 18; 74, 21; 106, 22), which also occur in English Latin of this period. In addition to these it has the word *famen* 'conversa-

<sup>1</sup> His fondness for adverbs ending in *-atim* is shared by other writers of Latin in Western Europe prior to the eleventh or twelfth century. He has *locupletatim*, c. 98, 9; *densatim*, c. 88, 42; *elucubratim*, cc. 77, 9; 97, 2, and *segregatim*, c. 88, 25.

tion,' 'dialogue' (c. 79, 9), which immediately connects it with the curious vocabulary of the bewildering Celtic work known as *Hisperica Famina*<sup>1</sup>. In this work the high-water mark of pedantic and ostentatious rhetoric was reached, at the cost of intelligibility. This Celtic Latinity seems to have been in use in England from the time of Aldhelm until the Norman Conquest, when it gave place to the purer and infinitely more intelligible Latinity derived by the Normans from their Italian masters<sup>2</sup>. The *Life of Guthlac* by Felix, an eighth-century work, is influenced by this Latinity, which blossoms into extravagances almost worthy of Aldhelm himself in the hands of the authors of Æthelstan's charters, which contain many Hisperic words. In the tenth century many Englishmen went to the monastery of Fleury, the great home of this Hesperic Latinity, whither it had been transplanted from Brittany. It is possible that this Hisperic Latin of Æthelstan's time may have been imported from Fleury, but it is likely that the foreign clerks in Alfred's service may have had a share in bringing it into favour in England. In view of the Celtic influences upon the English Latinity

<sup>1</sup> See Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, p. 464 sqq.; Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 291 sqq.; M. Manitius, *Geschichte der christlich-lateinischen Literatur bis zur Mitte des achten Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart, 1891, p. 485. An edition of this strange production appeared under the care of J. M. Stowasser at Vienna in the *Dreizehnter Jahresbericht über das k. k. Franz-Joseph-Gymnasium in Wien*, 1887, and a more accessible edition is promised by Dr. F. J. H. Jenkinson. Further fragments of it were published by Professor Zimmer in the *Nachrichten* of the Royal Society at Göttingen, 'Philos.-histor. Klasse,' 1895, p. 119 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The impression made upon a twelfth-century scholar by it may be gleaned from William of Malmesbury's well-known criticism of the Latinity of the O.E. royal charters (*Gesta Pontificum*, c. 196, p. 344), and of Æthelweard (*Gesta Regum*, prologue, p. 3). Yet Ordericus Vitalis shows that the influence was not yet dead in Normandy, where at an earlier time Dudo of St. Quentin was strongly imbued with it.

of the tenth and earlier centuries, and of the agreement in general style and vocabulary, there seems to be good reason for holding that this is such Latin as a Welshman might have written at the latter end of the ninth century.

§ 58. There is another feature that the Latinity of the work has in common with that of the English Latinity of the tenth century, that is the presence of words of Frankish origin. In this, however, the Frankish strain seems to be stronger than in the English charters, and, as we have seen that the author was acquainted with Frankish biographies (§ 51), one is tempted to suggest that he had studied on the continent. He displays some knowledge of it that may have come from personal experience (§ 48), but he says nothing of having studied abroad. The use of the word *Theotiscus* as a collective name for the Germanic peoples (c. 13, 29) is proof that the undoubtedly Welsh author of the work had some contact with Frankland, either directly or through the medium of Frankish teachers or of Bretons who had been influenced by their Frankish neighbours. Brittany was the channel of communication between the Franks and the insular Celts. Celtic influence upon Frankish learning was exercised by the Irish scholars of the eighth and ninth centuries, and it is only natural that we should expect to find a Frankish reaction upon the insular Celts. A significant indication of this influence of the Franks upon the Welsh, exercised, there can be little doubt, through Brittany, is to be found in the fact that Nennius, the only other Welsh writer of this century known to us, embodies in his work the undoubtedly Frankish table of the descent of the Franks, Romans, Britons, &c., from sons of Japheth<sup>1</sup>. The Frankish words in the present work

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Brittonum*, c. 17. Upon this folk-table see Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Alterthumskunde*, ii. 329, who thinks that the text of the table, an early sixth-century Frankish compila-

are *fasellus* (cc. 53, 2; 55, 3), *satelles* for 'thane' (c. 100, 9), *fiscus* (c. 102, 3), *curtum* (cc. 22, 4; 75, 22; 81, 10; 100, 5, 11, 21), *indiculus* for 'letter' (c. 79, 38, 40), and *castella* in the sense of 'castle' (c. 91, 49). These words are found in use in England, but the author has other Frankish Latin terms that are not met with in England at this time, such as *ministerialis* for 'thane' (c. 76, 31). The form *cambra* = *camera* (cc. 88, 1; 91, 21), and *senior* in the sense of 'lord,' 'master' (cc. 13, 2, 19; 97, 26), are Frankish Latin words of specifically Romanic origin. *Capellanus* (cc. 77, 13; 104, 2, 7) is a term of undoubted Frankish origin, which does not appear to have been introduced into England until after the Norman Conquest.

§ 59. The biblical quotations are derived in two cases (cc. 76, 49; 99, 18) from Old Latin versions; in the remaining cases (cc. 76, 58; 89, 9; 96, 20; 99, 21; 101, 12) they may be either from the Vulgate or from Old Latin versions. The use of these pre-Hieronymian versions is noteworthy, for they remained long in use in the Gaulish and Celtic churches<sup>1</sup>. The English,

tion, was taken into Wales by Breton monks. See also Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, p. 230. In like manner the *Historia Brittonum* derived the tales of the Trojan origin of the Britons from Frankish sources (see Mommsen's edition, p. 116). A proof of this connexion of Welsh scholars with Frankland may be found in the 'Liber de Beneficiis, de raris fabulis,' &c., a ninth-century MS. (Bodl. 572), which Bradshaw, *Collected Papers*, pp. 470, 486, considered to be in 'Welsh handwriting, with tenth-century Cornish glosses.' It represents the monk in the dialogue as answering the question where he had been before by 'Fui antea in Iberniam vel in Britanniam vel in Franciam nutritus vel fatus fui' (so in MS.). A ninth-century insular Briton who went to Frankland about 840 and became a hermit at Soissons was Mark the Bishop, who is mentioned in Heiric's 'Miracles of St. German' (*Acta Sanctorum*, July 31, p. 272 b). He, however, was educated in Ireland. See further Mommsen, preface to *Historia Brittonum*, p. 120.

<sup>1</sup> See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, Oxford, 1869, i. 187; Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les*

owing to their close intimacy with the church of Rome, used the Vulgate. The advance of the church of Rome in Wales and Ireland is marked step by step by the gradual adoption of the Vulgate. The fact that the author used an Old Latin version is, therefore, quite in consonance with his character of a Welshman writing at the end of the ninth century, and these quotations are an argument in favour of the authenticity, though, perhaps, not a conclusive one. Both the quotations from Old Latin versions are from very ancient ones. The reading in c. 76, 49 occurs only in the eighth or ninth-century Book of Armagh and in the ninth-century St. Germain's MS., which in the gospels shows Irish influence<sup>1</sup>. The quotation in c. 99, 18, is also from a very early version.

§ 60. The only other quotations in the work are from Sedulius (c. i. 26), St. Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* (c. 102, 13), and the hexameter at c. 90, 3, which we have been unable to trace. It has a Frankish character. In addition to this the author borrows and adapts, without mention, a passage from Einhard's Life of Charles the Great (c. 72) and from Aldhelm (c. 88, 13 and, perhaps, c. 88, 39 sqq., and c. 76, 62). Beda seems to have been used in c. 4, 5, and Nennius in c. 9, 4. In c. 103, 3 he quotes as coming from divine scripture a sentence of St. Augustine, from whom he cannot, therefore, have taken it direct.

## 6. THE ATTACKS UPON THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE WORK.

§ 61. We have now the unpleasant task of examining the charges brought against the work. These charges

*premiers siècles du Moyen Âge*, Paris, 1893, p. 30 sqq.; Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, Oxford, 1889-98, p. x.

<sup>1</sup> Berger, p. 72.



have been put together with such amazing carelessness, almost every statement of fact being founded upon interpolated matter, upon misunderstandings of the text, or upon unwarrantable assumptions, that we should have preferred to leave them on one side. Historical writers have not cared to examine these charges closely<sup>1</sup>, but have satisfied themselves by vague references to the suspicions resting upon the genuineness of the work. This has had the natural result of overshadowing it with a dark cloud of doubt, which has been intensified by the constant citation of its testimony accompanied with reservations as to its authenticity. It is therefore necessary for us to submit these arguments to scrutiny, and for that purpose it is needful to include all of them in our survey. The result is that the dark cloud proves to be at worst nothing more than a thin mist, produced by the author's confusion of thought and language, aided by the blunders of scribes and the wanton alterations of editors.

§ 62. In 1841 Thomas Wright, who about this period was strenuously defending the authenticity of the absurd forgery *De Situ Britanniae*, which Bartram fathered upon Richard of Cirencester, communicated to the Society of Antiquaries a paper in which he threw doubts upon the authenticity of the Life<sup>2</sup>. Rightly recognizing that the chronological portion of the work was little more than a translation of the Chronicle (§§ 50, 53), and that the anecdotes and eulogy of Alfred had been grafted upon it<sup>3</sup>, he argues that, if the entries in the Chronicle were contempo-

<sup>1</sup> Pauli, *König Ælfred*, passim, and Dr. Lingard, *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. 420 sqq., have dealt with a few of them.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, xxix. 192-201; reprinted in *Essays upon Archaeological Subjects*, London, 1861, i. 172-85, and partly repeated in his *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, London, 1842, i. 409-12.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 192; *Biographia*, i. 409.

rary, 'it is quite improbable that such a man as Asser should use them in the way they are used<sup>1</sup>.' This improbability is merely matter of opinion, and it disappears when we find another ninth-century biographer doing the same thing (§ 51). Wright then compares the work to its disadvantage with Einhard's *Life of Charles the Great*, remarking that in the latter we find 'facts told by the biographer with the vigour and spirit of a man who was active and interested in them, accompanied with vivid sketches and clear views of the policy and character of the great monarch. When we turn to Asser, we seem to have a writer who would fain imitate the biographer of the Frankish emperor, but who only knows the history of his hero from one bare chronicle, and depends upon popular traditions for his views of his personal character<sup>2</sup>.' Similarly we are told that it appears strange that the *Life* should have been written during the lifetime of the king, 'and particularly by a man in the position of Asser,' that 'it is not easy to conceive for what purpose it was written, or to point out any parallel case,' and that it is still more difficult to imagine why its author, who survived the king, did not complete it<sup>3</sup>. It is maintained that the book 'does not support its own character; it has the appearance of an unskilful compilation of history and legend<sup>4</sup>.' No evidence is given in support of this legendary character, and it has no discernible basis except Parker's interpolation from the *Annals of St. Neots* (c. 53 b). Wright endeavours to prove that this was part of the *Life* because the MS. contained the words 'Et, ut in vita Sancti Neoti legitur, apud quendam suum vaccarium' (c. 53, 9), and because there is a second reference to the *Life* in c. 74, 21<sup>5</sup>. The former passage is an interpolation

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 194, note a.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid* p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographia*, p. 408.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>5</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 195; *Biographia*, p. 410. At p. 409 of the

of Parker's, and the latter does not refer to a life of St. Neot at all, and has every mark of being an early interpolation. For the rest, the character of Einhard's Life is egregiously overdrawn, and it is a somewhat unhappy comparison, for if it were not for external evidence, that work would be more hopelessly condemned than the present one is by Wright. It is a medley of phrases culled from Suetonius, and abounds with chronological errors<sup>1</sup>. An argument that would condemn one biographer because he has not exactly followed the lines of another largely resolves itself into a question of literary feeling and taste, and we may well refuse to see anything binding in such an argument, more especially when it is applied to a production of the ninth century. It is obviously absurd to expect the author of the present work to describe facts that happened before he came to Wessex 'with the vigour and spirit of a man who was active and interested in them.' On the question of literary feeling it is enough to quote the remark of Freeman that 'it seems quite impossible that any forger could have invented the small touches which bespeak the man writing from personal knowledge, and that man no Englishman, but a Briton<sup>2</sup>.' The arguments founded

latter work the whole interpolation of c. 53 b is treated as part of the Life.

<sup>1</sup> See Ranke's well-known characterization of this work in *Zur Kritik fränkisch-deutscher Reichsannalisten*, in his *Abhandlungen und Versuche*, p. 96 sqq. (*Sämmtliche Werke*, vol. 51); Wattenbach, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen*, i. 153; Ebert, *Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, Leipzig, 1880, ii. 96. Ernst Bernheim, *Die Vita Karoli Magni als Ausgangspunkt zur literarischen Beurtheilung des Historikers Einhard*, in *Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet*, Hanover, 1886, pp. 73-96, has shown how Einhard's treatment of his subject was dictated by Suetonius, and that his work of composition consisted of little more than arranging the phrases of Suetonius so as to suit his purpose.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, i. 161.

upon the fact of the work being written in the king's lifetime, and upon its not being continued until his death—a point that rather tells against the theory that it is a later forgery—will be seen to be of no weight when compared with the parallel instances given in § 51. As almost the whole of the events narrated in the Life happened before the author came to England, it is obvious that he could only obtain a knowledge of them at second hand, and it cannot be seriously maintained that the improbability of his going to the Chronicle for his chronological details is so great that it convicts the work as a forgery. There are grounds for holding that Einhard similarly used the Frankish annals, although many of the events happened during his residence at court<sup>1</sup>. The author was acquainted with Einhard's work (§ 51).

§ 63. Wright argues that the Life is spurious, because, although professing to be written in 893, it borrows from the Chronicle, and 'by the most favourable supposition that has been hazarded on the antiquity of this part of the Chronicle, it was not composed before the beginning of the tenth century, and it is more probable that it is a work of a later period<sup>2</sup>.' This would be a fatal argument against the work if the premises were correct. Even in 1841 one must have been in a peculiar frame of mind to believe that the minute entries regarding Alfred's campaigns in the Chronicle were written nearly a century later. Since that time much progress has been made in the study of the Chronicle, the O.E. dialects have been minutely studied and distinguished, and palaeography has become a more exact science. The independent judgement of competent scholars in all three subjects is that we possess in MS. A a copy of the Chronicle that goes back to the time of King

<sup>1</sup> Bernheim, p. 82 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 194; *Biographia*, p. 409.

Alfred. It is written in archaic West-Saxon that is certainly much older than the middle of the tenth century, and there is no reason for doubting that it is the language of Alfred's time.

§ 64. The next argument is even more baseless. Wright is 'inclined to doubt' the truth of the neglect of Alfred's early education (c. 22, 10) because 'we know that King Ethelwulf was an accomplished scholar, that he had been an ecclesiastic before he came to the throne, that his friends and advisers were ecclesiastics, such as Swithun and Alstan, the former of whom at least was a scholar, that he was a great patron of the clergy and of the Church, that Alfred (his favourite child) was twice carried to Rome before he was six years of age<sup>1</sup>. As Æthelwulf died in Alfred's ninth year, this argument is not of much weight even if the statements upon which it is founded were true. There is no evidence that Æthelwulf was a scholar at all, much less an accomplished one, and the scholarship of Swithun is merely a matter of inference from his office<sup>2</sup>. Against Wright's statements, which are derived from later monkish fabrica-

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 194. Cf. *Biographia*, p. 409, where it is seriously advanced that Alfred's 'mission to Rome is proof that his education was not thus neglected.'

<sup>2</sup> The story that Æthelwulf was educated by Swithun, who subsequently ordained him deacon, comes from the Life of St. Swithun by Goscelin (*Acta Sanctorum*, Julii i, p. 327 A), a professional writer of saints' lives in the eleventh century. This is the source of the statements in Florence of Worcester, i. 68, and William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ii. c. 75, p. 160. Against this we can place the distinct statement of Landfred, the late tenth-century author of the *Translation of St. Swithun*, that the life and *prisca conversatio* of the saint were unknown because no writing existed (*Acta Sanctorum*, ib. 329 A). There are no details of the saint's life in the verse life ascribed to Wulfstan (MS. Bodl. Auct. F. 2. 14), written between 984 and 1005. How rapidly the story grew may be seen from Henry of Huntingdon, who makes Æthelwulf a bishop of Winchester before he became king.



tions, we have the clear and unquestionable testimony of Alfred himself that, at his accession, he could not find a single priest south of the Humber who could understand the Latin services of the church or could translate a letter from Latin into English<sup>1</sup>.

§ 65. Wright next objects that 'the author quotes (c. 13, 31) the oral authority of Alfred in a very ostentatious manner, for the story of Offa's wife (*sic*) Eadburgha, which must have been familiar to the ears of every inhabitant of Alfred's dominion<sup>2</sup>.' This assertion is surely far too sweeping. It was, no doubt, well known that the wife of the king of Wessex was called 'lady' not 'queen,' but that every one outside the court circle knew that this was the result of the poisoning of Beorhtric by Eadburh nearly a century before is a proposition from which we must withhold our assent. Moreover, Alfred's narrative included the continental adventures of Eadburh, which can hardly have been so widely known in Wessex as events that happened at home. The argument assumes that the author is writing for West-Saxons only, and has closed his eyes to people outside Wessex and to posterity<sup>3</sup>. Even if all the details of Eadburh's life had been as fully known in Wessex as Wright maintains, we can scarcely convict the foreign author of forgery because he prefers to vouch the king rather than 'many-tongued fame' for a story for which he could find no written authority<sup>4</sup>.

§ 66. On the strength of the interpolated words at the end of c. 53, and of the interpolation from the

<sup>1</sup> Preface to translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet, p. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 195; *Biographia*, p. 409, to same effect.

<sup>3</sup> Lingard, ii. 426, holds that the author is writing for the monks of St. Davids.

<sup>4</sup> Pauli, *König Ælfred*, p. 11, points out that the *multis habetur incognitum*, with which this story is introduced, is consonant with the foreign origin of the author.

Annals of St. Neots (c. 53 b), and of the reference<sup>1</sup> to St. Neot in c. 74, 21, Wright asserts that the author used a Life of St. Neot. He holds that lives of this saint were not composed until the end of the tenth century, at the time of the felonious transference of the saint's relics from Cornwall to Huntingdonshire in 974<sup>2</sup>. But as the solitary reference to St. Neot in the Life, apart from Parker's interpolations, speaks of the saint's body as resting in Cornwall with that of St. Gueriir, it is obvious that this passage, whether due to the author or, as we hold, to a tenth-century interpolator, must have been written before the body of St. Neot was carried to Huntingdonshire. The date of the transference was, however, not 974, but about 1000. Before the latter date the fame of St. Neot had wholly eclipsed that of St. Gueriir, so that their burial-place in Cornwall became known as St. Neot, the name it bears to this day. The fact that the author mentions the earlier saint, who was so entirely forgotten that he finds no place in the list of saints and their burial-places in England, which was compiled in the first quarter of the eleventh century<sup>3</sup>, is a decided argument in favour of the composition of the work before the middle of the tenth century. For the statement that the author used a Life of St. Neot there is no justification in the text.

§ 67. There is even less basis for the next count in the indictment, that a friend of Alfred's could not have made so much confusion as exists in the chapter (74) containing the reference to SS. Gueriir and Neot. According to Wright this chapter states that, although Alfred was radically cured by St. Neot of the infirmity

<sup>1</sup> In the *Biographia*, p. 410, he carelessly asserts that 'there are also other allusions to this life of Neot.'

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 195; *Biographia*, p. 410.

<sup>3</sup> Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, Hanover, 1889; the Hyde *Liber Vitae*, Hants Record Society, p. 87 sqq.

from which he suffered from his twentieth to his fortieth year, he is nevertheless described as still labouring under it at the time when the book was written<sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to conceive a forger stupid enough to make such a blunder, and as a matter of fact the confusion is due to Wright, not to the author<sup>2</sup>.

§ 68. The next point is that Wright suspects that the reference to the building of long ships in 877 is an allusion to the ship-building of 897, and that a contemporary would not have made such a mistake<sup>3</sup>. The author made no such mistake. It is an interpolation of Parker's from Matthew of Paris (c. 50 c).

§ 69. From the author's reference to the *parochia* or diocese of Exeter (c. 81, 29), Wright concludes that the work was not fabricated until the end of the eleventh century, since the see of Crediton was not transferred to Exeter until the time of Edward the Confessor, and he states that he was 'not aware that there was anything in the oldest MS. to contradict this opinion<sup>4</sup>.' The transference to Exeter occurred in 1050, and we must allow at least half a century before we can assume that a forger would be likely to make the mistake of calling Asser bishop of Exeter in the ninth century. As Sir John Spelman tells us that this portion of the MS. was in the oldest hand (§ 19)<sup>5</sup>, and this is confirmed by the absence of any note of Wise to the contrary, it seems that it was written in the MS. half a century or so before 1050. Again we have here an argument that really tells in favour of the work, instead of against it. A forger at the

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, pp. 195-6; *Biographia*, p. 410.

<sup>2</sup> See our note to c. 74, 36. The mistake of Wright's has been already pointed out by Lingard, ii. 427.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 196.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeologia*, pp. 199-200; *Biographia*, p. 411.

<sup>5</sup> It is possible, however, that by 'the ancients and more undoubted hand' he meant merely to distinguish the hands of the MS. from Parker's interpolated matter.

end of the eleventh century, if he had wished to ascertain the see of Bishop Asser, would have found that he was bishop of Sherborne, just as Florence of Worcester and William of Malmesbury did. The obvious source to go to at that period was the widely circulated list of bishops (§ 39), which would have speedily shown a reader that there was no continuous line of bishops at Exeter prior to 1050.

§ 70. Another argument is a most ill-considered one. It is founded upon the 'murder' of John the Old Saxon by some of his monks (*sic*), which is narrated in c. 95. Wright mentions that this story 'appears to have been prevalent at a later period, as it is alluded to under different forms by historians of the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>.' The reference is to the murder of John the Scot at Malmesbury abbey in William of Malmesbury<sup>2</sup>. Whatever argument is intended to be founded upon this vanishes at once when it is seen that William definitely narrates his story of John the Scot, who is mentioned by him as distinct from John the Old Saxon. Wright then dwells upon the point that the author of the *Life* says that the attack upon John the Old Saxon happened 'some time before,' *quodam tempore* (c. 95, 1; c. 96, 1). This is surely straining the meaning. He then adduces the fact that Alfred refers to the slain abbot as alive in the preface to the *Pastoral Care*, and that he calls him 'my mass-priest,' and not 'my abbot.' The latter circumstance does not strike us as important. Unfortunately for the rest of the argument the writer of the *Life* does not state that John was slain, but merely wounded, and he commences his narration of this event with a distinct statement that the plot to murder the abbot miscarried (c. 96, 23). See § 76.

§ 71. Another objection advanced by Wright is

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 198.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 122 (i. 130, 131).

that the author of the *Life* does not mention the king's literary works, more especially his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, in which Alfred thanks Asser for his assistance<sup>1</sup>. Considering the wide circulation of the translation of the *Pastoral Care*, one can only express surprise that the imaginary forger at the end of the tenth or eleventh century does not make any mention of this work. The silence of an author writing in 893 is more easily explained, for we have no evidence that the work was then in existence. Wright argues that it was 'probably' translated between 890 and 894, but no grounds are given for this supposition. Our sole means of ascertaining the date are a consideration of the names of the bishops to whom the copies of which we have record were presented by the king. They are Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury from 890 to 914, Werfrith, bishop of Worcester from 873 to 915, Heahstan, whose death as bishop of London is recorded in the *Chronicle* under 898, Swithulf, bishop of Rochester, who died in 897 according to the same authority, and a Wulf-sige, who may be Asser's predecessor at Sherborne or the successor of Heahstan at London. Bishop Stubbs fixes the arrival in the country of Grimbald, who is also thanked in the preface to the *Pastoral Care*, as occurring in 892<sup>2</sup>. Wright alleges that the 'original' copy of Alfred's version of the *Pastoral Care*, preserved in the Public Library of Cambridge University, is addressed to 'Wulf-sige, bishop of Sherborne,' and thinks that this creates a difficulty in regard to Asser's bishopric<sup>3</sup>. But this is a series of mistakes. The MS. is not the original, but is dated by Wanley, quite correctly, as being little older than the Norman Conquest<sup>4</sup>, and it is addressed

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 197.

<sup>2</sup> Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, ii. xlviiii.

<sup>3</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 199; *Biographia*, p. 405, to same effect.

<sup>4</sup> *Catalogus*, p. 153.



simply to 'Wulfsige, bishop.' Wright has derived the name of the see from Wanley or some other source, but he might have seen from Archbishop Parker's text, which he thinks was derived from this MS., that the bishop's see is not mentioned<sup>1</sup>. The bishop of Sherborne's copy seems to be represented by the MS. in Trinity College, Cambridge, but in this the preface is unfortunately missing. There is therefore no evidence that the king's version of the *Pastoral Care* was in existence in 893, the date of the composition of the Life, and no proof that any other of the king's literary works had been completed by that date. Indeed, a date subsequent to the final discomfiture of the Danes, in the summer of 897, seems more probable than an earlier date.

§ 72. The next argument is in direct conflict with the preceding. After blaming the author of the Life for knowing nothing of the version of the *Pastoral Care*, Wright states that he is 'inclined to think that the story concerning Alfred's school for the children of nobles, where they were to be instructed in the English and Latin languages (cc. 75, 13; 102, 17), had no other foundation than the words of the king' in the preface to this very version! He remarks that 'we have here an indirect recommendation of a certain mode of instruction, which was to be the result of the English translations of Latin books, but no indications of any schools having been established for the purpose<sup>2</sup>.' A court school, established apparently on the model of the Frankish kings, for the sons of nobles with an infusion of youths of lowlier origin, which is all that Asser describes, is a very different thing from the pious wish expressed by the king that all the youth of free condition who had the means or faculty (*spēda*) in England should be put

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. xvi, note 2. Lingard, ii. 423, has been misled by this assertion of Wright's, or by Wanley.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, pp. 198-9.

to learning until they could read English, so long as they are unfit for any other office, and that those who wished for the sake of promotion to proceed to learn Latin should do so. We are unable to see any argument in this against the present work.

§ 73. This exhausts the arguments brought forward by Wright, with the exception of his note that the references to the king are occasionally in the imperfect tense, for the answer to which we may refer to §§ 26, 51, and that he 'thinks' he 'can sometimes detect the writer forgetting his assumed character for a moment, and speaking of things as though he were living long after the time at which they occurred'<sup>1</sup>, which seems to have no other basis than the use of the imperfect tense just referred to. He 'thinks it impossible that a person would speak of a king of the country in which he was writing, during his reign, and in a work addressed to that king, as *rex ille*,' an expression that 'would rather be used by a person who was speaking of a king long since dead, and who would distinguish him from those who came before and after him'<sup>2</sup>. It might also be used, as it seems to be in the present work, by a foreign writer, who similarly speaks of the English as *gens illa* (§ 49). 'Many of Asser's anecdotes,' we are told, 'are not only evidently legendary, but they are extremely puerile. When we are expecting some remarkable proof of the great genius of Alfred, this writer tells us seriously that the pious monarch. . . at length hit upon the wonderful idea of making horn lanterns'<sup>3</sup> to protect his time-candles (c. 104). There is nothing whatever in this chapter to lead us to expect that the author is going to give us a remarkable proof of Alfred's genius. The mention of the lantern grows quite naturally out of the subject the author is treating of, which is not the genius of Alfred, but

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 197.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

his rigorous division of the day into twenty-four hours, and the difficulties that he met with and overcame in attaining his object. Then we are told that 'the extraordinary reluctance of Asser to quit Wales, and the extreme anxiety of the king to bring him into England on any terms, are equally difficult to understand<sup>1</sup>.' Why, we may ask, in the name of common sense? We find a ready parallel in the case of Charles the Great and Alcuin.

§ 74. The motive of the imaginary forgery Wright would discover in the political needs of the end of the tenth or eleventh century, for he is not clear as to the date of the forgery. He remarks that 'it may have had a political use, either as intended to encourage the Anglo-Saxons in resisting the Danes, or in supporting the English party headed by Earl Godwin against Edward's Norman and French favourites<sup>2</sup>.' This is a most lame and impotent conclusion. The conception of a political novel with a purpose is alien to everything we know of English history at either period, and it grossly exaggerates, even for the year 1841, the influence of the democracy in political affairs. Nothing could be better calculated to defeat such an object than the composition of a life of a long dead king in difficult Latin. An appeal to the people would have been made, as it was by Archbishop Wulfstan, by means of homilies written in the vernacular. The work itself does not bear the stamp of a tract intended to fan the languishing flames of patriotism against Danish invaders or foreign favourites of the king. If any object other than its ostensible one could be assigned to it, it would not be that of an appeal to English patriotism written by a foreigner in the learned tongue, but rather that of a forerunner of the *De Instructione Principum*. The purpose of the biography of a great

<sup>1</sup> *Biographia*, p. 408.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 200. Cf. *Biographia*, pp. 411-12.

man is in part that of inciting others to follow his example. But in the present work there is no reason to consider that the didactic character is other than incidental, or that it was written with any other purpose than that of celebrating the doings and recording the life of a truly great man.

§ 75. The locality of the imaginary forgery Wright would find at St. Neots, co. Huntingdon, and he assigns the authorship of it to a monk of that house<sup>1</sup>. If we clear away the undoubted interpolations of Parker, we find that the sole reason for connecting the work with St. Neots is the addition—it can hardly be anything but an addition (§ 26)—in c. 74, 20 of the awkward sentence 'et ubi etiam nunc Sanctus Niot ibidem pausat,' and this in reference not to St. Neots in Huntingdonshire but to St. Neot in Cornwall. The author's knowledge is that of Wessex, not of Huntingdonshire (§ 44). If the work be spurious and intended to advertise the powers of any saint, that saint is surely St. Gueriir. The unfortunate interpolation from the Life of St. Neot (c. 53 b) and the fact that later writers mix up St. Neot with the king's victory, just as others introduce St. Cuthbert, cannot by any laws of evidence prove a connexion between the Life and the Huntingdonshire priory. Wright tries to strengthen his case by saying that 'there appeared another edition of the life of Alfred, with the addition of the translation of the entries of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle previous to Alfred's birth, and a short continuation from the same source. It was printed by Gale, and goes under the name of *Asserii Annales*; but its more proper title is said to be the Chronicle of St. Neots, it having been written there. This circumstance, and the use made of the life of St. Neot, lead me to suggest that the writer of the life of Alfred was a monk of that house<sup>2</sup>.' In his

<sup>1</sup> *Archaeologia*, p. 201; *Biographia*, p. 411.

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, pp. 200-201. Cf. *Biographia*, p. 411.

*Biographia Litteraria* he ascribes both works to this monk of St. Neots. The Annals of St. Neots, the work thus referred to, cannot possibly be described as an edition of the Life. It differs in plan, being a chronicle of England from the Roman invasion, and is a *farrago* made up, as may be seen from our introduction to it, from Beda, the Chronicle, the Anglo-Norman Annals, and other sources besides the Life. It is questionable whether the compiler wrote a single line of it himself. That he can have been the author of the Life is impossible by any canons of literary or historic criticism. Such a supposition is excluded by the fact that the compiler of the Annals used the Norman annals, which can hardly have been in existence at the time when the Cottonian MS. of the Life was written, and which were, so far as we know, unknown in England until after the Norman Conquest. Nor is it true that the Annals were composed at St. Neots. They received this title from Leland because he met with the copy of this anonymous work in the monastery library there<sup>1</sup>. In a note added to the translation of Pauli's *Life of King Alfred*<sup>2</sup>, Wright argued that it is improbable that the author 'should remain for months suffering from grievous illness in the chief city of the West-Saxons without the knowledge of Alfred.' But the passage referred to (c. 79, 33) does not say clearly that he lay in this city for a year and a week, and the city meant appears to be Caerwent and not Winchester.

§ 76. In 1876-7 Mr. (now Sir) Henry Howorth contributed to the *Athenaeum* a series of articles impugning the authenticity of the Life. These articles are very largely repetitions of Wright's arguments. The non-existent contradictions as to the king's

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction to this work, p. 98, below.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1852, p. 255, note.



illness<sup>1</sup> (§ 67), the improbability of Æthelwulf's neglect of Alfred's education<sup>2</sup> (§ 64), the comparison of the work with Einhard's Life of Charles<sup>3</sup> (§ 62), the imaginary error about the see of Exeter<sup>4</sup> (§ 69), the use by the author of a Life of St. Neot<sup>5</sup> (§ 66), the connexion of the forgery with the monastery of St. Neots and the Annals<sup>6</sup> (§ 75), and so on reappear. The conclusions derived from these unsound premisses are stated in a much more vehement manner than Wright's judicial tone. Like Wright, Howorth holds that the Chronicle is a late tenth-century compilation<sup>7</sup>. Wright's arguments are occasionally developed with as little success as care. Thus the argument about the silence as to Alfred's literary works (§ 71) is repeated, with the addition that although the Life mentions Bishop Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, it never mentions the king's translation of that work<sup>8</sup>. There are no grounds for believing that there were two independent translations of the *Pastoral Care*, and, as a matter of fact, the author does not refer to a version of this work, but distinctly to Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, an entirely different work, executed, as he says, at the king's desire (c. 77, 6). The unjustifiable identification of the ineffective attack upon John the Old Saxon by hired ruffians and the alleged murder of John the Scot by his pupils at Malmesbury is taken over from Wright (§ 70), and it is argued that William of Malmesbury, the authority for the murder, is not 'likely to

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, May 27, 1876, pp. 728-9.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 728.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* May 27, 1876, p. 728.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* May 27, 1876, pp. 728-9.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* March 25, 1876, p. 426. The attribution of the Annals to Asser is erroneously ascribed to the twelfth instead of the sixteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* Sept. 8, 1877, p. 309.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308.

have been mistaken, as it happened in his own monastery, and the account of the pseudo-Asser is there can be no doubt, of very late composition<sup>1</sup>. Malmesbury's account has been branded by a distinguished scholar as untruthful<sup>2</sup>. Nothing is known of John the Scot after 860, and he was probably dead long before John the Old Saxon came to England. Thus the Life is blamed for not containing an account that would have at once condemned it as spurious.

§ 77. Turning to the new matter in Howorth's articles, the most important point is the statement that Sir Edward Maunde Thompson had 'examined the fragments of the MS., which have been rebound, and he authorized me to say that it is written in two distinct hands, one of the eleventh and the other of the twelfth century, and that no portion of it is so early as the tenth<sup>3</sup>.' As we have already stated, not

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Traube, *Poetae Aevi Carolini*, iii. 522. So also Bishop Stubbs, who has, by one of his rare lapses, confused Malmesbury's account of John the Scot with that of John the Old Saxon in the Life, says that it 'was a curious mistake, or worse, on the part of our author (Malmesbury) to transfer the tragic history of John's end (*sic*) from Athelney to Malmesbury. After confusing him with John Scotus Erigena, it was a light matter to make him a martyr' (W. Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xlviiii). It is curious to notice how frequently the statement in the Life has been misunderstood as recording the death of John the Old Saxon. In addition to Bishop Stubbs, so great a scholar as Mabillon has been misled (*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, cent. iv. pars 2, p. 507). Yet he distinguishes the attack upon John the Old Saxon in the Life from that upon John the Scot in Malmesbury, remarking that the latter could hardly have lived until 895 (read 893), that he is never called priest or monk, and that he could not be described as experienced in the warlike art (pp. 510, 511). Yet Christlieb, *Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie*, xiii. 793, was able to accept Malmesbury's account.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, March 25, 1876, p. 426. This seems to have misled so careful a scholar as Henry Bradshaw, who refers to

a scrap of the MS. has come down to us (§ 14). Sir E. M. Thompson informs us that he was misled into making the statement referred to above through the assumption that the whole of the Cottonian Otho A xii was in the same handwriting. The fragments upon which this view of the age of the MS. was founded have nothing whatever to do with that of the Life. The MS. of the latter is distinguished in Smith's catalogue from the other contents of Otho A xii as being written *characteres antiquo*<sup>1</sup>. For the age of the MS. of the Life we are thrown back upon the evidence collected in §§ 14–24, which shows that one portion of it was in a very early eleventh-century hand, whilst part of it was in a later hand. Howorth identifies the former with the eleventh-century hand of Thompson's description, and the latter with the twelfth-century hand.

§ 78. Misled by this statement as to the preservation of fragments of the MS., Howorth proceeds to argue that it was a 'composite one, and actually written in two different centuries, and probably, therefore, made up from two different sources'<sup>2</sup>. This conclusion does not follow if it was, as it seems beyond all doubt to have been, a copy and not the author's autograph (§ 24). Howorth holds that it was the original, the *fons et origo*<sup>3</sup>, a view that it is difficult to reconcile with the facts set out in § 25. In consequence of the preceding statement of Thompson, Howorth is compelled to admit the existence of a nucleus of the work in the eleventh century. This, which is held to account for the extracts from the Life in Florence of Worcester, was, we are told, 'manipulated' in the

the non-existent fragments of the MS. of the Life in his *Collected Papers*, pp. 467, 485.

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogus Librorum MSS. Bibliothecae Cottoniae*, Oxford, 1696, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeum*, March 25, 1876, p. 426.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Sept. 2, 1876, p. 307; Aug. 4, 1877, p. 146.

twelfth century by a monk of St. Neots, probably the author of the *Annals of St. Neots*<sup>1</sup>. We have already shown that there are no grounds for connecting the work with the Huntingdonshire monastery (§ 75). This eleventh century nucleus is left in much obscurity, and Howorth argues frequently as if the entire work had been in the twelfth-century hand. Thus he overlooks Wise's note that the 'later hand' in the MS. ceased at the end of c. 98, and assumes that all the matter after this chapter was in a twelfth-century hand. He condemns it in unmeasured terms on the ground that it contains 'a great number of rhetorical additions,' meaning the portions omitted by Florence of Worcester (§ 33), which are ascribed to this twelfth-century 'manipulator' at St. Neots<sup>2</sup>. By a similar error he is led to maintain that 'the bald sentence' in c. 79, 1 *de occiduis et ultimis partibus Britanniae finibus*, to which Florence has prefixed the name *Asser* instead of the pronoun in the *Life*, 'was probably all that was contained in the original life,' and that out of it the manipulator 'has created quite a long paragraph, in which Asser professes to describe himself and his first intercourse with Alfred<sup>3</sup>.' As, according to Wise's note, the later hand did not commence until c. 88, 11, there is no justification, even if Thompson's view about the existence of fragments of the *Life* had been right, for this contention. The fact that Florence alters *omnibus vitae praesentis temporibus*, c. 100, 20, into *omni vitae suae tempore* is described as 'pregnant' and 'ominous.' We are told that 'in the one case we have reference to what took place in Alfred's days; in the other it is "at the present time<sup>4</sup>."' This is an entire misapprehension. The phrase in the *Life*, a favourite one with the

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, March 25, 1876, p. 426.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* May 27, 1876, p. 729.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* March 25, 1876, p. 426.

author (§ 56), does not refer to the 'present time,' but to the 'present life,' that is the life on earth. Even if Howorth's construction could be justified, the legitimate conclusion to be drawn would be that the Life is the older work, and that Florence was, in accordance with the plan of his work (§ 26), changing the time references to the past tense. On the basis of Florence's trivial alteration in this chapter it is boldly stated that 'this is an admitted addition or interpolation of the twelfth century, and we cannot avoid the conclusion that the other similar phrases which are absent from Florence and Simeon were added at the same time<sup>1</sup>.' The basis of this sweeping deduction disappears when it is realized that c. 100 was not written in the later hand, and must therefore have been written about a century before the date of Florence's work.

§ 79. Developing Pauli's expression of surprise that Florence of Worcester does not mention Asser among his sources<sup>2</sup>, although he 'is not afraid of naming his authorities,' Howorth argues that when Florence wrote 'the work from which he incorporated his facts concerning Alfred made no mention of Asser, and had none of those phrases in it which point to Asser having been its author<sup>3</sup>.' This argument collapses when the error in holding that c. 79 was written in the later hand is grasped, and when we consider the evidence pointing to the conclusion that Florence used the Cottonian MS. of the Life (§§ 25, 26, 33). Great stress is laid upon the entry of Asser's death in 883 in the text of Florence<sup>4</sup>, but this is a blundered

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, March 25, 1876, p. 426. So also Sept. 2, 1876, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *König Ælfred*, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, March 25, 1876, p. 426.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* The conclusion drawn from this entry in Florence of Asser's death that 'the work from which he incorporated his facts concerning Alfred made no mention of Asser,' and that the ascription of the work to Asser is 'probably a fabrication of the



interpolation (§ 41). Howorth then adds that Simeon of Durham does not name Asser as an authority, and that, coupled with Florence's silence, 'this concurrence of testimony is overwhelming<sup>1</sup>.' We do not attach the slightest importance to this. It was the exception for a mediaeval chronicler to acknowledge his obligations to his predecessors, whom he plagiarized in a manner that seems intolerable to modern ideas. Florence, for instance, mentions only Beda and the English chronicles by name, and yet he uses numerous other sources, saints' lives, the Norman Annals, and the present work in some shape or other. It is possibly included in the *fidelium virorum credibilis relatus*<sup>2</sup>, if that refers, as it seems to do, to written sources. The argument from the silence of the Durham work is even less weighty. Nor can more be said for that from William of Malmesbury<sup>3</sup>, who certainly derived matter from the Life, directly as Bishop Stubbs holds, or, as we think, through Florence of Worcester (§ 36), without mentioning either of them. As he was, in Howorth's words, 'so diligent an historian, and one who knew the materials of Early English history so well,' the fact that he mentions neither the Life nor Florence, although certainly using one or the other extensively, throws into strong relief the extreme danger of arguing from

twelfth century,' is controverted by Wise's facsimile, in which Asser's dedication appears in the very early eleventh-century hand. Moreover, Florence cannot have substituted *Asser* for *ego* of the Life in c. 79, 1 by mere guesswork. The argument that the other passages referring to the author are later in date than Florence is shown to be baseless in § 78.

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, March 25, 1876, p. 426.      <sup>2</sup> Ed. Thorpe, i. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept 2, 1876, p. 307. Malmesbury's silence is advanced as an argument that the Life is a later composition than his own, although Howorth is obliged to allow that some part of it existed in an eleventh-century hand. The weakness of this argument becomes apparent when we see that it would also prove that the work of Florence of Worcester was not in existence in William's time.

the silence of a mediaeval compiler that any given work was not in existence when he was writing. We may therefore pass over the argument that the *Life* is later than the time of Æthelweard because he does not refer to it<sup>1</sup>. This writer mentions none of his sources. We are told that it is 'incredible' that Æthelweard, 'who devoted himself in his *Chronicle* to a special account of Alfred, as bringing before his relative the glories of their common ancestor, . . . should have overlooked such a mine of matter as Asser's *Life of the great king*<sup>2</sup>, and that he has done so is held to prove conclusively that the *Life* was written at a later date. This is a misrepresentation of Æthelweard's work, which is merely a brief version of the history of England, with no personal details, drawn up from the *Chronicle*, which supplied in abundance all the material that he needed. It is simply the fullness of the *Chronicle* in Alfred's time that causes that king's reign to occupy so much space in Æthelweard's work. It is a mistake to say that Alfred was the writer's ancestor, for he distinctly tells us that he was descended from Alfred's brother Æthelred. This weak argument from Æthelweard's silence is backed up by the statement that there is a great probability that the author of the *Life* borrowed from Æthelweard<sup>3</sup>. The basis for this is the fact that both writers use a ship making for a port as a simile for the author and the object of his work<sup>4</sup>! This argument would equally prove that Cicero also borrowed from Æthelweard<sup>5</sup>. The interpolated matter from Matthew of Paris (c. 50c) Howorth endeavours to maintain as part of the text on the ground that 'if we excise it, we leave a gap in the narrative,' and arguments against the authenticity of the *Life* are

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Aug. 4, 1877, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* The parallelism was noted by Pauli, p. 10 note, but he refrained from the extravagant deduction drawn by Howorth.

<sup>5</sup> See the notes to this passage.

founded upon this chapter<sup>1</sup>. He remarks that Asser is the only one who makes mention of a sea-fight upon this occasion<sup>2</sup>, when it is not Asser at all but the much later St. Albans writer who is speaking. The account of Æthelweard, who is held to be 'by far the best authority for this period'<sup>3</sup>—surely an extravagant statement even if the Chronicle was a tenth-century work—is contrasted with this St. Albans passage to the discredit of the Life, with which it was first brought into connexion by Archbishop Parker. Nor is another attempt to prove that the Life is later in date than Æthelweard more successful. The statement that Christmas Day fell upon Friday in 856 is described, on the authority of so singularly inaccurate a writer as Dr. Giles, as a blunder, and is used as an argument that the work could not be a contemporary production<sup>4</sup>. But there is no blunder, and the passage is an interpolation

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308. Dr. Pauli treats this, the most unjustifiable of all Parker's interpolations, and one that we can see in the process of being made, much too seriously, as if it really had some connexion with the Life (*König Ælfred*, pp. 10, 118 note). Howorth's objection, based upon the breach of continuity in the narrative, is not of much weight when applied to annals, and could be met by retaining the next chapter, which relates to the same event at Swanwich and comes from the Annals of St. Neots. It may, therefore, possibly have formed part of the MS. of the Life used by the compiler of the Annals.

<sup>2</sup> From Pauli, p. 119, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308. No proof of this is advanced beyond the statement, repeated from Pauli, p. 119, note 2, that Æthelweard's words sound as if they were a word for word translation from an O.E. poem, whereas they may be paralleled by his style elsewhere when he is merely paraphrasing, as he is also doing in the present case, the words of the Chronicle. The only other discernible proof is that referred to at p. cxix, note 3. Howorth recognizes that the greater part of Æthelweard is translated from the Chronicle (*Athenaeum*, Aug. 4, 1877, p. 146).

<sup>4</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308.

(c. 17 b), as might easily have been discovered. The fact that it is an interpolation of Parker is glossed over at a later time by the remark that we are assured that the passage 'did not exist in the elder recension<sup>1</sup>.' But it is nevertheless used as 'pointing the same way' as the ship simile, that is, to borrowing from Æthelweard.

§ 80. A battle in Loch Cuan (Strangford Loch, County Down), we are told was 'undoubtedly the Cynwith <c. 54>, in the province of Damnonia, of the old chroniclers, who mistook the Irish Damnonia for Damnonia south of the Bristol Channel, or Devonshire.' The circumstance that the author of the Life places this battle in Devonshire is accordingly advanced as a proof of forgery, as it is 'incredible that a native of South Wales, and a contemporary and close friend of Alfred, could have made such a blunder<sup>2</sup>.' It is also astonishing that Æthelweard, who places this battle *in occidentales Anglorum partes*, should have made a similar mistake, especially as Howorth is convinced that this writer's account of Cynuit 'is the most important' one<sup>3</sup>. The Chronicle, which we are told is full of errors and of much less value than the account in Æthelweard and Simeon of Durham<sup>4</sup> (who copies the Life!), also places this fight in Devonshire. There is, however, no blunder in the Life; the charge is founded upon an impossible identification of two different events. In order to accept this identification we must be prepared to

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Aug. 4, 1877, p. 146.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Jan. 15, 1876, p. 88.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* March 4, 1876, p. 329. The sole basis for this is that Æthelweard adds the name of the Ealdorman in command, and that by the omission of the *et* between Healfdene and Ingwar, the former is converted into the slain leader of the Danes, who, in the Chronicle and Asser, is described as the brother of Healfdene and Ingwar, and this happens to fit in with the baseless combinations dealt with in this section.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* March 4, 1876, p. 329.

believe that a battle fought in Devonshire in 878 between Englishmen cooped up in a fort and Danes was a sea-fight between Norsemen in Strangford Loch in 877; that the brother of Healfdene and Ingwar, the slain leader, was Albann = Healfdene himself; and that Odda, the ealdorman of Devonshire and the leader of the English, according to Æthelweard, was the Irish king Aedh, who was not engaged in the fight at Strangford Loch! After this it is a small thing to find that the latter place is on the east coast of Ireland, whereas Damnonia was on the west.

§ 81. Howorth maintains that the story of Alfred's journey to Rome in 853 (c. 8), which is derived from the Chronicle, is 'surely very doubtful,' and adopts a suggestion, ascribed to Dr. Pauli<sup>1</sup>, that 'the story of the double journey (cc. 8; 11) has probably arisen from misplacing the journey of 855.' He argues that such a mistake is unlikely to have been made by a contemporary biographer<sup>2</sup>. But it is not a mistake, as independent evidence from Rome proves.

§ 82. In connexion with this chapter, Howorth 'questions the probability of Alfred's being consecrated Ethelwulf's successor, as Asser says,' and inquires if it is 'consistent in any way with Anglo-Saxon modes of thought that a child of four should be thus nominated to the exclusion of his elder brothers<sup>3</sup>.' For this assertion there is no warrant in the Life, which distinctly states that Æthelwulf left the kingdom to his two eldest sons (c. 16, 7).

§ 83. Howorth brings forward many arguments against the famous passage about Alfred and his mother and the illuminated book<sup>4</sup> (c. 23), but as they all involve the assumption, which we hold to be base-

<sup>1</sup> It is a suggestion intruded without notice in the translation of Pauli edited by Wright, p. 91, note \*. It does not occur in the original, p. 69, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeum*, May 27, 1876, p. 728.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



less, that this happened in Alfred's twelfth year, it is not necessary to discuss them.

§ 84. The silence of the Life as to Alfred's mission to India in 884 is held up as an objection to the work<sup>1</sup>. It really seems to be an argument in its favour<sup>2</sup>.

§ 85. Other sins of omission charged against the Life of Alfred are that 'we have no details about his Witenagemots, about the chief laymen at his court, about his political arrangements, nor about his foreign policy,' or 'of such romantic events as the voyage of Othere (*sic*), about which his master wrote<sup>3</sup>.' It is in favour of the work that it does not contain some of these things. Reports of proceedings at Witenagemots outside a legal document would certainly be suspicious at this date. An account of the king's foreign policy would have a distinctly modern air. As for Othere, who was a Norseman and not a subject of Alfred, one fails to see how an account of his voyage could come into the life of the king, who neither dispatched him on the voyage nor accompanied him. This argument is also invalidated by the consideration that we have no proof that his voyage took place before this work was written. One looks in vain for the names of prominent laymen or of ecclesiastics in the court in the works of Einhard or Thegan.

§ 86. We may now take some points of minor importance, which are little more than matters of opinion. Howorth asks, Is the tale of Æthelwulf's surrender of Wessex to his son (c. 12) 'a probable one, viewed not from our standpoint, but from that of the ninth century<sup>4</sup>?' In the light of Frankish history of the period, we have no hesitation in answering this query in the affirmative. Moreover, the story

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308.

<sup>2</sup> See note to c. 65.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* May 27, 1876, p. 728.

finds some corroboration. The *ut credo, usque ad obitum vitae suae* (c. 25, 14) is described as 'most clearly the phrase of an after compiler who has been napping, and has forgotten for the nonce that he should have known nothing of Alfred's death<sup>1</sup>. To us it seems 'most clearly' to be, from its awkward, ungrammatical intrusion into the text, a later interpolation (§ 26). The blunders in regard to the years of Alfred's age (§ 27), together with the non-existent blunder in the interpolated c. 17 b, 9 (§ 79), are adduced as proofs that the work could not have been written by a contemporary of Alfred<sup>2</sup>. The mistakes as to years are so stupid that they can only be ascribed to the copyist (§ 27). The objection to the name of the patriarch of Jerusalem (c. 91, 16) seems to rest upon a clerical error of the copyist of the MS., and we do not see anything 'ominous' in Florence's omission of this passage and of the corrupt clause that precedes it<sup>3</sup> (§§ 25, 33). The *praedandi causa* of c. 67, 3 is branded as giving 'a very improbable' cause for the mission of the king's ships to East Anglia<sup>4</sup>, an enemy's country. With Pauli<sup>5</sup> we see nothing improbable in this. It is seriously advanced against the Life that its author makes the king give *aedificia* to the newly baptized Danes<sup>6</sup> (c. 56, 33). Surely it is beyond the stupidity of any imaginable forger to say that the king rewarded the Danish leader and his men with 'buildings' before they left his kingdom! The word *aedificia* is, as Lappenberg<sup>7</sup> and Pauli<sup>8</sup> have recognized, a scribal error for *beneficia*, as it translates the *fēoh* of the Chronicle.

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 307.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> *König Ælfred*, p. 145, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 308.

<sup>7</sup> *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 321, note 2.

<sup>8</sup> *König Ælfred*, p. 141, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

§ 87. The Life, Howorth tells us, is in the rhetorical passages 'assuredly very much more in the style of the thirteenth century than of the ninth<sup>1</sup>.' The exact converse is, in our opinion, the truth (§ 57). One might search in vain in thirteenth-century English-Latin for anything bearing the peculiar Celto-Frankish stamp of the Latinity of this work. Equally wide of the mark is the assertion that it contains 'certain words which are exceedingly uncommon at the earlier date, and only existed in obscure quarters, but which became almost household words at the latter date, such as those referred to by Dr. Pauli, in his preface, namely the word *vasali*, the phrase *custos regis, cambra, &c.*<sup>2</sup>' The word *vassali* was never a common word in England, and it was unknown in thirteenth-century legal Latin<sup>3</sup>, and was much more used in the tenth century. As Florence of Worcester copies it from the Life, it cannot be later than the date of his death, 1118. Besides, the word in the Life is *fassellus*, an O.E. spelling that we should certainly not meet with in thirteenth-century Latin. *Cambra* appears frequently enough in the latter period, but always in its classical form *camera*. *Custos regis* does not occur at all in the work<sup>4</sup>.

§ 88. Finally, Howorth endeavours to prove that

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 309. This seems to be an exaggeration of Wright's statement that the Life is 'a commonplace specimen of monkish Latin' (*Biographia Britannica Literaria*, i. 412). Pauli rightly differs from Wright's view, *König Ælfred*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> How rare the word was may be seen from the remark in Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ed. 1, p. i. 277 that 'Glanville (in the later part of the twelfth century) introduces a very rare word in English legal documents, the antique word *vassallus*.'

<sup>4</sup> There seems to be a confusion with the *custodes regni* of Roger of Wendover, i. 363, quoted by Pauli, *König Ælfred*, p. 155, note 1.

the author was not a Welshman. The grounds for this are that Florence gives, in the manner of the *Life*, under 908, the British and Saxon names of Chester, and that he states, under dates later than the conclusion of the *Life*, that certain places are called by such and such *Saxonice* or *in lingua Anglorum*<sup>1</sup>. Howorth claims that these passages 'point as clearly to having been written by a Welshman as the instances quoted from the *Vita*.' To this we must demur *in toto*. The 908 passage is derived from Beda<sup>2</sup>, and the others are not parallel at all, as they do not give the British names. In tenth- and eleventh-century English charters the local names are commonly introduced by periphrastic locutions identical in meaning with *qui dicitur Saxonice*, &c. This trivial contention takes no count of the strong evidence that the author was a Welshman to be found apart from the British names of places given by him (§ 45).

§ 89. The *Times* of March 17, 1898, p. 8, contained an anonymous article against the authenticity of the *Life*. The arguments are a *réchauffé* of those that we have already dealt with, and the mistake about the existence of the MS. is repeated. The article abounds with errors, misrepresentations, and erroneous assumptions, and the conclusions are pressed home in very violent language. The only novelty about the article is the suggestion that 'some Welshman, perhaps for some political purpose like that of Giraldus Cambrensis, wishing to glorify his nation, and particularly St. David's, seized on this mention of Asser (in Florence of Worcester), compounded a life of Alfred from the Chronicle and Florence of Worcester, together with a life of St. Neot, inserting a few imaginary personal stories to give an air of reality to the narrative, and gave his life to the uncritical world.' This highly improbable theory is supported by a

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, Sept. 2, 1876, p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* ii. c. 3.

reference to 'the now admitted forgeries of Ingulph, and of Richard of Cirencester' and the life of St. Grimbald to prove that there is nothing improbable in it. Ingulph proceeded from the main source of the mediaeval forgeries, the attempt to procure a title for land held by a religious house, and the Life of St. Grimbald belongs to the category of saints' lives, where there was a particular object in view. Richard of Cirencester, *De Situ Britanniae*, was an antiquarian forgery of the eighteenth century, and cannot possibly be cited as a parallel to a work that goes back at least to the eleventh century. The passages in cc. 75, 11; 102, 17 are unjustifiably described as a reference to 'a public grammar school, presumably at Winchester.'

#### 7. SUMMARY.

§ 90. We have thus examined the charges brought against the Life, and we have not found one dealing with facts that support the view that the work is of later origin than it pretends to be. Opinions that it ought to have contained certain information cannot in the nature of things command much consideration. We may regret that it does not tell us many things that we would fain know, but the absence of such information cannot fairly be advanced as an argument against it, more especially when we consider the time when it was written and the continental biographies that seem to have been the author's models (§ 51). In the course of a microscopical examination of the work we have failed to discover anything that can be called an anachronism. There are, it is true, a few features that we cannot justify by contemporary evidence<sup>1</sup>, but any conclusion that these things condemn the Life would equally prove that the Cot-

<sup>1</sup> The holding of the office of butler by a great noble, c. 2, 3, and the passages relating to the reviewing of legal sentences by the king, c. 106, are the only ones of any moment.



tonian MS. could not have been written at the time when it was. The explanation in both cases is that we possess no records that throw light upon these usages, and, as they existed at the time of the writing of the MS. without our having any other record, they may also have been known in the time of King Alfred. This absence of anachronism is an argument in favour of the authenticity of the work. This argument is strengthened by the presence of several features that point to its being composed at least as early as the first half of the tenth century, and that are, so far as our scanty material enables us to judge, compatible with an earlier date. These features are the use of the title *Rex Angul-Saxonum*<sup>1</sup>, the term *Theotiscus* (c. 13, 29), and the mention of St. Gueriir at the place afterwards known as St. Neot in Cornwall (c. 74, 20). Agreeing with this date, although not incompatible with a slightly earlier or later one, are the evidence of the Welsh forms (§ 46), the Latinity (§§ 57, 58), the use of an old version of the scriptures (§ 59), and of an earlier form of the Chronicle than any that has come down to us (§ 54), and the reference to the monastery in the Island of Sheppey (c. 3, 10). The silence of the author regarding literary works that were ascribed to Alfred in the latter part of the tenth century (c. 77), the absence of the mythical stories concerning Inguar and Ubba, which were in circulation in the tenth century<sup>2</sup>, and the silence regarding the numerous myths that centred round Alfred himself at a slightly later period, are difficult to reconcile with the view that the Life is spurious. Similarly the author knows nothing of the cult that converted King Edmund of East Anglia into one of the most famous English saints before the end of the tenth century. To him

<sup>1</sup> See note to Dedication, p. 147 below.

<sup>2</sup> As instanced by Abbo's Life of St. Edmund, and the mystic raven banner of the Danes (c. 54 b).

he is merely the King of East Anglia (c. 33). A later forger might be expected to continue the Life up to the period of Alfred's greatest glory (§ 52) and up to his death. The information about Wales can hardly have come from any but a contemporary writer (§ 45). His statements that Æthelbald married his father's widow (c. 17), and that it was not customary for the wife of the West Saxon king to sit near her husband or be called queen (c. 13, 12), which are otherwise unknown in English sources, are corroborated by contemporary Frankish evidence. In like manner his account of the division of the kingdom between Æthelwulf and his son (c. 12) finds some corroboration in the Chronicle. His placing the coming of Bishop Werferth to Alfred's court before that of Plegmund (c. 77, 10) is supported by the evidence of Alfred's will. His mention of seeing a Danish boy (*paganicae gentis*) in the monastery at Athelney (c. 94, 10) recalls the statement that Archbishop Oda was the son of a pagan Dane who came to England in 866 in the army of Inguar and Ubba. It cannot be a mere coincidence that the author states that he had seen letters to Alfred from the patriarch of Jerusalem (c. 91, 16), and that Elias, whose name is recoverable from the text of the Life by an almost inevitable emendation, should have written letters to the rulers of Western Europe at this very time. It is, of course, within the bounds of possibility that a writer a century or so later than Alfred's time might by extreme good luck have avoided all anachronisms, have had access to some lost Welsh chronicle or records that enabled him to make a list of the South Welsh princes of Alfred's time, have been acquainted with Frankish chronicles, and have seen the letter of the patriarch of Jerusalem. But, although this is conceivable, it cannot be considered probable. In addition to this we should have to hold that the forger had made a lucky guess in sup-

plying the time of the eclipse in c. 59, which cannot have been derived from any Frankish or native chronicle that has come down to us. As the calculation of an eclipse is out of the question at this date, this alone seems a strong proof that the *Life* is the work of a contemporary of Alfred.

§ 91. The question of motive is an important one in regard to all forgeries. In no respect have the attacks upon the *Life* broken down more hopelessly than in attempting to find a motive for the hypothetical forger. The greater part of the mediaeval fabrications were concocted with very definite and utilitarian objects, such as to supply the missing details of a saint's life, to magnify the antiquity of a monastery, or to provide legal documents that should support the real or imaginary claims of a religious house to lands, immunities, or prerogatives. Of the deliberate forgery of lives of laymen, except so far as was necessary for the attainment of these objects, there is scarcely a trace. It is even less easy to discover an entirely spurious lay biography. The *Life* was preserved in a MS. that was certainly older than the great age of forgery in England—the period following the Norman Conquest. It is impossible to point to any monastery that could in any way gain by the circulation of the work. St. Davids was far away in Wales, and the statement that Alfred took it under his protection, besides being a very weak appeal to later Welsh princes, is an entirely inadequate reason for writing a book of the nature of the present. There is no specification of the lands or immunities of the house; there is nothing but a general statement as to incursions upon it. It is still more difficult to believe that the *Life* was intended to advance the interest of the monasteries founded by Alfred. The only saint mentioned is St. Gueriir, and in this case the testimonial to the power of his intervention is a very imperfect one, differing *toto caelo*

from the sweeping curative powers usually ascribed to saints in lives written to magnify their efficacy. When we compare the Life with the mythical British history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, written at a later time and strongly affected by Norman and Breton influences, we cannot help recognizing that the two works stand upon an entirely different plane. The central figure of Geoffrey's fabrications is King Arthur, who had for many centuries been a centre round which a gradually increasing circle of myths had crystallized themselves. There is nothing in the Life of Alfred that makes such amazing calls upon our credulity as does Geoffrey's life of Arthur. By the side of the glittering fictions and glaring improbabilities of the latter, the Life of Alfred displays its hero clothed in the sombre tints of truth.

§ 92. The failure of the attacks upon the authenticity of the Life of Alfred must not, however, be allowed to blind us to the difficulties it presents. Ebert has remarked that it is impossible that it had originally the form in which it has come down to us<sup>1</sup>, and Pauli holds that in its present shape it gives rise to grave doubts<sup>2</sup>. He thinks that these doubts would be removed if we possessed a better MS. than the lost Cottonian seems to have been. Both writers are probably influenced in part by the gross interpolations of Parker, and Pauli indeed writes throughout as if there were some reason beyond Parker's ill-judged efforts for regarding these interpolations as having some earlier connexion with the work than the time of Queen Elizabeth. But it is clear that Parker was the first person who brought the interpolated matter into connexion with the Life, and we must judge of the book entirely independently of the falsifications, which have so seriously prejudiced its

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Literatur des Mittelalters im Abendlande*, iii. 250.

<sup>2</sup> *König Ælfred*, p. 4.

good fame. It is to be hoped that future editions of the text will appear free from these mischievous additions, and we regret that it has not been possible to ignore them in the present edition. But when all this foreign matter has been excised, the work still presents some difficulties. Carelessness of transcription may possibly explain those that are merely verbal, but there still remain certain passages that lay the author open to the charge of exaggeration, such as his mention of gold-covered and silver-covered buildings (c. 91, 20), if that be the literal meaning of the passage, and his statement that Alfred might, if he had chosen, have been king before his elder brother Æthelred (c. 42, 6), with whom, it is clear, he was, on most intimate terms. The account of Alfred's early illness, of his cure, of his praying for an infirmity that should keep him in the paths of chastity, of the cure of the illness thus acquired at his marriage, and of his being then stricken with a compensatory infirmity immediately afterwards (c. 74) are hard to believe literally<sup>1</sup>. The morbid feelings here ascribed to the king read more like a chapter from a saint's life than a tale that had been told to the author by a man of action and intelligence such as Alfred proved himself to be. That the king did suffer from illness we know from his own testimony, and the mortality-table of his house shows that it was not very robust. We may perhaps venture upon the explanation that the author had been misled by his love of rhetoric into greatly exaggerating the bodily sufferings of the king for the purpose of heightening the colours of his picture or of emphasizing the difficulties under which the king performed his life's strenuous work. But in either case the result must be to shake our confidence in his strict veracity. Much may be forgiven to Celtic rhetoric, but one cannot help wondering what

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 311.



the 'truth-telling' king would have thought of such exaggerations or misrepresentations. Although the Life is dedicated to Alfred, he is not otherwise addressed in it. Lingard<sup>1</sup> has suggested that the author left the work in an unfinished condition. Its date of composition was six years only before the death of the king, and it is conceivable that the author, busy with the cares of his diocese, laid aside the incompleting draught upon hearing of the king's death, an event that would render pointless the dedication to him. The theory that the Cottonian MS. was copied from an unfinished draught would account for its strange imperfections, such as the frequent omissions of verbs in the sentences (§ 25). There are certain corrupt passages that may be explained by the theory that the scribes of this MS. have copied the original readings of the author's draught as well as those substituted by him during revision<sup>2</sup>. The curiously abrupt ending of the Life favours the theory that the MS. was incomplete; but this may have been an accident peculiar to the Cottonian MS. It is, however, noticeable that we discover no signs of the chroniclers who embodied matter from the Life (§ 33 sqq.) using a copy extending beyond the point where the Cottonian MS. terminated. On the whole, we may reasonably conclude that the incomplete nature of the work is not due to the Cottonian MS. but to the original from which it was copied.

<sup>1</sup> *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, iii. 424.

<sup>2</sup> See the notes to cc. 27, 17; 38, 5; 40, 1-2; 99, 5; 105, 4; 106, 12.

## SIGLA.

Quae exscripsit Florentius Wigorniensis litteris rectis, quae vero praetermisit litteris inclinatis excudenda curavimus. Interpolata litteris minoribus impressa sunt.

*Cott* = Codex Cottonianus Otho A xii, qui an. 1731 igne periit (§ 14).

*B* = apographum saeculi sextodecimi, Codex Cotton. Otho A xii\* (§ 29).

*Co* = apographum in usum Parkerii factum, Coll. Corporis Christi Cantabrigiae, No. 100 (§ 28).

*Ar* = apographum saeculi sextodecimi, Bibliotheca Universitatis Cantabrigiae, Add. 3825 (§ 30).

## EDITIONES.

*P* = Parkeriana, an. 1574 (§ 4).

*Camd* = Camdeniana, an. 1602-3 (§ 7).

*W* = Wiseana, an. 1722 (§ 11).

*Pet* = Petreana, an. 1848 (§ 12).

## EXPILATORES.

*Flor* = Florentius Wigorniensis (§ 33).

*SN* = Annales, qui dicuntur, Fani Sancti Neoti (§ 34).

*SD* 1 = Simeonis Dunelmensis 'Historiae Regum Anglorum' pars prior (§ 35).

*SD* 2 = Simeonis Dunelmensis 'Historiae Regum Anglorum' pars altera (§ 35).

# ASSERIUS

DE

## REBUS GESTIS ÆLFREDI

*Domino meo venerabili piissimoque omnium  
Brittanniae insulae Christianorum rectori, Ælfred,  
Anglorum Saxonum regi, Asser, omnium servorum  
Dei ultimus, millemodam ad vota desideriorum  
utriusque vitae prosperitatem.*

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCXLIX natus 1  
est Ælfred, Angul-Saxonum rex, in villa regia, quae  
dicitur Uuanating, in illa paga, quae nominatur  
Berrocschire: quae paga taliter vocatur a Berroc  
silva, ubi buxus abundantissime nascitur. Cuius 5

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*Titulum add. W: Alfredi res gestae authore Asser Co (manu P  
scripta), P, B Capita numeris ipse notavi*

*Superscriptio Britanniae imago: Britanniae Co B P cett. Edd.*

1. Exscripserunt SD 1 SD 2 I DCCCXLVIII SD 2  
2 Alfred B Anglorum Saxonum B 3 Uuanating imago  
P Ar: Wanating Co B: Wanading Camd W: Wanetinge SD 1  
plaga SD 2 4 Berrocschire Ar que imago: quae Edd.  
5 abundantissime B Camd W Pet: hab- P Ar: babundaneissime  
(sic) imago nascitur P Ar cett. Edd.: nasettur (sic) imago

genealogia tali serie contexitur: Ælfred rex, filius Æthelwulfi regis; qui fuit Ecgeberhti; qui fuit Ealhmundi; qui fuit Eafa; qui fuit Eoppa; qui fuit Ingild; Ingild et Ine, ille famosus Occidentalium rex Saxonum, germani duo fuerunt, qui Ine Romam perrexit, et ibi vitam praesentem finiens honorifice, caelestem patriam, cum Christo regnaturus, adiit; qui fuerunt filii Coenred; qui fuit Ceoluuald; qui fuit Cudam; qui fuit Cuthwine; 15 qui fuit Ceaulin; qui fuit Cynric; qui fuit Creoda; qui fuit Cerdic; qui fuit Elesa; <qui fuit Esla;> qui fuit Geuuis, a quo Britones totam illam gentem Geguuis nominant; <qui fuit Wig; qui fuit Freawine; qui fuit Freothegar;> qui fuit Brond; qui fuit 20 Beldeag; qui fuit Uuoden; qui fuit Frithowald; qui fuit Frealaf; qui fuit Frithuwulf; qui fuit Finn

6 post genealogia add. talis imago Co B P Ar rell. Edd. 7 Æthelwulfi B Egberhti Camd W Pet: Egberhti B 8 Easae Flor Eoppa Co B Flor: Eowwa Ar Edd. (natum ex errore, ut videtur, operarum P, litteris p et p = w confusis) 9 Ingels Flor: Ingles SD 2 10 Germani P Camd W 13 fuere Ar 14 Ceolwald Flor SD 2: Ceolwold SD 1: Ceolwalde rell. Cutha recte Flor: Cuda SD 1 SD 2 Cuderwine SD 1 Edd. (ex Cuðwine perperam lecto, namque littera ð a compendio, quo seculo duodecimo p. C. n. der, dre interdum notabantur, haud facile dinoscas) 15 Cinric Co Ar 16 qui fuit Esla ex Flor supplevit W, quae exhibet SD 2: om. Co B P Ar Camd SD 1 17 Brittones Co 18 Gewis Flor Ar W qui fuit Wig . . . Freothegar ex Flor supplevit W, quae exhibet SD 2: om. Co P Ar Camd SD 1 20 Beldeag Flor (recte Bealdæg, cf. Chron. Anglo-Sax. ann. 855): Belde Co B P Ar cett. Edd. SD 1: Bealdeag SD 2 Frithowald Co Flor: Frithuwald SD 1: Frithewald SD 2: Frithowalde rell. 21 Frithuwulfe Co Ar: Frithowulfe B: Fritheulf SD 2: Fridrenwulf (ex Friðuulf male lecto; vide quae ad v. 14 adnotauimus) SD 1 Finn, qui fuit Godwulf scripsi secutus Chron. Anglo-Sax.: Fingodwulf(e), Fyn-Co P Edd. Ar B: om. SD 1: Fingoldwulf Flor (vide infra, p. 158,

< qui fuit > Godwulf; qui fuit Geata, quem Getam iam dudum pagani pro deo venerabantur. Cuius Sedulius poeta mentionem facit in Paschali metrico carmine, ita dicens <sup>a</sup>:

25

cum sua gentiles studeant figmenta poetæ  
 grandisonis pompare modis, tragicoque boatu  
 ridiculove Getæ seu qualibet arte canendi  
 saeva nefandarum renovent contagia rerum,  
 et scelerum monumenta canant, ritumque magistro <sup>30</sup>  
 plurima Niliacis tradant mendacia biblis:  
 cur ego Daviticis assuetus cantibus odas  
 chordarum resonare decem, sanctoque verenter  
 stare choro, et placidis caelestia psallere verbis,  
 clara salutiferi taceam miracula Christi? <sup>35</sup>

Qui Geata fuit Tætuua; qui fuit Beauu; qui fuit Sceldwea; qui fuit Heremod; qui fuit Itermod; qui fuit Hathra; qui fuit Huala; qui fuit Beduwig; qui fuit Seth; qui fuit Noe; qui fuit Lamech; qui fuit Mathusalem; qui fuit Enoch; < qui fuit Iared; > <sup>40</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Paschalis Carminis lib. i. 17 (Opera, ed. I. Hümer, Corpus Scriptt. Ecclesiast. Latinorum, tom. x. Vindobonae, 1885).

not. 2) SD 2      22 Geada Camd: Geta SD 2      Geatam Flor  
 26-28 extant in SD 1 SD 2      28 Geta Hümer      29  
 renovant Co B P Ar Camd      30 monumenta Co B P Ar Camd  
 canunt Co B P Ar Camd      magistro Co B P Ar Camd Hümer:  
 sinistro 'sic <Sedulii> Ed. Vienn. Ao. 1519' W quod rec.  
 W Pet      31 tradunt Co B P      32 Daviticis Co P Ar Hümer:  
 Davidicis B Camd W Pet      36 Tætuua scripsi secutus Chron.  
 Anglo-Sax.: Caetuua Co B P Ar Camd W Pet: Ceatwa Flor SD 2  
 Cetwa SD 1      38 Huala B: Wala Flor SD 1 SD 2      Beaduwig  
 Flor: Beaduwig (lege Beaduwig) SD 2: Bedwig SD 1      39 Seth  
 Co B P Ar Camd Flor: Sem W Pet SD 1 SD 2 Legendum tamen  
 Sceaf (cf. Chron. Anglo-Sax. ann. 855)      40 qui fuit Iared ex  
 Flor supplevit W: om. Co B P Ar Camd SD 1 SD 2



qui fuit Malaleel; qui fuit Cainan; qui fuit Enos;  
qui fuit Seth; qui fuit Adam.

2 *De genealogia matris eius.*

Mater quoque eiusdem Osburh nominabatur,  
religiosa nimium femina, nobilis ingenio, nobilis et  
genere; quae erat filia Oslac, famosi pincernae  
Æthelwulfi regis. Qui Oslac Gothus erat natione;  
5 ortus enim erat de Gothis et Iutis, de semine scilicet  
Stuf et Wihtgar, duorum fratrum et etiam comitum,  
qui, accepta potestate Uuectae insulae ab avunculo  
suo Cerdic rege et Cynric filio suo, consobrino  
eorum, paucos Britones eiusdem insulae accolae,  
10 quos in ea invenire potuerunt, in loco, qui dicitur  
Guuihtgaraburhg, occiderunt. Ceteri enim accolae  
eiusdem insulae ante aut occisi erant aut exules  
aufugerant.

3 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLI, nativi-  
tatis autem Ælfredi regis tertio, Ceorl, Domnaniae  
comes, cum Domnaniis contra paganos pugnavit in  
loco, qui dicitur Uuicganbeorg, et Christiani victo-  
5 riam habuerunt. Et ipso eodem anno primum*

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2 *Exscripserunt totum SD 2, partim SD 1* 1 Osburh Co:  
Osbruh B: Osburga Flor: Osburgh rell. 4 Æthelwolfi B 5  
Indis Camd, quod e Cott perperam enotat W, affirmat enim Ussher  
Iutis in eo extitisse 6 Wihtgar Flor SD 1 SD 2: Wihtgur  
Co B: Wihtzur (an errore operarum?) P Ar Camd W Pet 8  
Cinric Ar 9 Brittones Co 11 Wihtgaraburg Flor: Guuiht  
Garaburhg Co Camd 13 aufugerunt Co B P: fugerant SD 2  
3 *Exscripserunt totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2* 2 Karl  
SD 2: Georl B Dōnania SN 3 Domnanus Co P Camd:  
Domnanis B: Dōnanis SN post paganos add. Normannos sive  
Danos B P Ar Camd (ex SN) Nordimannos (Nordmannos SN) sive  
Danos 4 Uuicganbeorga SN: Wicgambeorg Camd W Pet:  
Wincanbeorh SD 2 6 Scepieg Co B: Scheapieg Camd W Pet:

hiemaverunt pagani in insula, quae vocatur Sceap-  
ieg, quod interpretatur 'insula ovium'; quae sita  
est in Tamesi flumine inter East-Seaxum et Can-  
tuarios, sed ad Cantiam propior est quam ad  
East-Seaxum; in qua monasterium optimum con- 10  
structum est.

Eodem quoque anno magnus paganorum exer- 4  
citus cum trecentis et quinquaginta navibus in  
ostium Tamesis fluminis venit et Doruberniam, id  
est Cantwariorum civitatem, (et Lundoniam) (quae  
est sita in aquilonari ripa Tamesis fluminis, in 5  
confinio East-Seaxum et Middel-Seaxum, sed  
tamen ad East-Seaxum illa civitas cum veritate  
pertinet) depopulati sunt, et Beorhtulfum, Mercio-  
rum regem, cum omni exercitu suo, qui ad proe- 10  
liandum contra illos venerat, in fugam verterunt.

His ibi ita gestis, praedictus paganorum exer- 5  
citus perrexit in Suthrie, quae paga sita est in

---

Sceapeige *SN* 7 quod interpretatur insula ovium *om. SN*  
8 Thamesi *B*: Tamensi *SN* Eastsexum *B* Centaurios *Camd*  
(errore, ut videtur, operarum) 9 Cantiam *Co SN Flor*: Cantium  
*cett.* quem *Co* ad *om. SN* 10 Eastsexum *B* in qua  
... constructum est *om. SN*

4 *Exscripserunt SN SD 1 SD 2* 3 Thamesi *B*: Tamensis  
*SD 1 SD 2*: Tam̄sis *SN* et Doruberniam ... civitatem *Cott.* (*teste*  
*W*) *Co Flor SD 1 SD 2*: *om. P Camd SN* Doroborniam, .. Cantua-  
riorum *B* 4 et Lundoniam *SN Flor*: *om. Cott.* (*teste W*) *Co*  
*B SD 1 SD 2*: et Londoniam *P Ar Edd.* post Lundoniam *add.*  
(*ex SN*) civitatem *P Ar rell.* quae ... pertinet *om. SD 1*  
*SD 2* 5 aquilonali *Flor SN* Thamesi *B*: Tamensis *SN*  
6 Sexum *B SN* Middle *P W*: Middel *Camd*: Middil *SN*:  
Midle *B* 7 Sexum *B* 8 Beortulfum *B* 9 suo *om. B*

5 *Exscripserunt SD 1 SD 2* 1 ita *om. B* 2 Suthrie  
*Co*: Suthrye *B*: Suthrigie *SN*: Suthregia *Flor*: Suthrige *SD 1*  
*SD 2*: Suthriae *rell.*

meridiana Tamesis fluminis ripa ab occidentali parte Cantiae. Et Æthelwulfus, [*Occidentalium*] Saxonum 5 rex, et filius suus Æthelbaldus cum omni exercitu in loco, qui dicitur Aclea, id est 'in campulo quercus,' diutissime pugnaverunt; ibique, cum diu acerime et animose ex utraque parte pugnatum esset, maxima pars paganae multitudinis funditus deleta 10 et occisa est, ita qualiter nunquam in aliqua regione in una die, ante nec post, ex eis occisam esse audivimus, et Christiani victoriam honorifice tenuerunt et loco funeris dominati sunt.

6 Eodem quoque anno Æthelstan, [*filius Æthelwulfi regis*], et Ealhere comes magnum paganorum exercitum in Cantia, in loco, qui dicitur Sandwic, occiderunt, et ex navibus eorum novem naves cepe- 5 runt; ceteri per fugam elapsi sunt.

7 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLIII, nati-  
vitatibus autem Ælfredi regis quinto*, Burgred, Mer-

3 Tamensis *SN* 4 Cantiae *Flor Co B SN: Cantii rell.*  
Ethelwulfus *Co: Æthelwulfus B: Adheluulfus SN Occiden-*  
*talium (ex SN interpolatum) B P rell. Edd.: om. Cott. (teste W)*  
*Co SD 1 SD 2: West Flor* 5 Adhelbaldus *SN post exer-*  
*citu add. suo contra praefatum exercitum SN* 6 Aclea *SN id*  
*est . . . quercus om. SN* 7 acerime *SN* 9 paganae *B* 11  
occisum *B SN* 13 loci *Co SN*

6 *Exscripserunt SN SD 1 (an. 852) SD 2 (an. 852)* 1 quo-  
que] vero *SN* Ethelstan *B: Adhelstan rex SN* filius Æthel-  
wulfi regis *om. Cott. (teste W) Co B SD 1 SD 2: exhibent (inter-*  
*polata ex SN) P Ar Camd W Pet (Athelwulfi P: Adhelwulfi*  
*SN)* 2 Ealchere *SN* paganorum] Nordmannorum *SN*  
3 Cantia *Co Flor SN SD 1 SD 2: Cantio rell.* 4 et (= æt,  
'apud') *SD 1 acceperunt Cott. (teste W) Co* 5 ceteris . . .  
elapsis *SN*

7 *Exscripserunt SD 1 SD 2* 2 quinto *correxit W: quinto*  
*SD 1: undecimo Cott. (teste W) P Ar Camd: ij<sup>o</sup> Co: om. B*

ciorum rex, per nuncios deprecatus est Æthelwulfum, Occidentalium Saxonum regem, ut ei auxilium conferret, quo mediterraneos Britones, qui inter 5 Merciam et mare occidentale habitant, dominio suo subdere potuisset, qui contra eum immodice reluctabantur. Nec segnius Æthelwulfus rex, legatione eius accepta, exercitum movens, Britanniam cum Burghredo rege adiit, statimque ut ingreditur, 10 gentem illam devastans, dominio Burgredi subdit. Quo facto, domum revertitur.

Eodem anno Æthelwulfus rex praefatum filium 8 suum Ælfredum, magno nobilium et etiam ignobilium numero constipatum, honorifice Romam transmisit. Quo tempore dominus Leo Papa [*quartus*] apostolicae sedi praererat, qui praefatum infantem Ælfredum 5 oppido ordinans unxit in regem, et in filium adoptionis sibimet accipiens confirmavit.

Eodem quoque anno Ealhere comes, cum Can- 9 tuariis, et Huda, cum Suthriis, contra paganorum exercitum in insula, quae dicitur *in Saxonica lingua*

3 Ethelwulfum Co: Æthelwulfum B 6 Marciam Camd W Pet  
domino Co 9 eius om. Co 10 Burgredo Co. B: Burghredi  
Ar Camd 11 Burghredi W Pet: Burghredo Camd

8 Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 1 post anno add. quoque B  
Æthelwulfus B: Adhelwulfus SN praefatum om. SN 2 Alfre-  
dum SN 4 dompnus SN quartus om. Cott. (teste W)  
Co SD 1: exhibent (interpolatum ex SN) B P Ar Camd W: secluisit  
Pet 4-5 Quo . . . Ælfredum] Quem Leo Papa, sui patris rogatu  
Flor SD 2 5 Alfreddum SN 6 oppido . . . confirmavit]  
confirmavit et in filium adoptionis sibimet accepit, et etiam unctus  
(sic) oleo consecravit in regem SN

9 Exscripp. SN SD 1 (an. 854) SD 2 (an. 854) 1 Aelhere  
Co: Alchere SN 2 Huda] Wada SD 1 SD 2 Suthreis B:  
Suthregiis Flor: Suthrigiis SD 1: Suthriis SD 2 3 quae dicitur  
in Saxonica lingua om. SN SD 2: quae Saxonice dicitur Flor in

- Tenet, Britannico *autem sermone* Ruim, animose et  
 5 acriter belligeraverunt, et primitus Christiani vic-  
 toriam habuerunt, prolongatoque diu proelio ibidem  
 ex utraque parte plurimi ceciderunt et in aqua  
 mersi suffocati sunt, et comites illi ambo ibidem  
 occubuerunt. Necnon et eodem anno Æthelwulfus,  
 10 Occidentalium Saxonum rex, post Pascha filiam  
 suam Burgredo Merciorum regi in villa regia, quae  
 dicitur Cippanhamme, nuptiis regaliter factis, ad  
 reginam dedit.
- 10 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLV, nati-*  
*vitatis autem praefati regis septimo, [Eadmundus,*  
*Orientalium Anglorum gloriosissimus, coepit regnare VIII.*  
*kalend. Ianuarii, id est die natalis Domini, anno aetatis*  
 5 *suae decimo quarto. Hoc etiam anno Lotharius, Imperator*  
*Romanus, obiit, filius Ludovici Augusti piissimi. Anno*  
*eodem, sub initio Karoli tertii Imperatoris, filii Ludovici*  
*secundi], magnus paganorum exercitus tota hieme*  
*in praefata Scepeige insula hiemaverunt.*
- 11 Eodem anno Æthelwulfus *praefatus venera-*

*om. B* 4 Tenet *SD 1*: Tenet *SD 2* Brittones *Co*: Britannico  
 autem sermone *om. SN*: Britannice Ruim *Flor* Ruym *B*: *om.*  
*SD 2* 6 diu *om. SN* 7 occiderunt *Co* 9 anno eodem *SN*  
 Athelwulfus *SN* 10 post Pascha *om. SD 1 SD 2*: ante Occiden-  
 talium *exhibent Co B P Edd. SN* 11 Burchredo *SN* 12  
 Cypanhamme *B* ante Cippanhamme *add. Et (=æt 'apud')*  
*SD 1*

10 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 1 nativitatis... septimo *om.*  
*SN* 2 praefati *om. B* post septimo *add. rex SN* Ead-  
 mundus] 'Abhinc ad magnus paganorum (v. 8) &c. omnia deunt  
*MS. Cott.' W: om. Co B SD 1 SD 2*: exhibent (interpolata  
 ex *SN*) *P Ar Camd: seclussit Pet* 6 Romanorum *SN*  
 Hloðuici *SN* 7 sub initio] in initium *SN* Loduici *SN*  
 8 ante magnus *add. eodem anno SN* tota hieme] hiemavit *SN*  
 9 praefata *om. SN* insula Sceapeige *SN* hiemaverunt *om. SN*

11 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 1 post Eodem *add. quoque SN*



*bilis* rex decimam totius regni sui partem ab omni regali servitio et tributo liberavit, in sempiternoque graphio in cruce Christi, pro redemptione animae suae et antecessorum suorum, uni et trino Deo 5 immolavit. *Eodemque anno* cum magno honore Romam perrexit, *praefatumque* filium suum Ælfredum iterum in eandem viam secum ducens, *eo quod illum* plus ceteris *filiis* diligebat, ibique anno integro remoratus est. Quo peracto, ad 10 patriam suam remeavit, adferens secum Iuthittam, Karoli, Francorum regis, filiam.

Interea tamen, Æthelwulfo rege ultra mare 12 tantillo tempore immorante, quaedam infamia contra morem omnium Christianorum in occidentali parte Selwuda orta est. Nam Æthelbaldus rex, [*Æthelwulfi regis filius,*] et Ealhstan, Scire- 5 burnensis ecclesiae episcopus, Eanwulf quoque Summurtunensis pagae comes coniurasse referuntur, ne unquam Æthelwulf rex, a Roma revertens, iterum in regno reciperetur. Quod inauditum omnibus

Adhelwulfus *SN* praefatus *om. SN* 2 post rex *add. Occident-*  
*talium Saxonum SN* 3 sempiterno *Co B* 4 grafio *Co B*  
*P Ar Camd SN* 6 eodem quoque *B SN: sicque Flor: om.*  
*SD 1 SD 2* 7 praefatum *SN* Ælfredum *SN* 8 eadem  
*via SN* 9 eo quod illum] quem *Flor SD 2* dilexit *Flor*  
*SD 2* ibi *Flor SD 2* 10 remoratus 'sic MS. Cott.' *W: demo-*  
*ratus (ex SN) B P Ar Camd* 11 Iuditham *SN*  
 12 *Exscripsit SN* 1 Æthelwulfo tamen *Co* Adhelwulfo  
*SN* 2 inmorante *Co* 4 Selwudae *Flor: Salouuda SN*  
 Æthelbald *B P Camd: Adhelbaldus SN* 5 Æthelwulfi regis  
 filius *om. Cott. (teste W). Co: exhibent (ex SN interpolata) B P*  
*Ar Camd W: secl. Pet* Æthelwulfi *B: Adhelwulfi SN*  
 Ealhstanus *SN: Ealhastanus SD 1* 6 Eamwulfe *Co B* 7  
 Sumertunensis *B: Sumurtunensis SN* 8 Æthelwulfe *Co:*  
 Æthelwolfe *B: Adhelwulfus SN*

10 seculis ante infortunium, episcopo et comiti scum-  
 modo per plurimi reputant, ex quorum consilio  
 hoc factum esse perhibetur. Multi quoque regali  
 solummodo insolentiae deputant, quia et ille rex in  
 hac re et in multis aliis perversitatibus pertinax  
 15 fuit, sicut quorundam hominum relatu audivimus:  
 quod et rei sequentis approbavit effectus. Nam  
 redeunte eo a Roma, praedictus filius regis Æthel-  
 wulfi cum omnibus suis consiliariis, immo insidiariis,  
 tantum facinus perpetrare tentati sunt, ut regem a  
 20 regno proprio repellerent: quod nec Deus ita fieri  
 permisit, nec nobiles totius Saxoniae consenserunt.  
 Nam, ne irremedicabile Saxoniae periculum, belli-  
 gerante patre et filio, quin immo tota cum gente  
 ambobus rebellante, atrocius et crudelius per dies  
 25 singulos quasi clades intestina augetur, ineffabili  
 patris clementia et omnium astipulatione nobilium,  
 adunatum antea regnum inter patrem et filium divi-  
 ditur, et orientales plagae patri, occidentales filio e  
 contrario deputantur. Ubi enim pater iusto iudicio  
 30 regnare debuerat, illic iniquus et pertinax filius  
 regnabat; nam occidentalis pars Saxoniae semper  
 orientali principalior est.  
 13 Adveniente igitur Æthelwulfo rege a Roma,

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10 seculi *SN*    12 regali *om. Ar*    13 *post ille add. Æthelbald*  
*Co B*    15 sic *SN*    16 regi *Co*    probavit *B*    17 Æthelwulf  
*Co: Æthelwolfe B: Adhelwulfi SN*    18 insiliariis *Flor SN*    19  
 temptati *Co B Ar SN*    21 Angliae *SN*    22 inremediabile  
*Co SN post irremedicabile add. totius B SN Angliae SN*  
 23 quinimmo *Ar*    24 rebellantibus *Flor*    28 plagae *Co*  
*B P Ar Camd W Pet Flor: pagae SN fortasse recte e om. B*  
 31 Angliae *SN*  
 13 *Exscripsit SN*    1 Adhelwulfo *SN*    4 Adhelbaldum *SN*

tota illa gens, ut dignum erat, in adventu senioris  
 ita gavisus est, ut, si ille permitteret, pertinacem  
 filium suum Æthelbaldum cum omnibus suis con-  
 siliariis a totius regni sorte expellere vellent. Sed 5  
 ille, ut diximus, nimia clementia et prudenti consilio  
 usus, ne ad regni periculum perveniret, ita fieri  
 noluit; et Iuthitham, Karoli regis filiam, quam a  
 patre suo acceperat, iuxta se in regali solio [*suo*,]  
 sine aliqua suorum nobilium controversia et odio, 10  
 usque ad obitum vitae suae, contra perversam illius  
 gentis consuetudinem, sedere imperavit. Gens  
 namque Occidentalium Saxonum reginam iuxta  
 regem sedere non patitur, nec etiam reginam ap-  
 pellari, sed regis coniugem, permittit. Quam con- 15  
 troversiam, immo infamiam, de quadam pertinaci et  
 malevola eiusdem gentis regina ortam fuisse,  
 maiores *illius terrae perhibent; quae omnia contraria*  
*seniori suo et omni populo ita peregit, ut non solum*  
*suum proprium odium mereretur, ut a reginali solio 20*  
*proiceretur, sed etiam omnibus suis subsequatricibus*  
*eandem pestiferam tabem post se submitteret.* Pro  
 nimia namque illius reginae malitia omnes accolae  
 illius terrae coniuraverunt, ut nullum unquam regem

7 proveniret SN 8 ante et add. sed SN Iuthittam Co B P  
 Camd: Iuditham SN Karoli Co B Ar: Faroli Cott. (teste  
 W) P Camd, 'Fa pro Ka' adu. P Camd 9 alterum suo om.  
 Cott. (teste W) Co B SN 13 Orientalium Ar 14 appellari  
 Flor: appellare rell. 15 quae controversia Flor 16 infamia  
 Flor: insaniam B 17 malivolo SN reginae B orta est  
 Flor 18 maioribus nostris sic attestantibus Flor illius . . .  
 seniiori *abscessa* SN, *exhibet editio* 20 meretur et a regali  
 Co 21 *subsequatricibus* Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd SN  
 22 *submitteret* SN 22-7 pro . . . vellet *ad finem capitis subse-*  
*quentis transtulit* Flor 23 nimia namque illius] huiusmodi Flor

25 super se *in vita sua* regnare permitterent, qui reginam in regali solio iuxta se sedere imperare vellet. *Et quia, ut opinor, multis habetur incognitum unde haec perversa et detestabilis consuetudo in Saxoniam, ultra morem omnium Theotiscorum, pri-*  
 30 *mitus orta sit, paulo latius mihi videtur intimumandum. Quod a domino meo Ælfredo, Anglosaxonum rege veredico, etiam saepe mihi referente, audivi; quod et ille etiam a verediciis multis referentibus, immo ex parte non modica illud factum*  
 35 *commemorantibus, audierat.*

14 Fuit in Mercia moderno tempore quidam strenuus atque universis circa se regibus et regionibus finitimis formidolosus rex, nomine Offa, qui vallum magnum inter Britanniam atque Merciam de mari  
 5 *usque ad mare fieri imperavit.* Cuius filiam, nomine Eadburh, Beorhtric Occidentalium Saxonum rex, sibi in coniugium accepit. Quae confestim accepta regis amicitia et totius pene regni potestate, more paterno tyrannice vivere incepit, et  
 10 *omnem hominem execrari, quem Beorhtric diligeret, et omnia odibilia Deo et hominibus facere, et omnes, quos posset, ad regem accusare, et ita aut vita aut*

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26 reginali B SN      29 Anglia SN      Theotiscorum scripsi: Theotiscirum Cott. (teste W) Co Camd: Theothiscirum B P Ar: Theotiscarum W Pet: gentium SN post Theotiscorum add. id est gentium B, quae in textum Camd W Pet post omnium irrepsit ex glossemate (ex SN) margini P Ar adscripto 31 Angulo-SN 32 veridico SN

14 Exscripp. SD 1 (an. 802) SN 4 Bryttaniam SN et SN 5 fieri scripsi: facere omnes imperabat B filia B 6 Eadburh Co B Flor: Eadburga SN: Eadburgh rell. Beorchtricus SN 7 post rex add, ut praediximus Flor confestim] mox Flor 10

potestate per insidias privare. Et si a rege illud impetrare non posset, veneno eos necabat; *sicut* de adolescente quodam regi dilectissimo hoc factum 15 compertum habetur, quem cum ad regem accusare non posset, veneno eum necavit. De quo veneno etiam praefatus ille Beorhtric rex inscruenter gustasse aliquid refertur: neque enim illa venenum dare regi proposuerat, sed puero; sed rex praeoccupavit, 20 inde ambo periire.

Defuncto igitur Beorhtrico rege, cum illa inter 15 [Occidentales] Saxones diutius fieri non posset, ultra mare navigans, cum innumerabilibus thesauris, Karolum illum [*magnum et*] famosissimum Francorum regem adiit. Ad quam, cum ante solarium 5 multa regi afferens dona staret, Karolus ait: 'Elige, Eadburh, quem velis *inter* me et filium meum, qui mecum in solarium isto stat.' At illa, sine deliberatione stulte respondens, [*dicens*] ait: 'Si mihi electio conceditur, filium tuum, in quantum te iunior est, 10 eligo.' Cui Karolus respondens et arridens, ait: 'Si me eligeres, haberes filium meum; sed quia

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hominem omnem B execrare Co B P Ar SN Brictricus SN  
12 ita] sic Flor post ita add. ut SN 14 eum Ar coepit  
necare Flor 15 adholescente SN 16 post accusare add. vellet  
et SD 1 17 eum om. SN 18 Beorhtric B: Beorhtricus SN  
19 aliquid post rex v. 18 habet B

15 Exscripp. SN SD 1 1 Beorhtrico B: Beorhtrico SN  
illa] regina Flor 2 Occidentales om. Cott. (teste W) Co: exhibent (ex SN interpolatum) B P Ar: secl. Pet post Saxones add. vel Anglos SN fieri SN (ferri Ed.): esse Flor 4 magnum atque (et) famosissimum om. Cott. (teste W) Co B Flor SD 1: exhibent (ex SN interpolata) P Ar Camd W: secl. Pet 5 quem P Camd W SN SD 1 6 offerens Flor 7 Eadburh Co B Flor: Eadburga SN: Eadburh rell. et] aut Flor



- filium meum elegisti, nec me nec illum habebis.  
 Dedit tamen illi unum magnum sanctimonialium  
 15 monasterium; in quo, deposito seculari habitu et  
 sanctimonialium indumento *assumpto*, perpaucis  
 annis abbatissae fungebatur officio. *Sicut enim  
 irrationabiliter in propria vixisse refertur, ita multo  
 irrationabilius in aliena gente vivere deprehenditur.*  
 20 Nam a quodam *suae propriae gentis homine* constu-  
 prata, *demum palam deprehensa*, de monasterio, im-  
 perio Karoli regis, *deiecta*, in paupertate et miseria  
 leto tenus *vituperabiliter* vitam duxit; *ita ut ad  
 ultimum, uno servulo comitata, sicut a multis viden-*  
 25 *tibus eam audivimus, cotidie mendicans, in Pavia  
 miserabiliter moreretur.*
- 16 Vixit ergo Æthelwulfus rex duobus annis post-  
 quam a Roma pervenit; in quibus, inter alia multa  
 praesentis vitae bona studia, cogitans de suo ad  
 universitatis viam transitu, ne sui filii post patris  
 5 obitum indebite inter se disceptarent, heredita-  
 riam, *immo commendatoriam*, scribi imperavit epi-  
 stolam: in qua et regni inter filios suos, *duos scilicet  
 seniores*, et propriae hereditatis inter filios et filiam  
 et etiam propinquos, pecuniarum, quae post se

8 at] ad Co B      9 dicens om. SN      11 post Karolus add.  
 illi Flor      subridens Flor      14 ei Flor      monialium SN  
 16 monialium SN      per paucos annos SN      18 rexisse Ar  
 19 inrationabilis SN      20 suae propriae gentis homine] laico  
 Flor      construprata B      21 dum demum Co: demum dum B  
 imperio] iussu SN      23 leto Co SN: laeto P: letho rell.      ducit  
 SN      25 quotidie P Camd W Pet      26 moriretur Co Ar SN  
 16 Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2      1 Ethelwulfus B:  
 Adhelwulfus SN      rex Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar W Pet: om.  
 Camd      2 venit SN: rediit Flor      5 disceptarent B SD 1 Camd:  
 disceptarent Cott. (teste W) Co P      6 scribi scripsi: scribere omnes

superessent, inter animam et filios et etiam nobiles 10  
 suos, divisionem ordinabiliter literis mandari pro-  
 curavit. *De qua prudenti consideratione pauca de  
 pluribus posteris imitanda scribere decrevimus, sci-  
 licet, quae ad necessitatem animae maxime pertinere  
 intelliguntur. Nam cetera, quae ad humanam dis-* 15  
*pensationem pertinent, in hoc opusculo inserere necesse  
 non est, ne fastidium prolixitate legentibus vel etiam  
 audire desiderantibus procreaverit.* Pro utilitate  
 namque animae suae, quam a primaevo iuventutis  
 suae flore in omnibus procurare studuit, per omnem 20  
 hereditariam terram suam semper in decem manen-  
 tibus unum pauperem, aut indigenam aut pere-  
 grinum, cibo, potu et vestimento successoribus suis,  
 usque ad ultimam diem iudicii, post se pascere  
 praecepit; ita tamen, si illa terra hominibus et 25  
 pecoribus habitaretur et deserta non esset. Romae  
 quoque omni anno *magnam pro anima sua pecuniam,  
 id est* trecentas mancussas, portari praecepit, quae  
 taliter ibi dividerentur: scilicet centum mancussas  
 in honorem Sancti Petri, specialiter ad emendum 30  
 oleum, quo impleantur omnia luminaria illius apo-  
 stolicae ecclesiae in vespera Paschae, et aequaliter  
 in galli cantu, et centum mancussas in honorem

7 post filios add. Æthelbaldum et Æthelberhtum Flor duobus Co  
 9 post pecuniarum add. quoque SN 10 inter] propter SN post  
 animam add. suam SN 11 mandare Flor Co B P SN 15-18  
 Nam . . . procreaverit om. SN 15 dispencionem B 17 pro  
 prolixitate B P Ar 19 nanque SN 21 x<sup>mo</sup> SN ma-  
 nentibus] mensis SD 1 23 et om. Co 24 ultimum Co SN  
 pasci SD 1 25 si] ut SN 28 mancossas Co et hic et  
 vv. 29, 33, 37: mancusas SN et hic et vv. 29, 33, 37 portari  
 SD 1: portare *rell.* quae taliter] qualiter SN 29 divide-

- Sancti Pauli, eadem condicione, *ad comparandum*  
 35 *oleum in ecclesia Sancti Pauli Apostoli ad implenda luminaria in vespera Paschae et in galli cantu, centum quoque mancusas universali papae apostolico.*
- 17 Defuncto autem *Æthelwulfo rege* (sepultoque apud Wintoniam), *Æthelbald*, filius eius, contra Dei interdictum et Christianorum dignitatem, necnon et contra omnium paganorum consuetudinem,  
 5 *thorum patris sui ascendens*<sup>a</sup>, *Iuthittam*, Karoli, Francorum regis, filiam, *cum magna ab omnibus audientibus infamia*, in matrimonium duxit, effrenisque duobus et dimidio annis Occidentalium Saxonum post patrem regni gubernacula rexit.
- 17 b [*Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLVI et nativitatis Ælfredi octavo, hoc est anno secundo Karoli Impera-*

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Levit. xviii. 8; Deut. xxii. 30; xxvii. 20; I Cor. v. 1.

retur *Co P SN* 30 honore *Co B Flor SN* 32 aecclesiae *Co*  
*Pasce Co* 33 honore *Co B Flor SN* 34 condicione] de  
 causa *Flor* 36 *Pasce Co*

17 *Exscripp. SD I SD 2* I Defuncto] Anno DCCCLVII Adheluulfus, saepe memoratus rex Occidentalium Saxonum, viam universitatis adiit, (et) quievit in pace, sepultusque est apud Steningam. Regnavit Adhelbaldus filius eius post illum duos annos et dimidium, qui et ipse antea cum patre regnavit annis duobus et dimidio, sed post patrem contra Deum et Christianorum dignitatem, necnon, &c. *SN post rege add. illo idibus Ianuarii Flor* sepultoque apud Wintoniam *om. Cott. (teste W) Co SD 1*: sepultoque apud Steningam (leg. Steningam) *exhibent (ex SN interpolata) B P Ar Camd* 5 *Iudithtam SN* 7-9 *effrenis . . . rexit om. SN*

17 b *Interpolatum ex SN: om. Cott. (teste W) Co SD 1 SD 2* Quamquam 'totam hanc clausulam deesse MS. Cott.' dicit *W*, quaedam tamen ex ea adnotat (*vv. 2, 4*): hinc colligas eam interpolatam fuisse 'manu recentiori' (*cf. cc. 50 b c d, 54 b*) I Dominicae Incarnationis *om. SN: Domini P* et *om. B*: et nativitatis Ælfredi octavo *om. SN: nativitatis autem B* 2 *post Ælfredi add. regis*

*toris tertii, anno vero regni Æthelwulfi, Occidentalium Saxonum regis, decimo octavo, Hunberchtus, Orientalium Anglorum antistes, unxit oleo consecravitque in regem Ead- 5 mundum gloriosissimum, cum gaudio magno et honore maximo, in villa regia, quae dicitur Burua, in qua tunc temporis regalis sedes erat, anno aetatis suae decimo quinto, sexta feria, luna vicesima quarta, die natalis Domini.]*

*Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLX, nati- 18 vitatis autem Ælfredi regis duodecimo, Æthelbald, [Occidentalium Saxonum] <rex, defunctus est>, et in Scireburnan sepultus, et Æthelberht, frater suus, Cantiam et Suthrigam, Suth-Seaxam quoque suo 5 dominio, ut iustum erat, subiunxit. In cuius diebus magnus paganorum exercitus, de mari adveniens, Wintoniam civitatem hostiliter invadens depopulatus est. Cui, cum ad naves cum ingenti praeda reverterentur, Osrice, Hamtunensium comes, cum 10 suis, et Æthelwulf comes, cum Bearrocensibus, viriliter obviaverunt, consertoque proelio oppido pagani passim trucidantur, et, cum diutius resistere non*

*B octavo] decimo Cott. (teste W) B P Ar Camd 3 Adheluulfus SN 4 Hunberchtus SN: Nunberctus Cott. (teste W) B P Camd: Nunberctus Ar 7 Burna SN: Burya B in qua] quia SN 18 Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 1 Dominicae Incarnationis om. SN nativitatis . . . duodecimo om. SN 2 Aelfridi Co regis] clitonis SD 1 Adhelbaldus SN 3 Occidentalium Saxonum rex om. Cott. (teste W) Co B SD 1 SD 2: exhibent (ex SN interpolata) P Ar Camd: secl. Pet defunctus est om. Cott. (teste W) 4 Scireburnam B: Scireburna SN: Scireburnam in Scireburnia correctum Co: Schireburnam Ar Ethelberht B: Adhelbriectus SN 5 Cantiam SN Flor SD 1: Cantiam ex Cantium correctum Co: Cantium B P Ar Edd Suthrigiam SN: Suthregiam Flor SD 2 Seaxum B SN 6 post subiunxit add. regnavitque annis quinque SN 10 Osrice SN Hamptunensium Ar 11 Æthelwulfe B: Adheluulfus SN 12 post proelio add. longe ab omni SN 13 diu SN*

possent, muliebriter fugam arripiunt, et Christiani  
15 loco funeris dominati sunt.

19 Æthelberht itaque, quinque annis regno paci-  
fice et amabiliter atque honorabiliter gubernato,  
cum magno suorum dolore, universitatis viam adiit,  
et in Scireburnan iuxta fratrem suum honorabiliter  
5 sepultus requiescit.

20 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXIV pagani  
hiemaverunt in insula Tanet, et firmum foedus  
cum Cantuariis pepigerunt. Quibus Cantuarii  
pecuniam pro foedere servato reddere promi-  
5 serunt. Interea tamen, vulpino more pagani, noctu  
clam castris erumpentes, foedere disrupto et pro-  
missionem pecuniae spernentes (sciebant enim  
maiolem pecuniam se furtiva praeda quam pace  
adepturos), totam orientalem Cantiae plagam de-  
10 populati sunt.

21 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXVI, na-  
tivitatis autem Ælfredi regis decimo octavo,  
Æthelred, Æthelberhti regis frater, Occidentalium

19 *Exscripp.* SN (ante Æthelred an. 866 cap. 21 v. 3), SD 1  
SD 2 1 Adhelberchtus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum, frater  
Adhelbaldi SN 2 amicabiliter SN 3 viam om. Co  
4 Scireburna SN: Scireburnam B: Schireburnam Ar honorifice  
Flor

20 *Exscripp.* SN SD 1 SD 2 1 post pagani add. Nordmanni  
sive Dani SN 2 Tenet B: Tened SD 1: Thenet SD 2  
4 servando Flor SD 2 6 disrupto Flor SD 1 SD 2 7 pro-  
missione Co 8 maiolem pecuniam se om. B 9 Cantiae  
Cott. (teste W) Co B SN Flor SD 1 SD 2: Cantii P rell.

21 *Exscripp.* inde ab initio usque ad factus est v. 9 SN SD 1  
SD 2 1 Anno . . . octavo] Eodem vero anno SN  
3 Æthelred] Alfred B: Adhergedus SN: Æthelfred Ar Ethel-  
berhti Co: Æthelberti Camd (errore, ut videtur, operarum), quod



Saxonum regni gubernacula suscepit. *Et* eodem anno magna paganorum classis de Danubia 5 Britanniam advenit, *et* in regno Orientalium Saxonum, quod Saxonice 'East-Engle' dicitur, hiemavit, ibique ille exercitus maxima ex parte equester factus est. *Sed, ut more navigantium loquar, ne diutius navim undis et velamentis con-* 10 *cedentes, et a terra longius enavigantes longum circumferamur inter tantas bellorum clades et annorum enumerationes, ad id, quod nos maxime ad hoc opus incitavit, nobis redeundum esse censeo, scilicet aliquantulum, quantum meae cognitioni innotuit, de* 15 *infantilibus et puerilibus domini mei venerabilis Ælfredi, Angulsaxonum regis, moribus hoc in loco breviter inserendum esse existimo.*

*Nam, cum communi et ingenti patris sui et* 22 *matris amore supra omnes fratres suos, immo ab omnibus, nimium diligeretur, et in regio semper curto inseparabiliter nutriretur, accrescente infanti et puerili aetate, forma ceteris suis fratribus de-* 5 *centior videbatur, vultuque et verbis atque moribus gratiosior. Cui ab incunabulis ante omnia et cum*

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*recepert* *W Pet* : frater ipsius Adhelberchti regis *SN* 4 *post*  
*Saxonum add. (ex c. 19) quinque annos P Ar Camd, quae defuisse*  
*in Cott. adnotavit W* 5 *magnus B* de Danubia *om. SN*:  
 Danubio *Camd W Pet* 6 *Angliam SN* 7 *Anglorum Flor*  
*SN SD 1 SD 2* quod . . . dicitur *om. SN* 9-18 *Sed . . .*  
*existimo om. SN* 15 *de infantilibus] quae inde ab his verbis*  
*usque ad finem cap. 24 leguntur, ea post suscepit cap. 42 v. 5 ex-*  
*hibet Flor* 18 *existimamus Flor*

22 *Exscripp. partim SD 1 SD 2* 1 *post communi add.*  
*itaque Flor* 3 *diligebatur Flor* 4 *curro Co, alterum r*  
*in erasura: om. SD 1 SD 2* *nutriebatur Flor* 5 *ceteris]*  
*cunctis Flor* 6 *atque] et Co: ac Ar*

*omnibus praesentis vitae studiis, sapientiae desiderium cum nobilitate generis, nobilis mentis ingenium*  
 10 *supplevit; sed, proh dolor! indigna suorum parentum et nutritorum incuria usque ad duodecimum aetatis annum, aut eo amplius, illiteratus permansit. Sed Saxonica poemata die noctuque solers auditor, relatu aliorum saepissime audiens, docibilis memo-*  
 15 *riter retinebat. In omni venatoria arte industrius venator incessabiliter laborat non in vanum; nam incomparabilis omnibus peritia et felicitate in illa arte, sicut et in ceteris omnibus Dei donis, fuit, sicut et nos saepissime vidimus.*

23 Cum ergo quodam die mater sua sibi et fratribus suis quendam Saxonicum poematae artis librum, quem in manu habebat, ostenderet, ait: 'Quisquis vestrum discere citius istum codicem  
 5 possit, dabo illi illum.' Qua voce, immo divina inspiratione, instinctus (Ælfredus), et pulchritudine principalis litterae illius libri illectus, ita matri respondens, *et fratres suos aetate, quamvis non gratia, seniores anticipans*, inquit: 'Verene dabis istum  
 10 librum uni ex nobis, scilicet illi, qui citissime intelligere et recitare eum ante te possit?' Ad haec illa, arridens *et gaudens atque affirmans*: 'Dabo,' inquit, 'illi.' Tunc ille statim tollens librum de manu sua, magistrum adiit et legit. Quo lecto,  
 15 matri retulit et recitavit.

8 sapiens B  
 add. tamen Flor

10 parentum suorum B  
 17 pueritia B

13 post Saxonica

23 Exscripserunt SD 1 SD 2

3 haberet B

5 poterit Flor

6 instructus B

Ælfredus ex Flor addidi

13 inquit lineola

subducta deletum, supra-scripto inquit Co: inquit B

14 post

Post haec cursum diurnum, *id est celebrationes* 24  
*horarum, ac deinde* psalmos quosdam et orationes  
 multas <didicit>; quos in uno libro congregatos in  
 sinu suo die noctuque, *sicut ipsi vidimus, secum*  
*inseparabiliter*, orationis gratia, inter omnia prae- 5  
 sentis vitae curricula ubique circumducebat. Sed,  
 proh dolor! quod maxime desiderabat, liberalem  
 scilicet artem, desiderio suo non suppetebat, eo  
 quod, *ut loquebatur*, illo tempore lectores boni in  
 toto regno Occidentalium Saxonum non erant. 10

*Quod maximum inter omnia praesentis vitae* 25  
*suae impedimenta et dispendia crebris querelis et*  
*intimis cordis sui suspiriis fieri affirmabat: id est,*  
*eo quod illo tempore, quando aetatem et licentiam*  
*atque suppetentiam discendi habebat, magistros non* 5  
*habuerat; quando vero et aetate erat provecior et*  
*incessabilius die noctuque, immo omnibus istius in-*  
*sulae medicis incognitis infirmitatibus, internisque*  
*atque externis regiae potestatis sollicitudinibus, nec-*  
*non et paganorum terra marique infestationibus* 10  
*occupatus, immo etiam perturbatus, magistros et*  
*scriptores aliquantula ex parte habebat, legere ut non*  
*poterat. Sed tamen inter praesentis vitae impedi-*

magistrum *add. statim B post legit add. praeceptore ostendente*  
*SD 1 SD 2*

24 *Exscripserunt partim SD 1 SD 2 3 didicit Flor: om.*  
*rell. quae Flor congregatus Co: congregata Flor 5 in-*  
*separabiliter B 7 literalem B 8 scilicet om. B suo*  
*om. B 9 lectores boni] grammatici Flor 10 post erant*  
*add. ex cap. 74, vv. 41-64 cum autem in primo . . . fatigavit Flor*

25 2 *suae om. B et om. Co B 7 incessabilibus B P Ar*  
 8 *infirmitatibus B: infirmantibus Co Ar Edd.: 'forte infirmi-*  
*tatibus' W internisque atque] internisque at Co: iterumque*  
*ac B 11 occupatus Co perturbatos Co Edd. 12 ut] et Co B*

menta ab infantia usque ad praesentem diem [et, ut  
 15 credo, usque ad obitum vitae suae] in eodem insatura-  
 bili desiderio, sicut nec ante destituit, ita nec etiam  
 adhuc inhiare desinit.

26 Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXVII, nati-  
 vîtatis Ælfredi præfati regis decimo nono, præ-  
 dictus paganorum exercitus de Orientalibus Anglis  
 ad Eboracum civitatem migravit, quæ in aquilonali  
 5 ripa Humbrensis fluminis sita est.

27 Eo tempore maxima inter Northanhymbros dis-  
 cordia diabolico instinctu orta fuerat, sicut semper  
 populo, qui odium incurrerit *Dei*, evenire solet.  
 Nam Northanhymbri eo tempore, ut diximus,  
 5 legitimum regem suum, Osbyrht nomine, regno ex-  
 pulerant, et tyrannum quendam, Ælla nomine, non  
 de regali prosapia progenitum, super regni apicem  
 constituerant. Sed, advenientibus paganis, consilio  
 divino et optimatum adminiculo, pro communi  
 10 utilitate, discordia illa aliquantulum sedata, Osbyrht  
 et Ælla, adunatis viribus congregatoque exercitu,  
 Eboracum oppidum adeunt. Quibus advenientibus,

14-15 et . . . suae seclusi      16 destitit *B*      17 adhuc] nec *Co*  
 26 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2*      2 Ælfredi] '*MS. Cott. habuit*  
*Karoli, sed deletur*' *W*      4 Eboracam *SN*      aquilonali *Co*  
*Flor SN SD 1 SD 2*: aquilonari *B Ar Edd.*      5 Humbrensis  
*Co B Ar* 'Sic *MS. Cott., Humbsensis Edd. P et Camd' W* (*mani-*  
*festo errore operarum ex similitudine litterarum j et p orto*):  
*Humbrae Flor*

27 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2*      1 Northanhymbros *B*:  
 Nordanhymbros *SN*      2 orta om. *B*      4 Northanhymbri *B*:  
 Nordanhymbri *SN*      4 eo om. *B Edd. præter Pet*      5 ligi-  
 titum *Co*      Osbyrht *Co*: Osbirht *B*: Osbriht *Flor*: Osbrichtum  
*SN*      6 Ella *Co*      7 prosapie *Co*      10 illi *B*      Osbriht  
*Flor*: Osbrichtum *SN*      11 Ella *B*      congregato *SN*

pagani confestim fugam arripiunt, et intra urbis moenia se defendere procurant. Quorum fugam et pavorem Christiani cernentes, etiam intra urbis 15 moenia eos persequi et murum frangere instituunt; quod et fecerunt. Non enim tunc adhuc illa civitas firmos et stabilitos muros illis temporibus habebat. Cumque Christiani murum, ut proposuerant, fregissent, et eorum magna pars in civitatem simul cum 20 paganis intrasset, pagani, dolore et necessitate compulsi, super eos atrociter irrumpunt, caedunt, fugant, prosternunt intus et extra. Illic maxima ex parte omnes Northanhymbrensi-um coetus, occisis duobus regibus, deleti occubuerunt. Reliqui 25 vero, qui evaserunt, pacem cum paganis pepigerunt.

Eodem anno Ealhstan, episcopus Scireburnensis 28 ecclesiae, viam universitatis adiens, postquam episcopatum per quinquaginta annos honorabiliter rexerat, in pace in Scireburnan sepultus est.

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXVIII, nati- 29 vitatis Ælfredi regis vigesimo, idem ipse praefatus

16 mœnia SN 21 intrassent Flor 22 erumpant B 23  
 prosternant B 24 Northanhimbrensi-um Ar: Nordanhym-  
 brensi-um SN: Northanhymbrenses B coetus ex Flor corr. W:  
 om. B: coeti Co Flor (ed. Thorpe): capti Cott (teste W) P Ar  
 Camd SN: caesi SD 2 occisis duobus regibus om. B 25  
 post regibus exhibent (ex SN interpolata) cum multis nobilibus P  
 Ar Camd: om. Cott. (teste W) Co B delete Co: ibi SN  
 28 Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 1 Ealhstanus SN Scy-  
 reburnensis SN 2-4 ecclesiae . . . sepultus est] quinquagesimo  
 sui episcopatus anno obiit, et Scireburne sepelitur Flor 4 Scyre-  
 burnan SN

29 Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 1 post nativitatis add. autem  
 B 2 post vigesimo exhibent (ex SN interpolata) fames valida



ac venerabilis Ælfred rex, secundarii tamen tunc ordine fretus, uxorem de Mercia, nobilem scilicet 5 genere, filiam Æthelredi, Gainorum comitis, qui cognominabatur Mucill, subarravit et duxit. Cuius feminae mater Eadburh nominabatur, de regali genere Merciorum regis; *quam nos ipsi propriis oculorum nostrorum obtutibus non paucis ante obitum* 10 *suum annis frequenter vidimus*, venerabilis scilicet femina, (quae) per multos annos post obitum viri sui castissima vidua leto tenus permansit.

30 Eodem anno praedictus paganorum exercitus Northanhymbros relinquens, in Merciam venit, et Snotengaham adiit (quod Britannice 'Tigguocobauc' interpretatur, Latine autem 'speluncarum 5 domus'), et in eodem loco eodem anno hiemaverunt. Quibus illic advenientibus, confestim Burhred,

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erat *B P Ar*: om. *Cott.* (teste *W*) *Co* idem ipse *Cott.* (teste *W*)  
*Co*: om. *B P Ar Camd W Pet* post ipse praebent (ex *SN* interpolatum) Tunc *P B Ar Camd W Pet* praefatus] anno eodem *SN*  
 3 ac om. *B SN* Ælfredus *SN* 5 Adhelredi *SN* Grainorum  
*B*: Gainorem *SN* quae *B* 6 Mucil *Flor Camd*: in marg.  
 adnotant *P Ar* eo quod erat corpore magnus (ex *SD* 1 Mucel eo  
 quod erat corpore magnus et prudentia grandaevus), quae in textum  
*Camd* irrepperunt subarravit *Cott.* (teste *W*) *Co Flor SN*: ex-  
 petivit *B P Ar Camd W Pet* cuius] ab inde usque ad finem  
 capitis om. *SN* 7 Eadburgh *B Ar* 9 optutibus *Co*:  
 intutibus *B* 11 quae scripsi: et omnes viri] patris *Flor*  
 12 leto scripsi: leto *Co*: letho *B P Ar Edd.*

30 Exscripserunt *SN SD* 1 *SD* 2 1 post eodem add. vero  
*SN* 2 Northanhymbros *B*: Northanhimbros *Ar*: Nordanhymbros  
*SN* in Merciam venit et om. *B* 3 Snotengaham  
*Co B P Ar SN*: Snotengaham *Camd* (errore operarum), quod  
 rec. *W Pet*: Snotingaham *Flor* adiit] venit *B* quod] ab inde  
 usque ad domus om. *SN* Tiguo- *B SD* 1 5 et in eodem loco  
 eodem anno hiemaverunt] ibidemque hiemavit *SN* eodem loco]  
 illo loco *Flor* 6 Quibus . . . confestim om. *SN* Burhred

Merciorum rex, et omnes eiusdem gentis optimates nuncios ad Æthered, Occidentalium Saxonum regem, et Ælfred, fratrem, dirigunt, suppliciter obsecrantes, ut illi illis auxiliarentur, quo possent <sup>10</sup> contra praefatum pugnare exercitum. Quod et facile impetraverunt. Nam illi fratres, non segnius promissione, congregato ex omni parte *(regni)* sui immenso exercitu, Merciam adeunt, et usque ad Snotengaham, bellum unanimiter quaerentes, <sup>15</sup> perveniunt. Cumque pagani, tuitione arcis muniti, bellum dare negarent et Christianis frangere murum non suppeteret, pace inter Mercios et paganos facta, duo illi fratres Æthered et Ælfred cum suis cohortibus domum reversi sunt. 20

Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXIX, *nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis vigesimo primo*, praefatus paganorum exercitus iterum ad Northanhymbros equitans Eboracum civitatem adiit, et ibi anno integro mansit. 5

Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXX, *nativi-* 32

*B*: Burchredus *SN* 8 Æthelred *B*: Æthelredum *B* 9 *post*  
 et *add.* ad *SN* Ælfrēdum *SN* *post* fratrem *add.* eius con-  
 festim *SN* 10 illi illis] sibi *Flor* possunt *W* 12 per-  
 petrauerunt *Co* *inde a Nam usque ad* perveniunt (v. 16) *om.* *SN*  
 13 *regni add.* *W* 15 Snotengaham *Camd W Pet*: Snotinga-  
 ham *Flor* 18 *suppeteret scripsi*: *suppetebat omnes* 19 *post*  
 facta *add.* est *SN*, *omissis quae inde usque ad finem capituli sequuntur*  
 Æthelred *B* et Ælfred *supplevit (ex Flor) W*

31 *Exscripp.* totum *SD 1 SD 2*, partim *SN* 2 *post* primo  
 praebent (*ex SN interpolata*) *B P Ar Camd W* fames magna  
 et mortalitas hominum et pestis animalium et, *quae om.* *Cott.*  
 (*teste W*) *Cb Flor*: *secluserit Pet* 3 Northanhymbros *B*:  
 Northanhymbros *Ar*: Nordanhimbros *SN* 4 Eboracum *Co*  
*SN SD 2*

32 *Exscripp.* *SN SD 1 SD 2* 2 *secundo correxi*: primo

*tatis autem Ælfredi regis vigesimo secundo*, supra memoratus paganorum exercitus per Merciam in Orientales Anglos transivit, et ibi in loco, qui  
5 dicitur Theodford, hiemavit.

- 33 *Eodem anno Eadmund, Orientalium Anglorum rex, contra ipsum exercitum atrociter pugnavit. Sed, proh dolor! pagani nimium gloriantibus, ipso cum magna suorum parte ibidem occiso, inimici loco*  
5 *funeris dominati sunt, et totam illam regionem suo dominio subdiderunt.*
- 34 Eodem anno Ceolnoth, archiepiscopus Doroberniae, *viam universitatis adiens*, in eadem civitate in pace sepultus est.
- 35 Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXI, nativitat*  
*tatis autem Ælfredi regis vigesimo tertio*, exosae memoriae paganorum exercitus Orientales Anglos

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*Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Edd. SD 1 3 pro memoratus paganorum exercitus substituit (ex cap. subseq.) Sed proh dolor! pagani nimium gloriantes SN Mercios B post Merciam add. item SN 4 Orientalem Angliam B transierunt SN 5 Theodforda SN hiemaverunt SN*

33 *Exscripsit primum locum SD 1 Substituit Flor Eodem anno sanctissimus et gloriosissimus Orientalium Anglorum rex Eadmundus, ut in sua legitur Passione, ab Inguaro rege paganissimo, Indictione II, xii. kal. Decembris, die Dominico, martyrizatus est, quae exscripsit SD 2. Haec temporis computatio quadrat in an. 869, quo dies Dominica incidit in a. d. 12 Kal. Dec. 2 pugnavit atrociter B 3 pagani nimium gloriantes per Merciam (ex cap. 32 usque ad finem) SN ipse Cott. (teste W) B P Ar Camd: ipso Co rell. 4 ibidem om. B occisa Cott. (teste W) Ar*

34 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 1 Eodem anno] quo etiam anno Flor post eodem add. quoque SN post anno add. dominus SN Ceolnothus SN post Doroberniae add. antistes Co B P Ar Edd.: antistes civitatis SD 1 2 viam universitatis adiens] defunctus Flor SD 2 adeuns B*

35 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 2 tertio correxit W: secundo*

deserens et regnum Occidentalium Saxonum adiens, venit ad villam regiam, quae dicitur Rædigam, in 5 meridiana Tamesis fluminis ripa sitam, in illa paga, quae dicitur Bearrocschire; tertioque adventus sui *ibidem* die <duo> comites eorum cum magna illius parte in praedam equitaverunt, aliis vallum inter 10 duo flumina Tamesen et Cynetan a dextrali parte eiusdem regiae villae facientibus. Quibus Æthelwulf, Bearroccensis pagae comes, cum suis *sodalibus* in loco, qui dicitur Englafeld <Anglice, Latine Anglorum Campus>, obviavit, et animose ex utraque 15 parte *ibidem* pugnatum est. Cumque ibi diu utrique resisterent, altero paganorum comite occiso, et maxima exercitus parte deleta, ceterisque fuga elapsis, Christiani victoriam accipientes, loco funeris dominati sunt.

His ibi ita gestis, post quatuor dies Æthered, 36 rex et Ælfred, frater eius, adunatis viribus congregatoque exercitu, Rædigum adierunt. Cumque

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*Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd SD 1*      5 Redigan B: Redigam  
*Ar: Readingum Flor: Rēdinga SN: et (=æt 'apud') Redingum*  
*SD 1*      6 Thamesis B: Tamensis SN *post Tamesis add.*  
*flumensis Cott. (teste W) Co B Ar P Camd*      plaga SD 1  
 7 Bearrocschire Ar: Bearrocschire SN      8 duo ex Flor addidi  
 9 aequitaverunt Co      10 Tamesen Co P Ar Flor: Tamse SN:  
 Tamesem SD 2: Thamesin B: Tamesin Camd W Pet      Cynetam W Pet: Cinetam B: Kynetam SN      dextra Flor SD 2  
 11 villae regiae B      Æthelwolfe B: Adheluulfus SN      12  
 Berroccensis Co: Beorroccensis SN      13 Englofeld Camd  
 Anglice . . . campus ex Flor addidi      14 et] ubi Flor      15  
*ibidem om. Flor*

36 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2*      1 Æthelred Co B: Adhergudus SN      2 post rex add. (ex SN) Occidentalium Saxonum P Ar Camd, quae om. Cott. (teste W) Co B rell.      Aelfrēdus SN adunatis om. B      3 Rædigum Co: Redigum B SD 1: Redigam

- usque ad portam arcis pervenissent, caedendo et  
 5 prosternendo quoscumque de paganis extra arcem  
 invenissent, pagani non segnius certabant, lupino  
 more, totis portis erumpentes, totis viribus bellum  
 perquirunt. Ibiq̄ diu et atrociter ex utraque  
 parte dimicatum est, sed, proh dolor! Christianis  
 10 demum terga vertentibus, pagani, victoriam acci-  
 pientes, loco funeris dominati sunt, ibique Æthel-  
 wulfus praefatus comes inter ceteros occubuit.
- 37 Quo dolore et verecundia Christiani commoti,  
 iterum post quatuor dies contra praefatum exer-  
 citum in loco, qui dicitur Æscesdun, quod Latine  
 'mons fraxini' interpretatur, totis viribus et plena  
 5 voluntate ad proelium prodeunt. Sed pagani, in  
 duas se turmas dividentes, aequali <lance> testudines  
 parant—habebant enim tunc duos reges et multos  
 comites—concedentes mediam partem exercitus  
 duobus regibus et alteram omnibus comitibus.
- 10 Quod Christiani cernentes, et etiam ipsi exercitum  
 in duas turmas *oppido* dividentes, testudines non  
 segnius construunt. Sed Ælfred citius et promptius  
 cum suis, *sicut ab his, qui viderunt, veredictis*  
*referentibus audivimus*, ad locum proelii advenit ;

*Ar*: Readingum *Flor SN*: Rædigam *Prell. Edd.* 4 portum *B*  
 6 certabant lupino] cretabolino (*ex certabant lupino conflatum*) *SN*  
 7 totis portis erumpentes *om. S* 8 an perquirentes? 9 post  
 sed exhibent (*ex SN interpolatum*) heu *P Ar Camd W*: seclus.  
*Pet*: *om. Cott. (teste W) Co B* 11 Adheluulfus *SN*  
 37 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 3 Ascisduñ *B*: Escendun  
*SD 2* 4 viribus *om. SN* 5 bellum *B* 6 lance *om. Co*:  
 lancea *B* testudinis *Co B*: testudine bellum *Flor* 8 exercitus  
*om. B* 10 etiam et *SN* 11 oppido *Cott. (teste W) Co*:  
*om. Flor*: similiter *SN B P Ar Edd.* testudinem haud *B*  
 12 Aelfrēdus *SN* 14 referentibus *om. B* venit *Flor*



nimirum erat enim adhuc frater suus Æthered rex 15  
 in tentorio in oratione positus, audiens missam, et  
 nimium affirmans se inde *vivum* non discessurum  
 antequam sacerdos missam finiret, et divinum pro  
 humano nolle deserere servitium; et ita fecit.  
 Quae regis Christiani fides multum apud Do- 20  
 minum valuit, sicut in sequentibus apertius declara-  
 bitur.

Decreverant ergo Christiani, ut Æthered rex 38  
 cum suis copiis contra duos paganos reges sumeret  
 proelium, Ælfred vero, suus frater, cum suis coh-  
 ortibus contra omnes paganorum duces belli sortem  
 †sumere debere sciret. Quibus ita firmiter ab 5  
 utraque parte dispositis, cum rex in oratione diutius  
 moraretur et pagani parati ad locum certaminis  
 citius advenissent, Ælfred, tunc secundarius, cum  
 diutius hostiles acies ferre non posset, nisi aut bello  
 retrorsum recederet, aut contra hostiles copias ante 10  
 fratris adventum in bellum prorumperet, demum  
 viriliter aprino more Christianas copias contra  
 hostiles exercitus, ut ante proposuerat, *tamen*  
 quamvis rex adhuc non venerat, dirigens, divino  
 fretus consilio et adiutorio fultus, testudine ordi- 15

15 adhuc] tunc *Flor SD 2* suus frater *SN* Æthered *Co B*:  
 Ætheredus *SN* 17 vivum] de vita *Cott. (teste W) Co* de-  
 cessurum *B* 20 Deum *Co SN* 21 aptius *Flor*

38 *Exscripp. totum SN SD 2, partim SD 1* 1 Decreverant  
*Flor* Æthered *Co B*: Adheredus *SN* rex] 'sic *MS Cott.*  
*Sex edd. P et C [amd] W (errore operarum, cf. c. 26, v. 5 adnot.)*  
 3 Ælfredus *SN* suus] sus *Co* post frater *add. tres Cott.*  
*(teste W) Co (an ex frater ortum?)* 8 Aelfredus *SN*  
 10 cederet *B Flor SD 2* 11-13 demum . . . proposuerat *om. SN*  
 13 exercitus] turmas *B* proposuerant *Co B Flor SD 2 Pet*  
 14 post venerat *add. copias SN* 15 consilio] auxilio *SN*

nabiliter condensata, confestim contra hostes vexilla movet. (Tandem rex Æthered, finitis quibus occupatus erat orationibus, advenit, et, invocato magni mundi principe, mox se certamini  
20 dedit.)

- 39 Sed hoc in loco nescientibus intimandum est, quod ille locus certaminis belligerantibus inaequalis erat; nam pagani editiorem locum praeoccupaverant, Christiani ab inferiori loco aciem dirigebant. Erat quoque in eodem loco unica spinosa  
5 arbor, brevis admodum, *quam nos ipsi nostris propriis oculis vidimus*, circa quam ergo hostiles inter se acies, cum ingenti omnium clamore, illi perperam agentes, isti pro vita et dilectis atque patria pugnaturi, hostiliter conveniunt. Cumque aliquandiu  
10 animose et nimium atrociter hinc inde utrique pugnarent, pagani divino iudicio Christianorum impetum diutius non ferentes, maxima suarum *copiarum* parte occisa, opprobriosam fugam cepere; 15 quo in loco alter de duobus paganorum regibus et quinque comites occisi occubuerunt, et multa millia paganae partis in eodem loco, et insuper per totam campestram Æscedun latitudinem ubique dispersa, *longe lateque* occisa corruerunt. Cecidit ergo  
20 Bægscecg rex et Sidroc ille senex comes et Sidroc

17-20 Tandem... dedit ex Flor addidi

39 Exscripp. totum SN SD 2, partim SD 1 1 in om. SN  
3 editiorem SN praeoccupaverunt Flor 5 una Flor  
13 suorum B Flor 14 copiarum om. B 15 quod Co  
17 paganae partis] illorum Flor: paganae gentis SN 18  
Æscedun Flor: Etscesdun SD 1: Æscendun Co Edd.: Æscends-  
down B: Ascendum Ar: om. SN post dispersa add. et Flor  
19 occisi SN corruerunt] cubuerunt B post ergo add. illic SN

iunior comes, et Osbern comes, et Fræna comes, et Hareld comes, et totus paganorum exercitus in fugam usque ad noctem et etiam usque ad diem sequentem, quousque ad arcem qui evaserant pervenerunt, versus est, quos *Christiani usque ad noctem 25 persecuti sunt [et] ubique prosternentes.*

† *Quibus cum talia praesentis vitae dispendia alieni- 40 genis perperam quaerentibus non sufficerent.* His ibi gestis, iterum post quatuordecim dies Æthered rex una cum fratre suo Ælfred, adunatis viribus contra paganos pugnaturi, Basengas adierunt. 5 Quibus *hinc inde* hostiliter convenientibus, et diu resistantibus, pagani victoriam accipientes, *loco funeris dominati sunt. Quo proelio peracto, de ultramarinis partibus alius paganorum exercitus societati se adiunxit.* 10

*Et eodem anno post Pascha Æthered rex prae- 41 fatus, regno quinque annis per multas tribulationes*

*Flor SD 2 20 Bægscecg Co: Beagstecg B: Beagscecg Ar: Bagsecg Flor: Beagsecg SN: Bægscegg Edd. 21 Osbern Camd (errore operarum, ut videtur), quod rec. W Pet: Osbeanus SN Frena B Ar: Freano SN 22 Harald Flor: Haroldus SN 23 post fugam exhibet (ex v. 25) versus est SN quae inter noctem et persecuti v. 26 intercedunt, ea om. B Ar, quorum librorum oculi a noctem v. 23 ad noctem v. 25 aberraverunt 26 persecuti SN B: persequuti Co Edd.*

40 *Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2 1 Quibus . . . sufficerent Cott. (teste W) Co: om. B P Ar Camd SN: e textu reiicc. W Pet 2 post his add. ita B 3 post ibi add. ita SN Æthelred Co B: Adheredus SN 4 Aelfredo SN 5 pugnaturus Flor SD 2 adiit Flor SD 2 6 post hinc add. vel SN 7 resistantibus] simul certantibus Flor victoriam accipientes] victoria potiuntur Flor SD 2 post accipientes add. et SN 8 peracta Co 9 partibus alius om. Co 41 *Exscripp. SN SD 2 1 Æthelred Co: Adhereadus SN**

strenue atque honorabiliter cum bona fama gubernato, viam universitatis adiens, in Winburnan  
5 *monasterio* sepultus, adventum Domini et primam cum iustis resurrectionem expectat<sup>a</sup>.

42 *Eodem anno* Ælfred supra memoratus, qui usque ad id temporis, viventibus fratribus suis, secundarius fuerat, totius regni gubernacula, divino concedente nutu, cum summa omnium illius regni accolarum  
5 voluntate, confestim fratre defuncto suscepit. *Quod etiam vivente praedicto fratre suo, si dignaretur accipere, facillime cum consensu omnium potuerat invenire, nempe quia et sapientia et cunctis moribus bonis cunctos fratres suos praecelebat, et insuper eo*  
10 *quod nimium bellicosus et victor prope in omnibus bellis erat.* Cumque regnare prope quasi invitus uno mense impleto coeperat—nimirum enim non putabat se, nisi divino fultum auxilio, tantam paganorum unquam posse solum sufferre austeri-  
15 tatem, quin etiam viventibus suis fratribus, cum magna multorum detrimenta sustinuisset—contra

<sup>a</sup> Luc. xiv. 14.

4 adeuns *B* post adiens *add.* ix. kal. Maii *Flor* Wynburnan  
*B*: Winburnam *Co W Pet* 5 post sepultus *add.* est, ubi *Flor*  
primamque *Flor*

42 *Exscripp. totum SN, paululum SD I SD 2* 1 *Alfredus SN*  
*post Ælfred add. saepe SN* 5 *volutate SN post suscepit add.*  
*partem cap. 21 et capita 22, 23, 24 Flor, ut ad cap. 21 v. 15 adnotavi*  
6 *praedicto om. SN* 7 *cum om. SN poterat SN* 8 *bonis*  
*moribus B* 11 *regnaret SN prope om. SN* 12 *post mense*  
*add. non iam SN coeperat . . . nisi om. SN* 13 *post putabat*  
*add. in Co P Ar Camd W Pet, quod ortum esse ex nisi sequenti*  
*suspitor se om. B nisi B Flor: om. rell. SN fultum*  
*Flor: fultus Co B P Ar Edd. SN* 13-16 *tantam . . . sus-*  
*tinuisset om. SN* 14 *solum Flor: solus Co B P Ar rell.*

universum paganorum exercitum in monte, qui dicitur Wiltun, qui est in meridiana ripa fluminis Guilou, de quo flumine tota illa paga nominatur, cum paucis et nimium inaequali numero acerrime 20 belligeravit, et cum hinc inde utrique hostiliter et animose non parva diei parte pugnarent, pagani ad integrum suum periculum propriis suis conspectibus cernentes, et hostium infestationem diutius non ferentes, terga in fugam verterunt. Sed, proh 25 dolor! peraudacitatem persequentium decipientes, iterum in proelium prodeunt, et victoriam capientes, loco funeris dominati sunt. Nec hoc cuiquam mirabile videatur, quod Christiani parvum in proelio numerum habebant: erant enim Saxones maxima 30 ex parte in *eodem* uno anno octo contra paganos proeliis populariter attriti, in quibus octo proeliis unus rex paganorum et novem duces cum innumeris cohortibus occisi periere, exceptis cotidianis et nocturnis irruptionibus innumerabilibus, quas <rex> 35 Ælfred *saepe memoratus* et singuli duces illius gentis cum suis et etiam perplures ministri regis contra paganos infatigabiliter *studiose* exercebant. In quibus frequentissimis irruptionibus quot millia paganae expeditionis occisa perierunt, nisi soli Deo, 40

16 multorum *Cott. (teste W) Co B Ar: om. Camd* 17 monte]  
 loco *SN* 18 Wylton *B* 19 Guylou *B: Wili SN* 22  
 non] cum *Ar* 26 peraudacitatem persequentium decipientes  
*Co B. P Ar Edd.:* peraudaciam p. decipientes *Flor:* paucitatem  
 persequentium despicientes *SN* 29 quod] quem (*perperam*  
 quoniam *Ed.*) *SN* *post* Christiani *add. tam SN* 30 *post*  
 Saxones *add. vel Angli SN* 34 cottidianis *SN:* quo-  
 tidianis *rell.* 35 rex *ex Flor addidi* 36 Aelfrēdus *SN*  
 37 et *om. SN*



incognitum est; exceptis his, qui in octo *supra memoratis* proeliis trucidati sunt.

- 43 Eodem quoque anno Saxones cum iisdem paganis, ea condicione, ut ab eis discederent, pacem pepigerunt; quod et impleverunt.
- 44 Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXXII, *nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis vigesimo quarto*, praefatus paganorum exercitus Lundoniam adiit, et ibi hyemavit, cum quo Mercii pacem pepigerunt.
- 45 Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXXIII, *nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis vigesimo quinto*, saepe memoratus exercitus Lundoniam deserens, in Northanhymbrorum regionem perrexit, et ibi hyemavit in paga, quae dicitur Lindesig; cum quo iterum Mercii pacem pepigerunt.
- 46 Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXXIV, *nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis vigesimo sexto*, supra memoratus saepe exercitus Lindissig deserens,

41 *supra memoratis*] praedictis *Flor*

43 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 1 post anno add. Occidentales SN*  
hisdem *Co SN: eisdem B*

44 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 1 dominicae om. Camd*  
2 *autem Ælfredi om. B quarto correxit W: tertio Cott. (teste W)*  
*Co B P Ar SD 1 rell. 3 Lundoniam Co SN Flor: Londoniam*  
*rell.*

45 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 2 quinto corr. W: quarto*  
*Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar SD 1 rell. saepe om. SN 3 post*  
*memoratus add. paganorum SN Lundoniam Co SN Flor:*  
*Londoniam rell. 4 Northanhimbrorum Co: Nordanhymbrorum*  
*SN 5 paga quae] loco qui SN Lindesig] Turkesige SN:*  
*post Lindesig add. apud Torchiasiam SD 2 cum] in Co*

46 *Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2 1 DCCCLXXIII*  
*SN 2 sexto corr. W: quinto Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar*  
*Camd SD 1 supra memoratus saepe] saepe dictus paganorum SN*  
*3 Lindissi Co SD 1: Lindessi B: Lindissem provinciam SD 2:*

Merciam adiit, et hyemavit in loco, qui dicitur Hreopedune. Burghredum quoque Merciorum 5 regem regnum suum deserere et ultra mare exire et Romam adire contra voluntatem suam coegit, vigesimo secundo regni sui anno; qui, postquam Romam adierat, non diu vivens, ibi defunctus est, et in Schola Saxonum in ecclesia Sanctae Mariae 10 honorifice sepultus, adventum Domini et primam cum iustis resurrectionem expectat. Pagani quoque post eius expulsionem totum Merciorum regnum suo dominio subdiderunt, quod tamen miserabili condicione cuidam insipienti ministro (regis) (cuius 15 nomen erat Ceolwulf) eodem pacto custodiendum commendaverunt, ut qualicumque die illud vellent habere iterum, pacifice illis assignaret. Quibus in eadem condicione obsides dedit et iuravit, nullo modo se voluntati eorum contradicere velle, sed 20 oboediens in omnibus esse.

Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXXV, nati- 47  
vitatatis autem *Ælfredi regis vigesimo septimo*, supra memoratus saepe exercitus Hreopedune deserens,

Lindisig *SN* 5 Hreopedun *SN* Burghredum *Co*: Burgredum  
*B*: Burhtredus *SD* 2: Burhredum *Flor*: Burgoredum *SN* 9 ibi  
defunctus est *Co SN*: 'Sic *Flor* Ibidem functus est in ceteris' *W*, quae  
*exhibet Ar*: ibidem defunctus est *B* 10 scola *SN* post  
*Saxonum add. sive Anglorum SN* 13 eius] cuius *Co Flor SN*  
15 regis *Flor*: om. *Cot.* (teste *W*): praebent (ex *SN* interpolatum) *P*  
*Ar Camd W*: secl. *Pet* cuius *Co B Ar SN Flor*: eius *P Edd.*  
16 Ceolwulfe *Co*: Ceodwulf *B*: Seolwulf *Ar*: Ceolulffus *SN* 17  
commendarunt *B* illud om. *Flor* 18 habere] nostre *Co* (ex  
*compendio hñe male pro nñe lecto*) pacifice illis assignaret] id sibi  
pacifice resignaret *Flor* Quibus in eadem om. *SN, exhibet tamen*  
*Ed.* 19 post iuravit *add. ex v. seq. se B* 21 esset *SN*  
47 *Exscripp. SN SD* 1 *SD* 2 2 septimo *corr. W*: sexto  
*Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd SD* 1 supra om. *SN* 3 post

- in duas se divisit turmas: cuius altera pars cum  
 5 Healfstene in regionem Northanhymbrorum per-  
 rexit, et ibi hiemavit iuxta flumen, quod dicitur  
 Tine, et totam Northanhymbrorum regionem suo  
 subdidit dominio, necnon et Pictos et Stratclut-  
 tentenses depopulati sunt. Altera quoque pars cum  
 10 Gothrum et Osscytil et Anvind, tribus paganorum  
 regibus, ad locum, qui dicitur Grantebrycge, per-  
 venit, et ibi hiemavit.
- 48 Eodem anno Ælfred rex navali proelio in mare  
 contra sex naves paganorum belligeravit, et unam  
 ex eis cepit, ceteris per fugam elapsis.
- 49 Anno *Dominicae Incarnationis* DCCCLXXVI, *nati-*  
*vitatis autem Ælfredi regis vigesimo octavo*, saepe  
 memoratus paganorum exercitus noctu de Grante-  
 brycge exiens, castellum, quod dicitur Werham,  
 5 intravit; quod monasterium sanctimonialium inter

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memoratus *add.* paganorum *SN* 5 Healfstene *B*: Half-  
 dene *Flor*: Halfdena *SN*: Healfene *Camd* (*errore operarum*)  
 Northanhimbrorum *Co*: Nordanhymbrorum *SN* 7 Tyne *B*  
 Northanhimbrorum *Co*: Nordanhymbrorum *SN* 8 Stratclut-  
 tentenses *scripsi secutus Flor*: Stratduttenses *Co B P Ar* *rell. Edd.*:  
 Stretcluttenses *SD 1*: Strecledenses *SN* (*cf. Stræcled, Strecled*  
*Chron. Anglo-Sax eodem in anno*) 10 Guthrum *Flor SD 2*:  
 Gutthrum *SD 1*: Guthram *SN* Ossityl *B*: Oscytel *Flor SD 1*:  
 Oskitel *SD 2*: Oscitill *Ar*: Osketellus (*sic*) *SN* (*Osketello Ed.*)  
 Anvind *scripsi auctore Chron. Anglo-Sax.*: Amund *Co B P Ar*  
*rell. Edd. Flor SD 1 SD 2*: Anandus (*sic*) *SN* (*Anando Ed.*)  
 11 Grantebrycque *B*: Grantebricge *Ar SN*  
 48 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 1 Aelfrēdus *SN* mari *B*  
 2 sex] VII *SN*  
 49 *Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2* 2 octavo  
*corr. W*: sex *Cott. (teste W)* *Co B P Ar Camd*: septimo *SD 1*  
 saepe memoratus *om. SN* 3 nocte clam *SN* Grantebryc;  
*B*: Grantebricge *P Ar* 4 Wærham *SN* 5 quod] ubi

duo flumina Frauu <et Terente> et in paga, quae dicitur *Britannice Durngueir*, Saxonice autem Thornsæta, tutissimo terrarum situ situm est, nisi ab occidentali parte tantummodo, ubi contigua terra est. Cum quo exercitu Ælfred rex foedus 10 firmiter ea condicione, ut ab eo discederent, pepigit: cui ille exercitus electos obsides, quantos <ipse> *solus* nominavit, sine ulla controversia dedit, necnon et sacramentum in omnibus reliquiis, quibus ille rex maxime post Deum confidebat, iuravit, (in quibus 15 nec alicui genti prius iurare voluit) citissime de regno suo se exiturum *esse*. Sed, more suo, solita fallacia utens, et obsides et iuramentum atque fidem promissam non custodiens, nocte quadam, foedere disrupto, omnes equites, quos habebat, occi- 20 dit, versusque inde [*Domniam*] ad alium locum, qui dicitur Saxonice Exanceastre, *Britannice autem*

*Flor* quod . . . terra est (v. 10) *om. SN* 6 et Terente *ex Flor add. W* 7 Durngueir *scripsi auctore Co: Durnguers B: Durngueys Ar: Durngueis P Camd W Pet* 8 Thornsæta *B* 9 solummodo *B* 10 exercitu *om. SN* Ælfredus *SN post rex add. Occidentalium Saxonum SN* 11 *post* firmiter *add. et Flor* ea *om. Co B* pepigit *post* firmiter *praebet SN* 12 ipse *ex Flor addidi* 13 *solus om. Flor* 14 et *om. B* 15 Dominum *P Ar Edd. post* quibus *exhibent (ex SN interpolata)* et super armillam, super (supra *SN*) quam *P Ar Camd (= on þam halgan beage cet. Chron. Anglo-Sax.): om. Cott. (teste W) Co B Flor SD 1 SD 2* 16 *post* voluit *add. ut SN* 17 *se om. B esse om. Co* 20 *post* quos *add. rex Flor W: om. Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd SNSD 1 SD 2* occidit] occidentem *SN* 21 versus in *SN (indeque versus Ed.) inde] mare B* Domniam *om. Co Flor, quod interpolatum (ex SN) a P suspicor* ad] *om. B Flor* alium *om. B P Ar Camd SN: exhib. Cott. (teste W) rell.* locum *om. Co* 22 Anglice *SN* Exanceastre *Co B Flor.: Exancestre SD 1 SD 2: Eaxanceastre P Ar Camd W Pet: Exanceastra SN* Britannice

*Cairuuis*, Latine quoque civitas (Exae, quae) in orientali ripa fluminis *Uuis* sita est, prope mare  
 25 meridianum, quod interluit Galliam Britanniamque, inopinate direxit, *et ibi hyemavit.*

50 Eodem quoque anno Halfdene, rex *illius partis* Northanhymbrorum, *totam* regionem sibimet et suis divisit, et illam cum suo exercitu coluit.

50 b [*Eodem anno* Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetravit. *Idem Normannorum dux Rollo cum in antiqua Britannia sive Anglia hyemaret, militaribus fretus copiis, quadam nocte fruitur visione mox futurae certitudinis. De hoc Rollone*  
 5 *vide plura in Annalibus.*]

50 c [*Anno DCCCLXXVII, pagani, instante tempore autumnali,*

... Exae om. SN 23 Cairwysc B: Caruist Ar Exae, quae ex Flor add. W: aquae alia manu in rasura, omissis quae ... hyemavit, SD 1, SD 2 post quae add. civitas SN 24 Uuis] eiusdem Flor: Exa SN 25 quod] quia Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd quod ... direxit om. SN Britanniamque Co 26 direxit] adiit, quem, collecto exercitu, rex Ælfredus est insecutus; sed quia civitatem iam intraverat, illum assequi non poterat. Veruntamen quot et quantos voluit obsides ab eis extorsit, firmumque cum eis foedus pepigit; quod illi tempore non modico bene custodierunt, ibidemque hiemaverunt Flor (cf. Chron. Anglo-Sax. ann. 877). et ibi] ibique SN

50 Exscripp. SN SD 2 1 quoque] paganus Flor Halfdene Co B: Halfdena SN post partis add. quae in Co SN: quae B 2 Northanhimbrorum Co Ar: Northanhymbrorum B: Nordanhymbiis erat SN totam om. Co B 3 colunt Co SN

50 b Interpolatum (ex SN) in B P Ar Camd. 'Sectionem hanc et duas proxime sequentes omittit vetus MS. Cott.; inseruit tamen (locis non suis) recentioris manus' W: om. Co, in quo adnotatur aequali manu 'Deest annus 877' 1 post penetravit add. xv. kal. Dec. Flor SN SD 2 4 post certitudinis somnium Rollonis refert SN De ... Annalibus (id est SN) sunt profecto adnotatio P, quam recc. Ar Camd W; seclisit Pet

50 c Ex Matthaei Paris 'Chronicis Maioribus' tom. i. p. 409 (sive ex anonymi eius descriptoris 'Floribus Historiae' i. 450) interpolatum. In Cott. scriptum fuisse 'manu recentiori' testatur



partim in Exeanceastre residebant et pars Merciam praedatura recessit. Crescebat insuper diebus singulis perversorum numerus, adeo quidem, ut si triginta ex eis millia una die necarentur, alii succedebant numero duplicato. Tunc rex 5 Ælfredus iussit cymbas et galeas, id est longas naves, fabricari per regnum, ut navali proelio hostibus adventantibus obviaret, impositisque piratis in illis vias maris custodiendas commisit. Ipse vero Exancestre, ubi pagani hyemabant, properans, illis inclusis, civitatem obsedit. Nautis quoque 10 suis mandavit, ut in parte freti vitale hostibus subsidium denegarent. Occurrerunt autem nautis suis centum et viginti naves armatis militibus oneratae, qui in auxilium suorum concivium advenerunt; quas, cum paganis militibus ministri regis cognovissent repletas, ad arma prosiliunt et 15 viriliter barbaras nationes invadunt. Pagani vero, qui iam fere per mensem inter fluctus pelagi naufragium pertulissent, inutiliter proelium reddiderunt; unde in momento agminibus eorum laceratis, in loco, qui dicitur Suanewic, undis submersi omnes pariter perierunt.] 20

[Eodem anno exercitus paganorum Werham deserens, 50 d

W (vide c. 50 b), in quo fuit 'notula' (teste W) 'Haec forsitan ex alio exemplari'; in Co scriptum aequali manu in schedula inserta; in textum recepp. B Ar P Camd W; secl. Pet 1 post anno add. Dominicae Incarnationis Co pagani] Nefandi paganorum acervus Paris Flores 2 Exanceastre B Ar: Exonia Paris Flores resedit Paris Flores post pars add. eius Paris Flores Marciam Co praedaturam B P 6 Alfrედus Co cymbas] cyulas Co Paris Flores 7 advenientibus B 9 Exeanceastream Co: Exancestre B Ar: Exonia Paris Flores post hyemabant add. hostiliter Paris Flores 12 post denegarent add. cumque nautae ex praecepto regis illuc summopere properarent Paris Flores autem nautis suis om. Paris Flores 13 armatorum militum Paris Flores millibus Ar qui] quae omnes Paris Flores 16 vero] quoque Paris Flores 19 Suanewic correxerunt auctore Paris: Gnawewic Co Ar P Edd.: Gravewic dicitur ordine inverso B 20 perierunt om. B

50 d Interpolatum (ex SN) in Cott. (vide cap. 50 b) Co in schedula (vide cap. 50 c), B P Ar Camd W: secl. Pet. In Cott. adscripta fuisse in fine Ex Annalibus Asserii testatur W 1 Eodem

- partim equitando, partim navigando, cum pervenerunt ad locum, qui Suanavine dicitur, perierunt centum et viginti e navibus: equestrem vero exercitum rex Ælfred insequabatur*  
 5 *tunc, quousque venit ad Exanceastriam. Ibi accepit obsides et iuramentum ab eo, ut cito discederent.]*
- 51 *Ipsa anno, mense Augusto, ille exercitus perrexit in Merciam, et illam regionem Merciorum partim dedit Ceolwulfo, cuidam insipienti regis ministro, partim inter se divisit.*
- 52 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXVIII, nativitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo, supra memoratus saepe exercitus Eaxeancestre deserens, Cippanham, villam regiam, quae est sita in sinistrali*  
 5 *parte Wiltunscire, in orientali ripa fluminis, quod Britannice dicitur Abon, adiit, et ibi hyemavit. Et multos eiusdem gentis ultra mare compulit hostiliter et penuria atque pavore navigare, et maxima ex parte omnes illius regionis habitatores suo sub-*  
 10 *diderunt dominio.*

anno] Anno DCCCLXXVII item *SN* 2 *post* navigando  
*add. sed SN* pervenissent *B* 3 *Suanevyne B: Swanawic*  
*recte SN* 4 *Ælfredus B Ar* insequens *SN* 5 *tunc*  
*om. SN* 6 *discederèt B P Ar: discederent Camd W: dis-*  
*cessurus erat SN*

51 *Exscripp. SN: om. Co* 2 *Merciorum regionem B* 3 *Ceol-*  
*wulfo Co B Ar: Cleolwulfo P (errore operarum) quod rec. Camd*  
*W Pet (margine correx. Pet) quidam SN*

52 *Exscripp. totum SN, partim (an 877) SD 1 SD 2* 2  
*trigesimo corr. W: vicesimo septimo Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar*  
*Camd: v. octavo SD 1 supra... deserens] magnus paganorum exer-*  
*citus Danorum sive Nordmannorum post Theophaniam latenter SN*  
*3 ex Eanceastre Co: Exancestre B: Eaxeancestre Ar* 4 *Cyppanham*  
*B refiam (errore operarum) P Ar* 5 *Wiltanscire B: pagae*  
*Wyltunensis SN* quod . . . dicitur *om. SN* 6 *Adbon SN*  
*adiit om. SN* 7 *post eiusdem add. Occidentalium Saxonum SN*  
*hostili vi SN* 8 *et] et pro SN (ut pro Ed.) navigare]*  
*navigarent et abdicarent se in oceano SN* 9 *regiones B*

Eodem tempore Ælfred *saepe supra memoratus* 53  
*rex*, cum paucis suis nobilibus et etiam cum quibus-  
 dam *militibus* et fasellis, per sylvestria et gronnosa  
 Summurtunensis pagae loca in magna tribulatione  
 inquietam vitam ducebat. Nihil enim habebat quo 5  
 uteretur, nisi quod a paganis et etiam a Christianis,  
 qui se paganorum subdiderant dominio, frequentibus  
 irruptionibus aut clam aut etiam palam subtraheret.

[*Et, ut in vita Sancti Neoti patris legitur, (diu latebat)*  
*apud quendam suum vaccarium.*]

[*Contigit autem die quodam, ut rustica, uxor videlicet* 53 b  
*illius vaccarii, pararet ad coquendum panes, et ille rex*  
*sedens sic circa focum praeparavit sibi arcum et sagittas*  
*et alia bellorum instrumenta. Cum vero panes ad ignem*  
*positos ardentem aspexit illa infelix mulier, festinanter 5*  
*(cu)currit et amovit eos, increpans regem invictissimum,*  
*et dicens: 'Heus homo*

*urere, quos cernis, panes gyrare moraris,*

*cum nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes!'*

*Mulier illa infausta minime putabat illum esse regem* 10

53 *Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2* 1 Ælfred  
*om. B: Alfrēdus SN supra om. B* 2 *post rex add. Occi-*  
*dentalium Saxonum (ex SN interpolata) Co B P Ar Edd., quae*  
*defuisse in Cott. adnot. W alterum cum om. B* 3 *militibus*  
*om. Co et om. Co B fasellis Co Flor: vacellis B: vasellis P*  
*Ar: vasallis Camd W Pet: vasallis SN* 4 *Sumertunensis B:*  
*Sumur- SN pagae] fage P post tribulatione add. et angustia*  
*SN* 5 *inquietus Flor* 6 *et] vel Flor a om. B* 7 *sub-*  
*diti erant SN* 8 *ad subtraheret in Co adscriptum est Hic*  
*inseritur in alio opere ascripto Asser scriptum quoddam (scilicet cap.*  
*53b) in Vita Sancti Neoti* 9 *et . . . vaccarium om. Co B:*  
*interpolata (ex SN) in P Ar rell. Edd. De Cott. nihil adnotavit W*  
*diu latebat ex SN addidi*

53 b *Interpolatum (ex SN) in P Ar Camd W: secl. Pet: om.*  
*Cott. (teste W) Co B* 1 *quadam Camd SN* 3 *circa]*  
*contra SN* 6 *cucurrit scripsi: currit Co B P Ar Edd. SN*

*Ælfredum, qui tot bella gessit contra paganos, tantasque victorias accepit de eis.]*

- 53 c [Non solum autem eidem glorioso regi victorias de inimicis et prosperitatem in adversis conferre Dominus dignatus est, verum etiam ab hostibus fatigari, adversitatibus affligi, despectu suorum deprimi, multotiens eum idem benignus  
 5 Dominus permisit, ut sciret, quoniam 'unus est omnium dominus, cui curvatur omne genu, cuius in manu corda sunt regum, Qui ponit de sede potentes et exaltat humiles'<sup>a</sup>, Qui suos fideles in summa prosperitate positos flagellis adversitatum vult aliquando tangi: ut depressi de Dei misericordia  
 10 non desperent, et exaltati de honore non superbiant, sed etiam sciant cui debent omnia, quae habent. Quam siquidem adversitatem praefato regi illatam non immerito ei evenisse credimus, quia in primo tempore regni sui, cum adhuc iuvenis erat, animoque iuvenili detentus fuerat, homines sui  
 15 regni sibi que subiecti, qui ad eum venerant et pro necessitatibus suis eum requisierant et qui depressi potestatibus erant, suum auxilium ac patrocinium implorabant. Ille vero noluit eos audire, nec aliquod auxilium (eis) impendebat, sed omnino eos nihili pendebat. Quod beatissimus vir Neotus  
 20 adhuc vivens in carne, qui erat cognatus suus, intimo corde doluit, maximamque adversitatem ob hoc ei venturam spiritu prophetico plenus praedixerat. Sed ille et piissimam viri Dei correptionem parvi pendebat, et verissimam eius prophetiam non recipiebat. Quia igitur quicquid ab homine  
 25 peccatur, aut hic aut in futuro, necesse est ut quolibet modo puniatur, noluit verus et pius iudex illam regis insipientiam esse impunitam in hoc seculo, quatenus illi parceret in districto iudicio. Quare ergo idem saepedictus Ælfredus in

<sup>a</sup> Ephes. iv. 6; Isa. xlv. 23; Prov. xxi. 1; Luc. i. 52.

11 Ælfredum SN

53 c Interpolatum (ex SN) in P Ar Camd W: seclus. Pet: om.  
 Cott. (teste W) Co B 11 quae om. SN (quod tacitus supplevit Ed.)  
 14 iuvenis SN (invenis Ed. operarum errore) animo SN  
 18 voluit P eis ex SN addidi 22 praedixit SN  
 27 parcerent Ar 28 Ælfredus Camd: Ælfredus SN

*tantam miseriam saepius incidit, ut nemo subiectorum suorum  
sciret ubi esset vel quo devenisset.]* 30

Eodem anno frater Inwari et Healfdene cum 54  
viginti et tribus navibus de Demetica regione, in qua  
hyemaverat, post multas ibi Christianorum strages  
factas, ad Domniam enavigavit, et ibi a ministris  
regis cum mille, *et* ducentis infelici exitu perperam 5  
agens occisus est ante arcem Cynuit; quia in eadem  
arce multi ministri regis cum suis se concluderant  
confugii causa. Sed cum pagani arcem imparatam  
atque omnino immunitam, nisi quod moenia nostro  
more erecta solummodo haberet, cernerent,—non 10  
enim effringere moliebantur, quia *et* ille locus situ  
terrarum tutissimus est ab omni parte, nisi ab  
orientali, *sicut nos ipsi vidimus*,—obsidere eam  
coeperunt, putantes homines illos manum cito  
daturus fame et siti et obsessione coactos, quia 15  
nulla aqua illi arci contigua est. Quod non ita,  
ut putabant, evenit. Nam Christiani, antequam  
talem penuriam omnino subire paterentur, divinitus

30 *post devenisset add. SN* Verumtamen in maximis necessitatibus  
ac periculis ei posito Beatus Neotus saepe apparuit, consolans eum  
ac praedicans illum (eum *Ed. tacite*) bene superaturum omnia mala  
sibi instantia.

54 *Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2* 1 Inwari  
*Co B*: Inguar *SD 1 SD 2*: Hynguari *vell.* Healfdene *Co P Ar*  
*SN*: Halsdene *B*: Healfdenae *Camd vell. Edd.* 3 ibi *om. Ar*  
4 *Damniam B* 5 *et om. SN SD 2* in felici *Co*: in faelici  
*B* 6 Cynwyt *B*: Cynwith *SD 1 SD 2* 8 refugii *SD 2*  
Sed] verum *Flor* imperatam *B* 9 omnino *om. B* 10  
erecti *SN* (*quod tacitus correxit Ed.*) 13 sicut] ut *B* sicut  
nos ipsi vidimus *om. SN* 15 obsessione *Cott. (teste W) Co*  
*Flor SN* (*obsidione Ed.*): obsidione *B Ar P Edd.* 16 illi  
arci] ei *Ar*: ille arce *SN* *post arci add.* erat *Ar* est  
*om. Ar* 17 anteaquam *B* 18 subire] ferre *B*



instigati, multo melius iudicantes aut mortem aut  
 20 victoriam mereri, diluculo super paganos ex impro-  
 viso irrumpunt, et a primo tempore hostes hostiliter  
 cum rege suo maxima ex parte, paucis ad naves  
 per fugam elapsis, prosternunt.

54 b [*Ibique acceperunt spolia non minima. In quo etiam  
 acceperunt illud vexillum, quod Reafan nominant. Dicunt  
 enim quod tres sorores Hinguari et Hubbae, filiae videlicet  
 Lodebrochi, illud vexillum texuerunt, et totum paraverunt  
 5 illud uno meridiano tempore. Dicunt etiam, quod in omni  
 bello ubi praecederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi  
 essent, appareret in medio signi quas: corvus vivens volitans:  
 sin vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe nihil  
 movens. Et hoc saepe probatum est.*]

55 Eodem anno post Pascha Ælfred rex cum paucis  
 [adiutoribus] fecit arcem in loco, qui dicitur Ætheling-  
 aeg, et de ipsa arce semper cum [nobilibus] fassellis  
 Summurtunensis <pagae> contra paganos infatigabi-

21 a primo] 'Sic Flor Aprino Edd. P et C[amd]' W, nihil de Cott.  
 enotato: aprino B Ar: prima hora omisso tempore SN

54 b Interpolatum (ex SN) in P Ar Camd W: secl. Pet: om.  
 Cott. (teste W) Co B. In Cott. interpolatum fuisse ex eo apparet,  
 quod W inde adnotavit Reafau v. 2 2 Reafan SN (Reafun perperam  
 Ed.) W Pet: Reafau Cott. (teste W) P Ar Camd 3 Hinguari P  
 Ar: Hungari Camd (errore, ut videtur, operarum) W Pet: Hynguari  
 SN (Hinguari perperam Ed.) Hubbae SN (Aubbae Ed. perpe-  
 ram): Habbe P Ar: Habbae Camd W Pet 6 signum] regnum  
 Ar 8 sin] si SN

55 Exscrip. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2 1 Ælfredus B:  
 Alfrēdus SN 2 adiutoribus om. Cott. (teste W) Co: exhibb. (ex  
 SN interpolatum) Co B P Ar Camd: secl. Pet Ethelingaag B:  
 Æthelingaeig SN: Ethelingalge SD 1: SD 2 3 nobilibus  
 om. Co: exhibb. (ex SN interpolatum) B P Ar Camd W Pet  
 fassellis Cott. (teste W) Co Flor: vascellis B: vassellis P Ar: vasallis  
 SN Camd W Pet 4 Sumertunensis B: Sumur- SN: Sumurtunen-  
 sibus Flor pagae om. Cott. (teste W) Co B Flor Ar: exhibb. (ex SN  
 interpolatum) P Camd W Pet contra om. Cott. (teste W) Co

liter rebellavit. Iterumque in septima hebdomada 5 post Pascha ad Petram Ægbryhta, quae est in orientali parte saltus, qui dicitur Seluudu, Latine autem 'sylva magna,' *Britannice* 'Coit Maur,' equitavit; ibique obviaverunt illi omnes accolae Summurtunensis *pagae et* Wiltunensis, *omnes accolae* Hamtunensis *pagae*, qui non ultra mare pro metu paganorum navigaverant; visoque rege, sicut dignum erat, quasi redivivum post tantas tribulationes recipientes, immenso repleti sunt gaudio, *et* ibi castra metati sunt una nocte. Diluculo sequenti *illucescente*, rex 15 inde castra commovens, venit ad locum, qui dicitur Æcglea, et ibi una nocte castra metatus est.

Inde sequenti mane *illucescente* vexilla com- 56 movens ad locum, qui dicitur Ethandun, venit, et contra universum paganorum exercitum cum densa testudine atrociter belligerans, animoseque diu persistens, divino nutu, tandem victoria potitus, 5

5 debellavit *Flor* 6 Aegbrihta *Co Ar*: Eghrihta B: Ecgbrihti *Flor*: Egcbrichti *SN*: Ecgberti *SD 1 SD 2* 7 *post* qui *add.* Anglico eloquio *SN* Saluudu *SN*: Mucel-pudu (*ex-wudu scripto litteris Anglo-Sax. pudu perperam intellecto*) *SD 1* (-purlu *Edd.*) *SD 2* (-pudu *Edd.*) 8 *Britannice* Coit Maur *om. SN* Coit Mapur (*ex Mawur scripto Anglo-Saxonice Mapur ortum*) *SD 1 SD 2* (Coitmawr *Edd.*) 9 *post* illi *add.* eii B omnes *om. B* Sumertunensis B: Summurtunensis . . . accolae *om. SN* 11 propter metum *SN* 12 navigarent *SN*: aufugerant B 14 ibique *SN* 16 inde *Cott.* (*teste W*) *Co B W Pet SN*: in *P Ar Camd* 17 Ecglea B *Flor*: Iglea *SN* *post* castra metatus est *Alfredi somnium de Sancto Neoto narrat SN*

56 *Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2* 1 Inde *post* movens (*v. 2*) *exhibet SN* sequenti *om. SN* mane] die *Flor* vexilla *Co B* 2 Eððandun *SD 1*: Eððandun *SD 2* (*Edderandun Edd. ð pro der male lecto*) venit *post* exercitum (*v. 3*) *exhibet SN* et] ubi *Flor* 5 tantem *SN* (*quod tacitus*

paganos maxima caede prostravit, et fugientes usque ad arcem *percutiens* persecutus est, et omnia, quae extra arcem invenit, homines scilicet et equos et pecora, confestim caedens homines, surripuit, et  
 10 ante portas paganicae arcis cum omni exercitu suo viriliter castra metatus est. Cumque ibi per quatuordecim dies remoraretur, pagani fame, frigore, timore, et ad extremum desperatione perterriti, pacem ea condicione petierunt, ut rex nominatos obsides,  
 15 quantos vellet, ab eis acciperet, et ille nullum eis daret, ita tamen qualiter nunquam cum aliquo pacem ante pepigerant. Quorum legatione audita rex suatim *utens*, misericordia motus, nominatos, quantos voluit, obsides ab eis accepit. Quibus  
 20 acceptis, pagani insuper iuraverunt se citissime de suo regno exituros, necnon *et* Godrum, rex eorum, Christianitatem subire et baptismum sub manu Ælfredi regis accipere promisit. Quae omnia ille et sui, ut promiserant, impleverunt. Nam post  
 25 hebdomadas *<tres>* Godrum, paganorum rex, cum triginta electissimis de exercitu suo viris, ad Ælfred regem prope Æthelingae in loco, qui dicitur Alre,

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*emendavit Ed.)*      *post* potitus *add.* et *Flor*      6 et fugientes]  
 fugientes vero *Flor*      12 moraretur *Flor*      *post* timore *add.*  
 perterriti *SN*      13 perterriti] percussi *SN*      16 tamen] vero  
*SN*      *post* cum *add.* alio *SN*      *post* aliquo *add.* rege vel principe  
*SN*      18 suatim *utens* *Co SN*: suatim *Flor* (*Codd.* suapte *Edd.*)  
*SD* 1 *SD* 2: sua ipsius *B P Ar Edd.* De *Cott.* nihil adnotat *W*  
*post* *utens add.* consilium *SN*      21 Guthrum *Flor*: Gythram *SN*:  
 Gutthrum *SD* 1, *SD* 2      23 Alfrēdi *SN*      25 tres *addidi auctore*  
*Chron. Anglo-Sax.: om. Cott. Co B Ar Edd. SN* (*tres tacitus*  
*add. Ed.*): septem *ex Flor supplevit W*      Guthrum *Flor*: Guthram  
*SN* (*Gythram Ed.*): Guderun *SD* 1      26 electissimus *P*  
 Alfrēdum *SN*      27 Æthelingae ege *Co SN Flor*: Ethelingaag *B*

pervenit. Quem *Ælfred* rex in filium adoptionis sibi suscipiens, de fonte sacro baptismatis elevavit. Cuius chrismatis solutio octavo die in villa regia, 30 quae dicitur Wædmor, fuit. Qui, postquam baptizatus fuit, duodecim noctibus cum rege mansit. Cui rex cum suis omnibus multa et optima beneficia largiter dedit.

*Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXIX, nati- 57*  
*vitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo primo*, praefatus paganorum exercitus de Cippanhamme, ut promiserat, consurgens, Cirrenceastre adiit, quae *Britannice Cairceri nominatur*, quae est in meridiana 5 parte Huicciorum, ibique per unum annum mansit.

Eodem anno magnus paganorum exercitus de 58  
 ultramarinis partibus navigans in Tamesin fluvium venit, et adunatus est superiori exercitui, sed tamen hyemavit in loco, qui dicitur Fullonham, iuxta flumen Tamesin. 5

Aarl *Co Flor W*: Aarl *SD 2*: Autre *B* 28 *Alfredus SN*  
 29 sacri *Flor* elevavit *B Edd. SN*: elimavit *Co Flor SD 2*  
 31 Weadmor *Flor*: Wedmor *SD Ar*: Wedmore *SN* 33 omni-  
 bus] nobilibus *B* beneficia *scripsi*: aedificia *Co B Ar Edd.*

57 *Exscripp. totum SN SD 1, partim SD 2* 2 *Ælfred B*  
 trigesimo primo *correx. W*: vigesimo octavo *Cott. (teste W) Co B Ar*  
*P Camd SD 1* 3 *Cypanhamme B* 4 *promiserant B post*  
*promiserat add. egressus SD 1, inde pergens ad ad Orientales c. 60*  
*v. 4* *Cyrenceastre B*: *Cyrenceastram SN* quae *Co B SD 1*:  
 qui *Co B P Ar cett.* quae . . . *nominatur om. SN* 5 *Brit-*  
*tanice Co post Britannice add. eloquio SD 1* 6 *Huicciorum B*  
*post Huicciorum add. sita SN*

58 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 1 *ante Eodem add. et SN*  
 2 *post partibus add. venit SN* *Tamesin scripsi*: *Thamensem Cott.*  
*(teste W)*: *Tamensen Co*: *Tamesem B*: *Tamensem Flor*: *Tam̄sē*  
*SN*: *Tamensi fluvio SD 1 SD 2*: *Thamesim P Ar*: *Thamesin*  
*Camd W Pet*: *Tæmese vel Tæmesan (acc. sing. Anglo-Saxonice)*  
*scriptum fuisse suspicor* 4 *Fullanham Flor SN* 5 *Tamesin*

- 59 Eodem anno eclipsis solis inter nonam et vesperam, sed propius ad nonam, facta est.
- 60 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXX, natiuitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo secundo*, saepe memoratus paganorum exercitus Cirrenceastre deserens, ad Orientales Anglos perrexit, ipsamque  
5 regionem dividens coepit inhabitare.
- 61 Eodem anno exercitus paganorum, qui in Fullonham hiemaverat, Britannicam insulam deserens, iterum ultra mare navigans, ad Orientalem Franciam perrexit, et per unum annum in loco, qui dicitur  
5 Gendi, mansit.
- 62 *Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXXI, natiuitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo tertio, praefatus exercitus superius in Franciam perrexit. Contra quem Franci pugnauerunt, et,*  
5 *finito proelio, pagani, equis inventis, equites facti sunt.*

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*scripsi*: Thamensis *Co P*: Thamesis *Ar*: Thamensem *B*: Tamense  
*Flor*: Tam̄sis *SN*: Thamesin *Camd W Pet*

59 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 1 vesperam *Camd* 2 ad  
*om. SN*

60 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 2 trigesimo secundo *corr.*  
*W*: vigesimo nono *Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd SD 1*  
3 paganorum *om. Co B* Cyrenceastre *SN*

61 *Exscripp. SN SD 1. SD 2* 1 paganorum exercitus *SN*  
Fullanhamme *Co*: Fullanham *Flor*: Fullanhamme *SN* 2  
Britannicam *Co* Britannicam insulam] Angliam *SN* 5 Gendi  
*Cott. (teste W) Co*: Gendi, id est Gent *Flor*: Gaent *P Ar Camd*  
*W Pet SN*: Gaynt *B*: Gant *SD 2*

62 *Exscrip. SN; fusius eadem reddunt, multis additis, SD 1*  
*SD 2* 2 trigesimo tertio *corr. W*: trigesimo *Cott. (teste*  
*W) Co B Ar P Camd SD 1* 3 post exercitus *add. paganorum*  
*Flor* superius] saepedictus *Flor* 5 pagani] pani *SN*  
(quod tacitus correxit *Ed.*)



*Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXXII, nati- 63*  
*vitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo quarto, prae-*  
*fatus exercitus suas naves per flumen, quod dicitur*  
*Mese, sursum tanto longe in Franciam pertraxit, et*  
*ibi uno anno hyemavit. 5*

Et eodem anno Ælfred, *Angulsaxonum rex, nāvali 64*  
 proelio contra paganicas naves in mare congressus  
 est; ex quibus duas cepit naves, occisis omnibus,  
 qui in eis erant. Duarumque aliarum navium duo  
 principes, cum omnibus suis sociis, valde proelio et 5  
 vulneribus fatigati, depositis armis, curvo poplite, et  
 supplicibus precibus, dederunt se regi.

*Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXXIII, na- 65*  
*tivitatis autem regis Ælfredi trigesimo quinto, prae-*  
*fatus exercitus naves suas per flumen, quod dicitur*  
*Scald, contra flumen navigans, ad monasterium*  
*sanctimonialium, quod dicitur Cundoth, traxit, et 5*  
*ibi anno uno mansit.*

*Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXXIV, na- 66*  
*tivitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo sexto, prae-*

63 *Exscripp. SD 1 SD 2 2 trigesimo quarto corr. W:*  
*trigesimo primo Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd SD 1 4*  
*Mese Co SD 1 SD 2: Ine se Cott. (teste W) Ar P Camd: Inese B:*  
*in Mese corr. W auctore Flor*

64 *Exscripp. SD 1 SD 2 4 duo om. B 5 utilde Co*

65 *Exscripp. totum SD 1, partim SD 2 2 trigesimo quinto*  
*corr. W: trigesimo secundo Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd*  
*SD 1 4 Scaldad Flor 5 Cundoth scripsi secutus Chron.*  
*Anglo-Sax. et SD 1: Cundath Flor: Cundoht Co B P Ar Camd*  
*W Pet 6 permansit B*

66 *Exscripp. totum SN SD 1, partim (post cap. 71 transpositum)*  
*SD 2 1 DCCCLXXXIV] DCCCLXXXV Flor SD 2 SN Chron.*  
*Anglo-Sax. nativitatis . . . sexto om. Co B: exhibit SD 1 alia manu*  
*2 trigesimo sexto corr. W: trigesimo tertio Cott. (teste W) SD 1:*  
*trigesimo quarto P Ar Camd post praefatus add. paganorum*

*fatus* exercitus in duas se turmas divisit: una etenim  
*turma* in Orientalem Franciam perrexit, et altera  
 5 ad Britanniam veniens, Cantiam adiit, civitatemque,  
 quae Hrofesceastre Saxonice dicitur, in orientali  
 ripa fluminis Medwæg sitam, obsedit. Ante huius  
 portam pagani castellum sibimet firmum subito  
 fabricaverunt; nec tamen illam civitatem expugnare  
 10 potuerunt, quia cives illi se viriliter defenderunt,  
 quousque Ælfred rex, cum magno exercitu adiu-  
 torium illis conferens, supervenit. Et tunc pagani,  
 relicta arce sua, et omnibus equis, quos de Francia  
 secum adduxerant, derelictis, maxima parte necnon  
 15 captivorum suorum *in arce* dimissa, adveniente  
 subito rege, ad naves suas confestim confugiunt, et  
 Saxones statim derelictos a paganis captivos et  
 equos diripiunt. Pagani itaque, magna necessitate  
 compulsi, eadem aestate iterum Franciam adierunt.  
 67 Eodem anno Ælfred, Angulsaxonum rex, classem  
 suam de Cantia, plenam bellatoribus, in Orientales  
 Anglos dirigens, praedandi causa, transmisit. Cum

*Flor* praefatus] paganorum *SN* 3 se *B Flor SN: om. Co*  
*P Ar Camd W Pet* 4 alteri *Co* post altera add. vero turma  
*Flor* 5 Britanniam] Angliam *SN* Cantiam *Co Flor SN*  
*SD 1 SD 2: Cantium rell.* 6 Hrofesceastre *B: Hrofesceaster*  
*Flor: Hrofesceastra SN* Saxonice *om. SN* 7 Medweg *Ar:*  
*Medweg Flor: Medounege SN* 8 sibimet *SN: ibimet P Ar*  
*Camd W Pet: ibimet Co B (post pagani): om. Flor* 9 fabri-  
 caverant *B* nec . . . potuerunt] sed tamen non potuerunt exp-  
 pugnare civitatem *SN* 11 Aelfredus *SN* 12 collaturus  
*Flor* supervenit post rex (v. 11) praebet *SN* Et tunc pagani]  
 pagani vero *SN* 13 aequis *Co* 14 parte *om. Co* nec-  
 non] et *SN* 15 in] pro *Co* 16 confestim *om. B* et  
 Saxones] At Angli *SN* 17 diripiunt captivos et equos a  
 paganis derelictos *SN* 18 aequos *Co*  
 67 *Exscripsit SD 1; eadem aliis verbis narrat SD 2* 2 Cantia

que ad ostium Sture fluminis advenissent, confestim  
 tredecim naves paganorum, paratae ad bellum, 5  
 obviaverunt eis, initoque navali proelio, hinc inde  
 acriter pugnantes, pagani omnes occisi et omnes  
 naves cum omni pecunia eorum captae sunt. Cum-  
 que inde victrix regia classis *dormiret*, pagani, qui  
 [ad] Orientalium Anglorum regionem habitabant, 10  
 congregatis undecunque navibus, eidem regiae  
 classi in ostio *eiusdem* fluminis in mari obvia-  
 verunt, consertoque navali proelio, pagani victoriam  
 habuerunt.

Eodem quoque anno Carlomannum, Francorum 68  
 Occidentalium regem, aprorum venationem agen-  
 tem, singularis congressione horrendo dente dila-  
 cerans miserabili funere percussit. Cuius frater  
 Hlothuicus superiori anno defunctus est; qui et 5  
 ipse erat etiam Francorum rex: ipsi etenim ambo  
 filii Hlothuici regis Francorum erant. Qui *etiam*

*Co B Flor SD 1*: Cantio *rell.* Orientalem Angliam *B 4* Sture  
*Co Ar*: Sturæ *rell.* venissent *Flor 5* sexdecim *Flor Chron.*  
*Anglo-Sax.* ad bellum paratae *B 6* post hinc *add.* et *Flor*  
 9 *dormiret Cott. (teste W)*, *Co B P rell.*: rediret *Flor*: consertoque  
 navali proelio (ex *versu 13*) cum Anglis ubi dormiebant somno  
 inerti *SD 1* pagani *om. B* qui *om. Cott. (teste W)* *Co 10* Orient-  
 talium *scripsi*: Orientalem omnes. Anglorum *Co* inhabitabant *Flor*  
 68 *Exscripp. SN SD 2 1* eodem quoque anno *om. Flor*  
*Carlomannum Cott. (teste W)*: Carlmannum *Co*: Caorlmannum *B*:  
 Carolomannum *P rell.*: Karlomannum *Flor SN 3* singularis  
 (*Gallice 'sanglier'*) post dente *Flor*: singulari *Co B P Ar Edd.*  
*SN SD 2* post dente *praebent aper (ex glossemate, quod alia*  
*manus supra verum scripsit, in SN interpolatum) P (errore opera-*  
*rum aret)*, *Ar B Camd SD 2 W Pet*: defuisse *Cott. testatur W* post  
 dilacerans *add. ferus Flor: om. Co B P Ar Camd rell. SN SD 2*  
 5 Hlothuicus *B*: Luduwicus *Flor*: Hloduicus *SN* superiori]  
 tertio *Flor* post anno *add. ante Flor 7* Hlothuici *B*:

*Hlothuuicus* supra memorato anno, quo eclipsis solis facta est, defunctus est; ipse quoque *Hlothuuicus* filius Karoli Francorum regis erat, cuius filiam Iuthittam Æthelwulfus, Occidentalium Saxonum rex, ad reginam sibi paterna voluntate suscepit.

69 Eodem quoque anno magnus paganorum exercitus de Germania in regionem Antiquorum Saxonum, quae Saxonice dicitur *Eald Seaxum*, supervenit. Contra quos, adunatis viribus, iidem Saxones et Frisones bis in uno illo anno viriliter pugnavere. In quibus duobus bellis Christiani, divina opitulante misericordia, victoriam habuere.

70 Eodem quoque anno Carolus, Alamannorum rex, Occidentalium Francorum regnum et omnia regna, quae sunt inter mare Tyrrhenum et illum marinum sinum, qui inter Antiquos Saxones et Gallos adiacet, voluntario omnium consensu accepit, absque Armoricano regno. Qui Karolus *Hlothuuici* regis

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Luduwici Flor: Hlothuici SN post regis add. Occidentalium SN 8 Hlothuuicus Co B: Hlothuicus SN aeclipsis Co 9 Ludowicus Flor: Hlothuicus SN 10 Karoli Co B Flor SN: Caroli P rell. 11 Iudditam C: Iuditham B: Iudittam SN 12 sibi] sub SN (sibi tacitus emendavit Ed.) paterna] pari Co B SN (om. Ed.)

69 Exscripp. totum SD 1, partim SD 2 1 eodem] praesenti Flor 3 quae scripsi: quod Co B P Ar Camd W Pet Saxum Co 5 bis scripsi auctoribus Flor et Chron. Anglo-Sax.: ibi Co B; ibidem P Ar Camd W Pet

70 Exscripp. SN SD 2 1 quoque] insuper Flor: om. SN Carolus Co: Farlus B P Ar Camd W Pet: Karolus Flor SN Alamannorum Flor SN: Alemannorum SD 2: Almannonum rell. 3 'Tyrrhenum per novam manum in MS. Cott.' W: Terrenum Co B P Ar Camd W Pet Flor: Tirrenum SD 2: Trenum (in Tirrenum emendatum alia manu) SN (Tyrrhenum tacitus emend. Ed) maris SN 6 post Armoricano habent (ex glossemate i. Britannia

filius fuit; ipse vero Hlothuicus germanus Karoli regis Francorum, patris Iuthittae, reginae praedictae, erat: qui etiam duo germani fuerunt filii Hlothuici; Hlothuic vero ille filius Caroli (*anti- 10 qui, qui etiam fuit filius*) Pipini.

Eodem anno *beatae memoriae* Marinus papa *uni- 71 versitatis viam migravit*. Qui Scholam Saxonum in Roma morantium, pro amore et deprecatione Ælfredi, Angulsaxonum regis, ab omni tributo et telonio benigne liberavit. Qui etiam multa dona 5 praedicto regi illa vice transmisit: inter quae

Minori, quod alia manus scripsit supra versum in SN, interpolata) id est, Minori Britannia B P Ar Camd W: seclisit Pet: om. Cott. (teste W) Co supra regno scripsit id est Lidwicii alia manus in N, ex butan Lidwiccium Chron. Anglo-Sax. (= 'absque Aremericanis') orta (quae male emendavit in Lidwicus similitudine viri noninis Lodouicus deceptus, omissis id est, Ed.) Karolus Co Flor SD 2 SN: Farlus B Ar P Camd vell. Edd. post Karolus add. filius Co B P Ar Camd, quamquam filius versu sequenti retinent Lodouici Co B: Luduwici Flor: Hlodwici SN: Lodowici SD 2 7 Lodouicus B: Luduwicus Flor: Hloduicus SN: Lodowicus SD 2 Karoli Co B Ar Flor SN: Caroli P vell. Edd. 8 post patris praebent videlicet (ex SN interpolatum) P Ar Camd W Pet: om. Co B Flor SD 2 Indittae Co SN: Iudithae B: Iuditte Ar reginae om. Co B Flor 9 erat om. Co B Flor etiam om. Co B Flor 10 Lodovici Co B: Loduici SN: Luduwici Flor Lodovic Co B: Luduwicus Flor: Hloduicus SN filius Caroli antiqui, qui etiam fuit filius Pipini restitui secutus Chron. Anglo-Sax.: filius Pipini sive Caroli Cott. (teste W): filius Pippini Co Flor: filius Karoli magni et antiqui atque sapientissimi, qui etiam fuit filius Pipini exhibent (ex SN interpolata) B P Camd W: seclisit Pet; quae praebet Ar omissis atque sapientissimi: filius fuit Caroli magni illius famosi atque sapientissimi, qui fuit filius Pipini regis SD 2

71 Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2 2 Scolam Anglorum SN 3 morantium] consistentem SN 4 Occidentalium Saxonum SN post et add. talento B P Ar Camd W Pet, quod errore inter scribendum ex telonio sequenti ortum suspicor 5 tolonio Co:



dedit etiam non parvam illius sanctissimae ac venerabilissimae crucis partem, in qua Dominus noster Iesus Christus pro *universali* hominum

10 salute pependit.

72 Eodem quoque anno *ille* paganorum exercitus, qui in *Orientalibus* Anglis habitavit, pacem, quam cum Ælfredo rege pepigerat, opprobriose fregit.

73 *Igitur, ut ad id, unde digressus sum, redeam, ne diuturna enavigatione portum optatae quietis omittere cogar, aliquantulum, quantum notitiae meae innotuerit, de vita et moribus et aequa conversatione,*  
 5 *atque, ex parte non modica, res gestas domini mei Ælfredi, Angulsaxonum regis, postquam praefatam ac venerabilem de Merciorum nobilium genere coniugem duxerit, Deo annuente, succinctim ac breviter, ne qua prolixitate narrandi nova quaeque fastidientium*  
 10 *animos offendam, ut promisi, expedire procurabo.*

74 *Cum ergo nuptias honorabiliter in Mercia factas, inter innumerabiles utriusque sexus populos, sollemniter celebraret, post diuturna die noctuque convivium, subito et immenso atque omnibus medicis incognito*  
 5 *confestim coram omni populo correptus est dolore. Incognitum enim erat omnibus, qui tunc aderant, et etiam hucusque cotidie cernentibus—quod, proh dolor! pessimum est, tantam diuturnitatem a vigesimo aetatis suae anno usque quadragesimum, et*  
 10 *eo amplius, annum per tanta annorum curricula*

telone *Flor SD* 2 5-6 qui . . . inter quae *om. B* 7 dedit *om. SN*  
*etiam] ei Flor ac venerabilissimae om. SN*

73 2 navigatione *B* quietis *Co* 10 promissi *C*

74 2 sollemniter *Co*: solemniter *rell.* 7 et *om. B* etetim  
 pro et etiam *Co* cotidie *Co*: quotidie *rell.* pro in *proh*

*incessanter protelasse—unde talis dolor oriebatur. Multi namque favore < sic > et fascinatione circumstantis populi hoc factum esse autumabant; alii diaboli quadam invidia, qui semper bouis invidus existat; alii inusitato quodam genere febris; alii <sup>15</sup> ficum existimabant, quod genus infestissimi doloris etiam ab infantia habuit. Sed quodam tempore, divino nutu, antea, cum Cornubiam venandi causa adiret, et ad quandam ecclesiam orandi causa divertisset, in qua Sanctus Guerrii requiescit [et nunc <sup>20</sup> etiam Sanctus Niot ibidem pausat], suatim utens —erat enim sedulus sanctorum locorum visitor etiam ab infantia, orandi et eleemosynam dandi gratia—diu in oratione tacita prostratus, ita Domini misericordiam deprecabatur, quatenus <sup>25</sup> omnipotens Deus pro sua immensa clementia stimulos praesentis et infestantis infirmitatis aliqua qualicunque leviori infirmitate mutaret, ea tamen condicione, ut corporaliter exterius illa infirmitas non appareret, ne inutilis et despectus esset. Timebat enim <sup>30</sup> lepram aut caecitatem, vel aliquem talem dolorem, qui homines tam cito et inutiles et despectos suo*

*mutatum Co*      14 *diabolica Cott. (teste W) Co B P Ar Camd*  
 15 *quo—ad finem versus scriptum, dam ad initium sequentis negligenter omisso Co*      16 *existimabant B: existimant Co P Ar Camd W Pet*  
 17 *ante Sed inseruit cum in primaevo (v. 41) . . . desperabat (v. 59) Flor ann. 871*      20 *Gueijr B: Gueryr Camd W Pet*  
 20–21 *et . . . pausat seclusi*      21 *etiam] etiā Co, quod pro etenim compendio scripto perperam intellexit Pet: etiam post sanctum exhibet Flor*  
 Niot *Cott. (teste W) Co Flor: Niotus B: Neotus rell.*      *suatim utens ex Co reposui: sublevatus est B P Ar Camd W Pet*  
 24 *Dei Flor*      25 *quatinus Co*      26 *inmensa Co*  
 28 *ea] et Co*      29 *illa] ea B*      30 *despectus] deprecatus Ar*  
 enim *Co B: om. rell.*      32 *prius et om. B*      suos *Co*

*adventu efficiunt.* Oratione autem finita, coeptum iter arripuit, et non multo post tempore, ut in  
 35 oratione deprecatus fuerat, se ab illo dolore medicatum esse divinitus sensit, ita ut funditus eradicaretur, *quamvis et hunc dolorem in primaevo iuventutis suae flore devota oratione et frequenti Deo supplicatione pius supplex nactus fuerat.* Nam, ut  
 40 *de benevola mentis suae devotione Deo succinctim ac breviter, quamvis praeposterato ordine, loquar,* cum in primaevo iuventutis suae flore, *antequam propriam coniugem duceret,* mentem suam *propriam* in Dei mandatis stabilire vellet, et se a carnali desi-  
 45 derio abstinere non posse cereret, offensam Dei incurrere, si aliquid contrarium voluntati illius perageret (*metuens*), saepissime, galli cantu et matutinis horis clam consurgens, ecclesias et reliquias sanctorum orandi causa visitabat; ibique diu pro-  
 50 stratus orabat, quo Deus Omnipotens, propter suam misericordiam, mentem illius amore suae servitutis *multo robustius* per aliquam infirmitatem, quam posset sustinere, non tamen quo eum indignum et inutilem in mundanis rebus faceret, *ad se penitus*  
 55 *convertens* corroboraret. Cumque hoc saepius magna mentis devotione ageret, post aliquantulum intervallum *praefatum* fici dolorem Dei munere incurrit, in quo, diu et aegre per multos annos laborans, se, etiam de vita, desperabat, *quousque,*

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36 divinitus *post* dolore *praebet* B *Ab* eradicaretur *pergit* Flor *ad*  
 Sed (v. 60) 41 cum . . . desperabat (v. 59) *ante* Sed (v. 17)  
*posuit* Flor 43 *duceret*] *haberet* B Flor 44 *post* stabilire  
*add.* ut Co 45 *post* cereret *add.* ne Flor 46 incurreret  
 Flor 47 *metuens om.* Cott. (*teste* W) Co 59 laborans

*oratione facta, a se penitus eum amovit. Sed, proh 60*  
*dolor! eo amoto, alius infestior in nuptiis, ut*  
*diximus, eum arripuit, qui a vigesimo aetatis suae*  
*anno usque ad quadragesimum quintum eum die*  
*noctuque incessabiliter fatigavit; sed, si aliquando*  
*Dei misericordia unius diei aut noctis vel etiam 65*  
*unius horae intervallo illa infirmitas seposita fuerat,*  
*timor tamen ac tremor illius execrabilis doloris*  
*unquam eum non deserit, sed quasi inutilem eum,*  
*ut ei videtur, in divinis et humanis rebus prope-*  
*modum effecit.* 70

Nati sunt ergo ei filii et filiae de supradicta 75  
 coniuge sua [*scilicet*] Æthelflæd primogenita, post  
 quam Eadwerd, deinde Æthelgeofu, postea Ælf-  
 thryth, deinde Æthelweard natus est, *exceptis his,*  
*qui in infantia morte praeveniente praeoccupati 5*  
*sunt; † cuius numerus est † Æthelflæd, adveniente*

*Cott. (teste W) B P Ar Camd: roborans Co Flor W Pet 60*  
*pro in proh mutatum Co 61 eo] et Co 63 post quintum*  
*add. Flor et eo amplius (cf. v. 10 et cap. 91 v. 4) eum om.*  
*Co: illum Flor 68 eum om. B*

75 *Exscripp. SD 1 partim, paululum SD 2 (ann. 871) 2 post*  
*sua add. Ealhswytha Flor: Elfswitha SD 2 scilicet P Ar Camd*  
*W Pet: sed Co: videlicet B Æthelflæd scripsi: Æthelfled Co B*  
*Ar: Æthelflæd P rell. Edd.: Ægelflæd Flor post quam]*  
*postea B 3 Eadward Flor Ethelgeouu Co: Ethelgouu B:*  
*Æthelgeouu Flor Elfthryght B: Ælfthryth Ar 4 Ethel-*  
*werd B: Æthelward Flor 6 cuius numerus est Co, locus non-*  
*dum sanatus: de quorum numero B: de quorum numero est P Ar*  
*Camd W Pet. Obadiah Walker, apud Ioannem Spelman, in 'Vita*  
*Ælfredi,' Oxonii, 1678, pag. 173, not. b, lacunam, quam post est*  
*statuit, coniecit supplendam esse cum Edmundum, quem Alfrede*  
*filium natu maximum finxit Thomas Rudborne, auctor mendax*  
*'Historiae Maioris Wintoniensis,' lib. iii. cap. 6 (apud Wharton,*  
*'Anglia Sacra,' tom. i. pag. 207). Quem secuti sunt Tyrrell,*  
*'History of England,' 1700, tom. i. pag. 311, et W. Legendum esse*

matrimonii tempore, Eadredo, Merciorum comiti,  
 matrimonio copulata est; Æthelgeofu quoque  
 monasticae vitae regulis, devota Deo virginitate,  
 10 subiuncta et consecrata, divinum subiit servitium;  
 Æthelweard, omnibus iunior, ludis litterariae  
 disciplinae, divino consilio et admirabili regis  
 providentia, cum omnibus pene totius regionis  
 nobilibus *infantibus* et etiam multis ignobilibus,  
 15 sub diligenti magistrorum cura traditus est. *In*  
*qua schola utriusque linguae libri, Latinae scilicet*  
*et Saxonicae, assidue legebantur, scriptioni quoque*  
*vacabant, ita, ut antequam aptas humanis artibus*  
*vires haberent, venatoriae scilicet et ceteris artibus,*  
 20 *quae nobilibus conveniunt, in liberalibus artibus stu-*  
*diosi et ingeniosi viderentur.* Eadwerd et Ælfthryth  
 semper in curto regio nutriti cum magna nutritorum  
 et nutricum diligentia, immo cum magno omnium  
 amore, et ad omnes indigenas et alienigenas humili-  
 25 tate, affabilitate et etiam lenitate, et cum magna patris  
 subiectione huc usque perseverant. Nec etiam illi sine

de quorum numero Æthelflæd coniecit Pet. *Expectares potius*  
*numerum eorum, 'qui in infantia' mortui sunt* Æthelflæd  
*scripsi: Æthelfled Co: Ethelfled B: Æthelfled Ar: Æthelflæd P*  
*rell. Edd.* 7 Eadredo Co B P Ar Camd W Pet SD 1: Ætheredo  
 Flor 8 Ethelgeofu B 9 Deo om. Ar virginitate om. B 10  
 coniuncta Co B servitium subiit B 11 Ethelwerd B: Æthel-  
 ward Flor ludis Cott. (teste W) SD 1: ludi Co B Ar P Camd  
 litterariae Co 12 regis] patris B 13 cum omnibus] et  
 omnes Flor 14 nobiles Flor multis om. Co B: multi  
 ignobiles Flor 15 traditi sunt Flor 16 scholae B  
 Latine P 17 legebantur assidue B 21 viderentur] in-  
 struerentur Flor Eadward Flor Elfthryth B: Ælfthryth Ar  
 22 curia regis SD 1 24 et alienigenas om. Co B humili-  
 tate Co B: humiliata Ar P rell. Edd. 25 affabilitate  
 om. Co B levitate B 26 nec etiam illi] non Flor



liberali disciplina inter cetera praesentis vitae studia, quae nobilibus conveniunt, otiose et incuriose (vivere) permittuntur, nam et psalmos et Saxonicos libros et maxime Saxonica carmina studiose didicere, et <sup>30</sup> frequentissime libris utuntur.

Interea tamen rex, inter bella et praesentis vitae <sup>76</sup> frequentia impedimenta, necnon paganorum infestationes et cotidianas corporis infirmitates, et regni gubernacula regere, et omnem venandi artem agere, aurifices et artifices suos omnes et falconarios et <sup>5</sup> accipitrarios canicularios quoque docere, et aedificia supra omnem antecessorum suorum consuetudinem venerabiliora et pretiosiora nova sua machinatione facere, et Saxonicos libros recitare, et maxime carmina Saxonica memoriter discere, aliis imperare, <sup>10</sup> et solus assidue pro viribus studiosissime non desinebat. Divina quoque ministeria et missam scilicet cotidie audire, psalmos quosdam et orationes et horas diurnas et nocturnas celebrare, et ecclesias nocturno tempore, ut diximus, orandi causa clam a <sup>15</sup> suis adire solebat et frequentabat. Eleemosynarum quoque studio et largitati indigenis et advenis omnium gentium, ac maxima et incomparabili contra omnes homines affabilitate atque iocundi-

28 vivere addidi

30 studiose om. Co

76 1 Interea tamen] At Flor post rex add. Ælfredus Flor post et add. frequentissima B omisso frequentia v. 2 3 cotidianas Co: quotidianas rell. 5 falconarios Co Flor: fulconarios Coll. (teste W) P Camd Ar: fulconarinarios B 8 precisiore Camd (errore, ut videtur, operarum) 12 et om. B 13 cotidie Co: quotidie rell. et] ac B 14 divinas Camd (errore, ut videtur, operarum) 15 a om. Co 16 eleemosynarum Co 17 post quoque add. dator largissimus Flor 19 contra] erga B affabilitate atque iocunditate] omnium affabilissimus et

20 tate, et ignotarum rerum investigationi solerter se  
 † iungebat. Franci autem multi, Frisones, Galli,  
 pagani, Britones, et Scotti, Armorici sponte se suo  
 dominio subdiderant, nobiles scilicet et ignobiles;  
 quos omnes, sicut suam propriam gentem, secundum  
 25 suam dignitatem regebat, diligebat, honorabat,  
 pecunia et potestate ditabat. *Divinam quoque  
 scripturam a recitantibus indigenis, aut etiam, si casu  
 quodam aliunde adveniret, cum alienigenis pariter  
 preces audire sedulus et sollicitus solebat.* Episcopos  
 30 quoque suos et omnem ecclesiasticum ordinem,  
 comites ac nobiles suos, ministeriales etiam et  
 omnes familiares admirabili amore diligebat. Filios  
 quoque eorum, qui in regali familia nutriebantur,  
 non minus propriis diligens, omnibus bonis moribus  
 35 instituere et literis imbuere solus die noctuque inter  
 cetera non desinebat. *Sed quasi nullam in his omni-  
 bus consolationem haberet, et nullam aliam intrinsecus  
 et extrinsecus perturbationem pateretur, ita tamen  
 cotidiana et nocturna anxius tristitia ad Dominum  
 40 et ad omnes, qui sibi familiari dilectione adsciti  
 forent, querelaretur et assiduo gemitu suspirio, eo  
 quod Deus Omnipotens cum expertem divinae sapien-  
 tia et liberalium artium fecisset: in hoc pium et*

inconditissimus *Flor* 20 investigator *Flor* solertissimus  
*Flor* de se nugebat *Co B* 22 Brittones *Co* Scotti  
*Co: Scoti* *rell.* 26 *post* potestate *add.* quoque *B* 27 *a*  
*om. B* 28 cum *om. Co* pariter] per inter *Co* 29 *scedulus*  
*Co* sollicitus *Co B: sollicitus* *rell.* 30 *aeclesiasticum* *Co*  
 35 litteris *Co* nocteque *Co* 37 et] aut *B* 38 pateretur  
 perturbationem *B* 39 cotidiana *Co: quotidiana* *rell.* Deum  
*Co B* 40 dilectioni *Co B* 41 querelaretur *Co B Ar P:*  
 querelabatur *correx. Camd tacitus, quod rec. W Pet* assidue *Co B*  
 42 Deus . . . expertem *post artium posuit B* 43 pium *om. B*

opinatissimum atque opulentissimum Salomonem  
 Hebraeorum regem aequiparans, qui primitus, de- 45  
 specta omni praesenti gloria et divitiis, sapientiam a  
 Deo deposcit, et etiam utramque invenit, sapientiam  
 scilicet et praesentem gloriam, sicut scriptum est,  
 'Quaerite ergo primum regnum Dei et iustitiam  
 eius, et haec omnia praestabuntur vobis<sup>a</sup>.' Sed 50  
 Deus, Qui est semper inspector internarum mentium,  
 meditationum et omnium bonarum voluntatum insti-  
 gator, necnon etiam, ut habeantur bona desiderata,  
 largissimus administrator, neque enim unquam ali-  
 quem bene velle instigaret, nisi et hoc, quod bene et 55  
 iuste quisque habere desiderat, largiter administraret,  
 instigavit mentem eius interius, non extrinsecus:  
 sicut scriptum est, 'Audiam, quid loquatur in me  
 dominus Deus<sup>b</sup>.' Coadiutores bonae meditationis  
 suae, qui eum in desiderata sapientia adiuvari 60  
 possent, quo ad concupita perveniret, quandocumque  
 posset, acquireret; qui subinde—velut apis pruden-  
 tissima, quae primo mane caris e cellulis consurgens  
 aestivo tempore, per incerta aeris itinera cursum  
 veloci volatu dirigens, super multiplices ac diversos 65  
 herbarum, holerum, fruticum flosculos descendit, pro-  
 batque quid maxime placuerit atque domum reportat  
 —mentis oculos longum dirigit, quaerens extrinsecus

<sup>a</sup> Matt. vi. 33 (Versio Antiqua).<sup>b</sup> Ps. lxxxv. 8.

44 opulent-	Co	45 Ebreorum	Co	47 deposcit	Co	49
primum	om. Co	53 etiam	om. B	54 administer	B	ali-
quem unquam	B	55 primum	et om. B	57 incitavit	B	
59 Deus]	meus B Ar	quo adiutores	Co B	62 apis	scripsi:	
avis	Co B P Ar Camd W Pet	63 caris	Co: charis	rell.	66	
holerum	Co P Ar Camd: olerum B W Pet	post holerum	add.			
et B	futicum Co	68 longe	B			

*quod intrinsecus non habebat, id est in proprio*  
70 *regno suo.*

77 *At tunc Deus quaedam solatia regiae benevolentiae,*  
*tam benevolam et iustissimam querelam illius diutius*  
*non ferens, veluti quaedam luminaria, transmisit*  
*Werfrithum, scilicet Wigernensis ecclesiae epi-*  
5 *scopum, in divina scilicet scriptura bene eruditum,*  
*qui, imperio regis, libros Dialogorum Gregorii*  
*papae et Petri sui discipuli de Latinitate primus*  
*in Saxoniam linguam, aliquando sensum ex sensu*  
*ponens, elucubravit et elegantissime interpretatus*  
10 *est; deinde Plegmundum, Mercium genere, Doro-*  
*bernensis ecclesiae archiepiscopum, venerabilem*  
*scilicet virum, sapientia praeditum; Æthelstan*  
*quoque et Werwulfum, sacerdotes et capellanos,*  
*Mercios genere, eruditos. Quos quatuor Ælfred*  
15 *rex de Mercia ad se advocaverat, et multis hono-*  
*ribus et potestatibus extulit in regno Occidentalium*  
*Saxonum, exceptis his, quae Plegmundus archiepi-*  
*scopus et Werfrithus episcopus in Mercia habebant.*  
*Quorum omnium doctrina et sapientia regis indesi-*

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69 haberet *B*

77 *Exscrip. Flor (ann. 872), paululum SD 1*      2 *beni-*  
*volam Co*      4 *Werfrithum Co P: Puerfrithum Ar (P = p,*  
*littera Anglo-Sax. qua w notabatur): Werfrithus Flor*      *Wigorn-*  
*ensis Ar*      *aecclesiae Co*      5 *divinis Flor*      *scripturis Flor*  
*bene om. B*      *eruditum] doctissimus Flor*      6 *libros om. B*  
9 *interpretatus est] transtulit Flor*      10 *Deinde] Hunc eundem*  
*et processu temporis Flor*      *Dorobumensis B*      11 *archi-*  
*episcopus Ar*      12 *tethelstun Co: Æthelwulfum B (perperam*  
*Ethelwulphum Pet)*      13 *sacerdotes Ar*      14 *eruditos] quam*  
*optime literis instructos Flor*      15 *vocavit Flor*      17 *Plegi-*  
*mundus Co*      18 *Werfrithus B*      19 *Quorum . . . implebatur*

nenter desiderium crescebat et implebatur. *Nam* 20  
*die noctuque, quandocunque aliquam licentiam ha-*  
*beret, libros ante se recitare talibus imperabat—non*  
*enim unquam sine aliquo eorum se esse pateretur—*  
*quapropter pene omnium librorum notitiam habebat,*  
*quamvis per se ipsum aliquid adhuc de libris intelligere* 25  
*non posset. Non enim adhuc aliquid legere inceperat.*

*Sed, cum adhuc nec in hoc quoque regalis avaritia,* 78  
*sed tamen laudabilis, grata esset, legatos ultra mare*  
*ad Galliam magistros acquirere direxit, indeque*  
*advocavit Grimwaldum, sacerdotem et monachum,*  
*venerabilem videlicet virum, cantatorem optimum,* 5  
*et omni modo ecclesiasticis disciplinis et in divina*  
*scriptura eruditissimum, et omnibus bonis moribus*  
*ornatum; Iohannem quoque, aequè presbyterum et*  
*monachum, acerrimi ingenii virum, et in omnibus*  
*disciplinis literariae artis eruditissimum, et in* 10  
*multis aliis artibus artificiosum. Quorum doctrina*  
*regis ingenium multum dilatatum est, et eos magna*  
*potestate ditavit et honoravit.*

*His temporibus ego quoque a rege advocatus* de 79  
*occiduis et ultimis Britanniae finibus ad Saxoniam*  
*adveni, cumque per multa terrarum spatia illum*

*ad finem capitis sequentis transtulit Flor* 21 *quandocunque . . .*  
*talibus om. Ar* 23 *unquam om. B* 24 *omnium pene B*  
*pene] ut in brevi Flor* *haberet Flor* 25 *post libris praeb*  
*non Co, sed deletum* 26 *non om. Co*  
 78 2 *tamen om. B post legatos add. etiam Flor* 3 *magistros]*  
*legatos B* *direxit Cott. (teste W) Co B W Pet: dixerit P Ar*  
*Camd* 4 *advocavit Camd (errore forsitan operarum) quod recepp.*  
*W Pet post advocavit add. Sanctum Flor* 8 *post Iohannem add.*  
*Erigena Co* *aeque om. B.* 9 *post virum add. Asserum etiam,*  
*deinde (ex cap. 79, vv. 1, 55) de occiduis et ultimis Britanniae*  
*finibus e monasterio Sancti Dewi Flor*



*adire proposueram, usque ad regionem Dexterarium*  
 5 *Saxonum, quae Saxonice Suth-Seaxum appellatur,*  
*ductoribus eiusdem gentis comitantibus, perveni.*  
*Ibique illum in villa regia, quae dicitur Dene,*  
*primitus vidi. Cumque ab eo benigne susceptus*  
*fuissem, inter cetera sententiarum nostrarum famina,*  
 10 *me obnixè rogabat, ut devoverem me suo servitio et*  
*familiaris ei essem, et omnia, quae in sinistrali et*  
*occidentali Sabrinae parte habebam, pro eo relin-*  
*querem: quae etiam maiori mihi remuneratione*  
*reddere pollicebatur. Quod et faceret. Respondi*  
 15 *ego 'Me talia incaute et temerarie promittere non*  
*posse. Iniustum enim mihi videbatur, illa tam*  
*sancta loca, in quibus nutritus et doctus ac coronatus*  
*fueram, atque ad ultimum ordinatus, pro aliquo*  
*terreno honore et potestate derelinquere, nisi coactus*  
 20 *et compulsus.'* *Ad quod ille ait: 'Si nec tibi hoc*  
*suppetat subire, saltem dimidiam partem servitii*  
*tui mihi accommoda, ita ut per sex menses mecum*  
*fueris et tantundem in Britannia.'* *Ad quod ego*  
*taliter respondi 'Nec hoc suaviter et temerarie*  
 25 *sine consilio meorum posse promittere.'* *At vero,*  
*cum illum meum servitium, sed nesciebam quare,*  
*desiderare cognoscerem, promisi, me iterum ad eum*  
*post sex menses, sospite vita, reversurum, cum tali*  
*responso, quod mihi et meis utile ac sibi placabile*  
 30 *esset. Cumque hoc sibi responsum videretur proba-*

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79 4 audire *B*    13 quae *scripsi*: quod omnes    15 temerarie  
 et incaute *B*    16 videtur *B*    17 et] ac *B*    ac] et *B*    19  
 post derelinquere *add. volui Co*    nisi *om. Co*    post nisi *add. aut*  
*B*    post coactus *add. aut expulsus Co B*    20 et compulsus *om. Co*  
 21 saltim *Co*    23 Britannia *Co*    26 sed] at *B*    30 sibi hoc *Co Ar*

bile, dato revertendi pignore statuto tempore, quarto die ab eo equitantes ad patriam remeavimus. Sed, cum ab eo discesseramus, in Wintonia civitate febris infesta me arripuit; in qua sedule per duodecim menses et una hebdomada die noctuque sine aliqua 35 vitæ spe laboravi. Cumque statuto tempore ad eum, sicut promiseram, non pervenissem, transmisit ad me indiculos, qui me ad eum equitare festinarent, et causam remorationis perquirerent. Sed, cum equitare ad eum non possem, alium transmisi ad eum in- 40 diculum, qui remorationis meae causam illi patefaceret et, si de illa infirmitate resipiscere possem, me velle implere quae promiseram, renuñciaret. Discedente igitur infirmitate, ex consilio et licentia nostrorum omnium, pro utilitate illius sancti loci et 45 omnium in eo habitantium, regi, ut promiseram, eius servitio, me devovi ea condicione, ut per sex menses omni anno cum eo commanerem, aut, si simul possem, sex menses protelare, aut etiam per vices, ut tribus mensibus in Britannia, ut tribus in Saxonia 50 commanerem, et illa adiuveretur per †rudimenta Sancti Degui in omni causa, tamen pro viribus. Sperabant enim nostri, minores tribulationes et iniurias ex parte Hemeid regis sustinere,—qui saepe depraedabatur illud monasterium et parochiam 55

35 unam hebdomadam B 38 indiculos corr. W: indiluculos Cott. (teste W) P Ar Camd: in diluculos Co: in diluculo B 40 indiculum corr. W: indiluculum Cott. (teste W) Ar P Camd: in diluculum Co: in diluculo B 44 Descendente Co 46 inhabitantium B regi om. B: regem Co post promiseram add. in Co B 50 Britania Co Britannia . . . Saxonia ordine inverso B ut Cott. (teste W) Co rell.: om. B: et coniecit W 52 Degui] digni B

Sancti Degui, aliquando expulsione illorum antistitum, qui in eo praeessent, sicut et Nobis archiepiscopum, propinquum meum, et me expulit aliquando sub ipsis,—si ego ad notitiam et amicitiam illius regis

60 qualicunque pacto pervenirem.

- 80 Illo enim tempore et multo ante omnes regiones dexteralis Britanniae partis ad Ælfred regem pertinebant et adhuc pertinent: Hemeid scilicet, cum omnibus habitatoribus Demeticae regionis, sex filiorum
- 5 Rotri vi compulsus, regali se subdiderat imperio; Houil quoque filius Ris, rex Gleguising, et Brochmail atque Fernmail filii Mouric, reges Guent, vi et tyrannide Eadred, comitis, et Merciorum compulsi, suapte eundem expetivere regem, ut dominium et defensionem ab eo pro inimicis suis haberent. Helised quoque filius Teudubr, rex Brecheniauc, eorundem filiorum Rotri vi coactus, dominium regis praefati suapte requisivit. Anaraut quoque filius Rotri, cum suis fratribus, ad postremum amicitiam Northanhymbrorum deserens, de qua nullum bonum nisi
- 15

56 Digni B: Dewi Flor (v. c. 78, 9) 57 et Nobis scripsi: et nobis Co: ex nobis Cott. (teste W) B Ar P Camd: et Novis emend. Galeus, Praef. ad XV Scriptores, quae rec. W: ex ortum e compendio pro et male lecto coniecit Pet, equidem natum ex emendatione P in Cott. scripta suspicor 59 ad om. Co

80 2 dexteriales Co Britanniae Co 4 post regionis add. et Cott. (teste W) Co B Ar P Camd 5 Rotricum pulsus perperam pro Rotri (vi) compulsus Co 6 Hovel Co B Gleguisinge Co 7 Fernmail Co Ar P: Fernemail B: Femail Camd W Pet, quod ex errore operarum editionis Camd ortum censeo regis B 8 Eudred Co: Endred B 11 Teudubr Cott. (teste W) Co: Teudyr B P rell. Edd.: Teudir Ar Brecheniauc scripsi: Brecheniane Cott. (teste W): Bracheinauc Co: Brachoniae B: Brechoniae P Ar Camd W Pet 12 Rotrivi Co vi] sextus B praefati regis B 13 requirunt Ar 14 Northanhymbrorum B

*damnum habuerat, amicitiam regis studiose requirens ad praesentiam illius advenit, cumque a rege honorifice receptus esset, et ad manum episcopi in filium confirmationis acceptus, maximisque donis ditatus, se regis dominio cum omnibus suis eadem condicione 20 subdidit, ut in omnibus regiae voluntati sic oboediens esset, sicut Æthered cum Merciiis.*

*Nec in vanum illi omnes regis amicitiam acquisi- 81 verunt. Nam, qui desideraverunt potestatem terrenam augere, invenerunt; qui pecuniam, pecuniam; qui familiaritatem, familiaritatem; qui utramque, utramque. Omnes autem habuerunt amorem et 5 tutelam ac defensionem ab omni parte, qua rex seipsum cum suis omnibus defendere potuit. Cum igitur ad eum advenissem in villa regia, quae dicitur Leonaford, honorabiliter ab eo susceptus sum, et cum eo illa vice octo mensibus in curto mansi, in quibus 10 recitavi illi libros quoscunque ille vellet, et quos ad manum haberemus. Nam haec est propria et usitatissima illius consuetudo die noctuque, inter omnia alia mentis et corporis impedimenta, aut per se ipsum libros recitare, aut aliis recitantibus audire. Cunque 15 ab eo frequenter licentiam revertendi quaererem et nullo modo impetrare possem, tandem cum et licentiam omnino exposcere statuissem, diluculo vigiliae Natalis Domini advocatus ad eum, tradidit mihi duas epistolas, in quibus erat multiplex supputatio omnium 20*

17 pervenit *B*                      19 didatus *Co*                      20 se *B*: *om. rell.*

22 Æthelred *Co*: Æthelred *B*                      Mercis *B*

81 I reges *B*                      adquiverunt *Co*                      3 pecunia *Camd*                      4 qui *om. Ar*

5 habuerunt amorem *ordine inverso B*: habuerunt *P errore operarum*: habuerunt *om. Co*                      7 cum suis

seipsum cum omnibus suis *B*                      14 alia] illa *Ar*                      18 statuissem] 20

rerum, quae erant in duobus monasteriis, quae  
 Saxonice cognominantur Cungresbyri et Banuwille,  
 et mihi eodem die tradidit illa duo monasteria cum  
 omnibus, quae in eis erant, et sericum pallium valde  
 25 pretiosum et onus viri fortis de incenso, adiciens his  
 verbis 'non ideo dedisse parva illa, quod sequenti  
 tempore nollet dare maiora.' Nam sequentis temporis  
 successu ex improvise dedit mihi Exanceastre, cum  
 omni parochia, quae ad se pertinebat, in Saxonia et  
 30 in Cornubia, exceptis cotidianis donis innumera-  
 bilibus in omni genere terrestres divitiae, quae hoc in  
 loco percensere longum est, ne fastidium legentibus  
 procreent. Sed nullus existimet, pro vana aliqua  
 gloria aut adulatione aut maioris honoris quaerendi  
 35 gratia, me talia hoc in loco dona commemorasse:  
 quod coram Deo nec ideo fecisse testor, sed ut ne-  
 scientibus propalarem, quam profusus in largitate  
 ille sit. Tunc confestim dedit mihi licentiam equi-  
 tandi ad illa duo monasteria omnibus bonis referta,  
 40 et inde ad propria revertendi.

82 Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCCLXXXVI, na-  
 tivitatis autem Ælfredi trigesimo octavo, saepe  
 memoratus exercitus regionem fugiens iterum et in

divisissem Co 21 duabus Co monasteriis duobus B 22  
 Cungresbyri Co: Amgresbyri rell., quod ex Cun- pro Am- in Co  
 neglegenter lecto ortum esse censeo Banuwille Co 23 duo  
 illa B 25 adiciens Co B 26 ideo non B 30 coti-  
 dianis Co: quotidianis rell. 31 divitiae Cott. (teste W) Co:  
 copia B Ar P cett. Edd. 32 recensere B 33 aliqua vana Co  
 aliqua om. B 34 adolatione Co 37 protelarem B  
 82 Exscripp. partim SD 1 SD 2 2 octavo corr. W: quinto  
 Cott. (teste W) Co B Ar P Camd SD 1 3 post exercitus add.  
 paganorum, Orientali Francia derelicta Flor post regionem exci-  
 disse videntur Orientalium Francorum fugit iterumque Co et



Occidentalium Francorum regionem venit, *naves suas intrans* in flumen, quod Signe dicitur, *sursum* 5 contra longe navigans Parisiam civitatem adiit, et ibi hiemavit, *et castra metatus est in utraque parte fluminis prope ad pontem, ut transitum pontis civibus prohiberet—quia illa civitas in medio fluminis sita est in insula parva—*obseditque illam civitatem 10 anno illo integro. Sed, Deo misericorditer favente *et civibus viriliter se defendentibus*, munitionem irrumpere non potuit.

Eodem anno Ælfred, Angulsaxonum rex, post 83 incendia urbium stragesque populorum, Lundoniam civitatem honorifice restauravit et habitabilem fecit; quam [*genero suo*] Ætheredo, Merciorum comiti, commendavit servandam. Ad quem regem omnes 5 Angli et Saxones, qui prius ubique dispersi fuerant aut cum paganis sub captivitate erant, voluntarie converterunt, et suo dominio se subdiderunt.

*om. Co* 5 *intrans scripsi secutus Flor (cf. cap. 84, vv. 13, 14):*  
*intus Cott. (teste W) Co (subest fortasse error pro intrans, quod*  
*compendio scriptum (int\*ns) facile cum intus confundi potest):*  
*dirigens B Ar P Camd W Pet in ostium fluminis Flor Signe]*  
*Sequana Flor post dicitur add. intrans Flor* 6 *Parisium SD 1*  
*7 in utraque parte scripsi: utraquam partem Co: Intra quam*  
*partem vell.* 10 *obseditque Co: obsedit vell. illam om. Co:*  
*quam Flor*

83 *Exscripp. SN SD 1 SD 2* 1 *Ælfredus B: Alfredus SN*  
*Anglorum SD 1: Occidentalium Saxonum SN: Anglo- Flor* 2  
*Lundoniam Flor SN: Londoniam vell.* 4 *genero suo om. Co,*  
*quae idcirco seclusi; in B P Ar Camd W Pet interpolata (ex*  
*SN) arbitrator. De Cott. nihil adnotat W* Adherēdo *SN* 6  
*post Angli add. Mercii, Cantuarii, Australes et Occidentales SN*  
*ibique Co* 7 *compaganis Co sub] sine Cott. (teste W) Co*  
*Flor SD 2* 8 *converterunt] venerunt Flor: reverterunt SN*

83 b [Eodem anno exorta est pessima ac teterrima Oxoniae discordia inter Grymboldum doctissimosque illos viros, quos secum illuc adduxit, et veteres illos scholasticos, quos ibidem invenisset, qui eius adventu leges, modos, ac praelegendi formulas ab eodem Grymboldo 5 institutas omni ex parte amplecti recusabant. Per tres annos haud magna fuerat inter eos dissensio, occultum tamen fuit odium, quod summa cum atrocitate postea erupit, ipsa erat luce clarius. Quod ut sedaret rex ille invictissimus Ælfredus, de dissidio eo nuntio et querimonia Grymboldi certior factus, Oxoniam se contulit, ut finem 10 modumque huic controversiae imponeret, qui et ipse summos labores hausit, causas et querelas utrinque illatas audiendo. Caput autem huius contentions in hoc erat positum: veteres illi scholastici contendebant, antequam Grymboldus Oxoniam devenisset, literas illic passim floruisse, etiamsi scholares tunc temporis numero erant 15 pauciores quam priscis temporibus, plerisque nimirum saevitia ac tyrannide paganorum expulsis. Quinetiam probabant et ostendebant, idque indubitato veterum annalium testimonio, illius loci ordines ac instituta a nonnullis piis et eruditis hominibus fuisse sancita, ut a Divo Gilda, Melkino, Nennio, Kentigerno, et aliis, qui omnes 20 literis illic consenuerunt, omnia ibidem felici pace et concordia administrantes, ac Divum quoque Germanum Oxoniam advenisse, annique dimidium illic esse moratum, quo tempore per Britanniam iter fecit adversus Pelagianorum haereses concionaturus, ordines et instituta supra mirum in modum comprobavit. Rex ille inaudita 25 humilitate utramque partem accuratissime exaudivit, eos piis ac salutaribus monitis etiam atque etiam hortans, ut mutuum inter se coniunctionem et concordiam tuerentur. Itaque hoc animo discessit rex, quosque ex utraque parte consilio suo esse obtemperaturos et instituta sua amplexuros. At Grymboldus, haec iniquo animo 30 ferens, statim ad monasterium Wintoniense ab Ælfredo recens fundatum proficiscebatur, deinde tumbam Wintoniam transferri curavit, in qua proposuerat post huius vitae curriculum ossa sua reponenda, in testudine, quae erat facta subter cancellum ecclesiae Divi Petri in Oxonia. Quam quidem ecclesiam idem Grymboldus extruxerat ab 35 ipso fundamento de saxo summa cura perpolitito.]

83 b *Interpolavit Camd (vide quae in prolegomenis §§ 8-10 de hoc loco egimus). Locum defuisse in Cott. testatur W 16 probabant . . . annalium om. Camd in 'Britannia' ed. 1600 19 Nemrio Camd: Ninnio 'Britannia' 24 supra] forte supra-dicta W 29 post amplexuros add. sperans 'Britannia'*

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCCLXXXVII, na- 84  
 tivitatis autem Ælfredi regis trigesimo nono, supra  
 memoratus paganorum exercitus Parisiam civitatem  
 derelinquens incolumem, eo quod aliter proficere  
 sibi non poterat, classem suam *sub illo ponte* 5  
*sursum* contra Signe longe remigando, tam diu  
 direxit, donec ad ostium fluminis, quod Materne  
 nominatur, pervenisset; tunc Sigonam deserentes  
 in ostium Materne divertunt, contra quod diu ac  
 longe navigantes, demum non sine labore usque ad 10  
 locum, qui dicitur Caziei, id est villa regia, per-  
 venerunt. In quo loco hiemaverunt integro anno.  
 Sequenti anno in ostium fluminis, quod dicitur  
 Iona, intraverunt, non sine magno regionis damno,  
 et illic remorati sunt anno uno. 15

Eodem anno Carolus, Francorum rex, viam uni- 85  
 versitatis adiit; sed Earnulf, filius fratris sui, sexta,  
 antequam defunctus esset, hebdomada, illum regno  
 expulerat. Quo statim defuncto, quinque reges  
 ordinati sunt, et regnum in quinque partibus con- 5  
 scissum est, sed tamen principalis sedes regni ad

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84 *Exscripp. partim SD 1 SD 2 1 nativitas Co 2 nono*  
*corr. W: sexto Cott. (teste W) Co B Ar P Camd SD 1 supra*  
*memoratus] praedictus Flor 6 Sigene Co: Sequanam Flor*  
*7 donec] quoad B hostium Co P et hic et alibi Materne Flor:*  
*Materre Co Ar P Camd W Pet SD 1: Mattered B 8 Sequanam*  
*Flor 9 Materne Flor: Materrae Co B Ar P Camd W Pet*  
*10 usque om. B 11 Caciei B: Cazei SD 1*

85 *Exscripp. totum SN, paululum SD 2 1 Carolus Co:*  
*Karolus B Flor SNSD 2: Farlus P Ar Camd W Pet Francorum*  
*rex] Imperator SN universae carnis Flor 2 Earnulfe Co:*  
*Earnulfus B: Arnulfus SN 3 fuisset B ebdomada Co*  
*5 partes Flor concessum Co: concisum B: divisum Flor*

- Earnulf iuste et merito provenit, nisi solummodo quod in patrum suum indigne peccavit. Ceteri quoque quatuor reges fidelitatem et oboedientiam
- 10 Earnulfo, sicut dignum erat, promiserunt: nullus enim illorum quatuor regum hereditarius illius regni erat in paterna parte, nisi Earnulf solus. Quinque itaque reges confestim, Karolo moriente, ordinati sunt, sed imperium penes Earnulf remansit.
- 15 Talis ergo illius regni divisio fuit: *nam* Earnulf orientales regiones Hreni fluminis, Hrothuulf quoque internam partem regni accepit, Oda etiam occidentale regnum, Beorngar et Witha Langobardiam, nec non et illas regiones, quae in illa parte montis
- 20 sunt. Nec tamen tanta et talia regna inter se pacifice servaverunt. Nam bis pleno proelio inter se belligeravere, et illa regna persaepe devastaverunt invicem, et unusquisque alterum expulit de regno.
- 86 Eodem quoque anno, *quo ille exercitus Parisiam civitatem deserens Cazei adiit*, Æthelhelm, comes Wiltunensium, Ælfredi regis et Saxonum eleemosynam Romam duxit.

7 Arnulfum *SN* iusto *SN* solummodo quod *ordine inverso B*  
 11 eorum *B* 12 Arnulfus *SN* 13 igitur *B* Karolo  
*Co B Flor SN*: Farlo *Ar P Camd W Pet* 14 ordinati] consecrati  
*SN* Earnulfum *B*: Arnulfum *SN* 15 divisio fuit *B SN P Ar*  
*Camd W Pet*: *om. Cott. (teste W)*: *dinam* (*pro* divisio fuit *nam*)  
*Co*: extitit divisio *Flor* Arnulfus *SN* 16 Hrenis *Co*: Hrenis  
 (*s partim erasum*) *SN* Rodulfus *SN* 17 Otto *SN* etetim  
*Ar* 18 Beoragar *B*: Berengarius *SN* Wido *SN* Lango-  
 bardiam *SN*: Longobardiam *B Flor*: Languobardiam *rell.* 19  
 regiones] partes *Flor* 20 pacifice inter se *B* 21 servaverunt]  
 tenuerunt *B* 23 expulere *Flor*

86 *Exscripsit SD* 2 2 Cazei *Co B* 3 Wiltunnensium  
*Co* eleemosynam *Co*: eleemosynas *Flor* et *reiciendum suspi-*  
*catus est W, ego tamen retinui auctore Chron. Anglo-Sax.*

*Eodem quoque anno saepe memoratus Ælfred, 87*  
 Angulsaxonum rex, divino instinctu legere et inter-  
 pretari simul uno eodemque die primitus inchoavit.  
*Sed, ut apertius ignorantibus pateat, causam huius*  
*tardae inchoationis expedire curabo.* 5

*Nam cum quodam die ambo in regia cambra 88*  
 resideremus, undecunque, sicut solito, colloquia  
 habentes, ex quodam quoddam testimonium libro illi  
 evenit ut recitarem. Quod cum intentus utrisque  
 auribus audisset et intima mente sollicite perscruta- 5  
 retur, subito ostendens libellum, quem in sinum suum  
 sedulo portabat, in quo diurnus cursus et psalmi  
 quidam atque orationes quaedam, quas ille in iuven-  
 tute sua legerat, scripti habebantur, imperavit, quod  
 illud testimonium in eodem libello literis mandarem. 10  
 Quod ego audiens et ingeniosam benevolentiam illius  
 ex parte, atque etiam tam devotam erga studium  
 divinae sapientiae voluntatem eius cognoscens, im-  
 mensas Omnipotenti Deo grates, extensis ad aethera  
 volis, tacitus quamvis, persolvi, Qui tantam erga 15  
 studium sapientiae devotionem in regio corde in-  
 seruerat. Sed, cum nullum locum vacuum in eodem  
 libello reperirem, in quo tale testimonium scribere

87 *Exscripsit partim SN* 2 *instincto W Pet: instinctu vell.*  
*interpretare Co B* 3 *post inchoavit add. in sancta videlicet Beati*  
*Martini Turonensis episcopi solennitate (ex cap. 89, v. 14) Flor*  
 88 2 *collo quia Co* 5 *solicite B* 6 *sinu suo B*  
 7 *sedulo om. B* *diurni B* 8 *quaedam] quasdam Co*  
 9 *scripti habebantur om. Co* *quod scripsi: quo omnes*  
 10 *litteris Co* 11 *ingeniosam] 'Ab hoc loco usque ad locupletatim*  
*ditavit (ad finem cap. 98) manum recentiorem exhibet Cod. Cott.'*  
*W Cf. cap. 98, v. 9 not.* 12 *etiam om. Co* 13 *divinae om.*  
*Co B* *sapientiae studium B* *inmensas Co* 14 *gratias B*  
 18 *repperirem Co* 20 *aliquantis pedis tuli Co* *eligans Co*



possem—erat enim omnino multis ex causis refertus  
 20 —aliquantisper distuli, et maxime quia tam elegans  
 regis ingenium ad maiorem divinorum testimoniorum  
 scientiam provocare studebam. Cui, cum me, ut  
 quanto citius illud scriberem, urgeret, inquam:  
 ‘placetne tibi, quod illud testimonium in aliqua  
 25 foliuncula segregatim scribam? Incognitum est  
 enim, si aliquando aliquod taliter aut plura reperi-  
 amus, quae tibi placuerint, testimonia; quod si in-  
 opinata evenerit, segregasse gaudebimus.’ Quod ille  
 audiens, ‘ratum esse consilium’ inquit. Quod ego  
 30 audiens et gaudens festinus quaternionem promptum  
 paravi, in cuius principio illud non iniussus scripsi,  
 ac in illa eadem die non minus quam tria alia sibi  
 placabilia testimonia, illo imperante, in eodem quater-  
 nione, ut praedixeram, scripsi. Ac deinde cotidie inter  
 35 nos sermocinando, ad haec investigando aliis inventis  
 aequae placabilibus testimoniis, quaternio ille refertus  
 succrevit, nec immerito, sicut scriptum est ‘super mo-  
 dicum fundamentum aedificat iustus et paulatim ad  
 maiora defluit,’ velut apes fertilissima longe lateque  
 40 gronnios interrogando discurrens, multimodos divinae  
 scripturae flosculos inhianter et incessabiliter congre-  
 gavit, quis praecordii sui cellulas densatim replevit.

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23 urgebam Co      24 post placetne add. illud sed lineola sub-  
 ducta deletum Co      26 repperiamus Co: reperiemus B      27 pla-  
 cuerunt B      28 segregarsse Ar      30 festinans B      promptum  
 scripsi: promptam omnes      32 in illa correx. W: nulla Cott.  
 (teste W) Co rell.: om. B      eodem B      33 eodem scripsi:  
 eadem omnes      34 deinde om. Co      cotidie Co: quotidie rell.  
 35 vos Co      haec] et Co      36 ille refertus scripsi: illa referta  
 omnes      37 succretavit Co      inmerito Co      40 interrogogando  
 Co      multimodis Co      42 quis Co: quibus B: queis rell.

*Nam primo illo testimonio scripto, confestim legere* 89  
*et in Saxonica lingua interpretari, atque inde per-*  
*plures instituere studuit, ac veluti de illo felici latrone*  
*cautum est, Dominum Iesum Christum, Dominum su-*  
*um, innoque omnium, iuxta se in venerabili sanctae* 5  
*Crucis patibulo pendentem cognoscente; quo subnixis*  
*precibus, inclinatis solummodo corporalibus oculis,*  
*quia aliter non poterat, erat enim totus confixus*  
*clavis, submissa voce clamaret: 'Memento mei, cum*  
*veneris in regnum tuum, Christe'*<sup>a</sup>, qui Christianae 10  
*fidei rudimenta in gabulo prinitus inchoavit discere.*  
*Hic aut aliter, quamvis dissimili modo, in regia*  
*potestate sanctae rudimenta scripturae, divinitus in-*  
*stinctus, praesumpsit incipere in venerabili Martini*  
*solemnitate. † Quos flosculos undecunque collectos a* 15  
*quibuslibet magistris discere et in corpore unius*  
*libelli, mixtim quamvis, sicut tunc suppetebat, redi-*  
*gere, usque adeo protelavit quousque propemodum ad*  
*magnitudinem unius psalterii perveniret. Quem*  
*enchiridion suum, id est manualementem librum, nominari* 20  
*voluit, eo quod ad manum illum die noctuque soler-*  
*tissime habebat; in quo non mediocre, sicut tunc*  
*aiebat, habebat solatium.*

*Sed, sicut a quodam sapiente iam dudum scri-* 90  
*ptum est*

*invigilant animi, quibus est pia cura regendi,*

<sup>a</sup> Luc. xxiii. 42.

89 *Scriptum fuisse 'manu recentiori' in Cott. testatur W (cap. 88, v. 11)* 2 *lingua Saxonica B inde om. B* 5 *omnium] hominum Co* 9 *summissa Co* 12 *aut] autem B* 13 *sanctae Co B: S. P: sacrae rell.* 14 *post venerabili add. Sancti Co B* 17 *supputabat B* 19 *Quem B: quam rell.* 20 *in chiridion Ar*  
 90 *Scriptum fuisse 'manu recentiori' in Cott. testatur W (cap.*

*magnopere invigilandum mihi censeo in eo, quod*  
 5 *ante aliquam, quamvis dissimili modo, similitudinem*  
*inter illum felicem latronem et regem composuerim:*  
*namque patibulum exosum est unicuique, ubicunque*  
*male habet. Sed quid faciat, si non possit se inde*  
*eripere aut etiam effugere, vel qualicunque arte*  
 10 *causam suam meliorare ibidem commorando? Debet*  
*ergo, velit, nolit, cum moerore et tristitia sufferre,*  
*quod patitur.*

91 Erat itaque rex ille multis tribulationum clavis  
 confossus, quamvis in regia potestate constitutus;  
 nam a vigesimo aetatis anno usque ad quadra-  
 gesimum quintum annum, *quem nunc agit*, gra-  
 5 vissima incogniti doloris infestatione incessanter  
 fatigatur, ita ut ne unius quidem horae securitatem  
 habeat, qua aut illam infirmitatem non sustineat  
 aut sub illius formidine lugubriter *prope* constitutus  
 non desperet. Praeterea assiduis exterarum gen-  
 10 tium infestationibus, quas sedulo terra marique sine  
 ullius quieti temporis intervallo sustinebat, *non sine*  
*materia* inquietabatur. Quid loquar de frequentibus  
 contra paganos expeditionibus et bellis et inces-  
 sabilibus regni gubernaculis? † *De cotidiana natio-*

88, v. 11) I sic ut *Camd W Pet* 4 mihi *om. B* censeo *Co*  
 6 faelicem *B* 7 unicuique *om. B* post unicuique *add. esse*  
*Co* 10 commemorando *B Ar* 11 velit, nolit *om. B*

91 *Scriptum fuisse 'manu recentiori' in Cott. testatur W*  
*(cap. 88, v. 11) Partim exscripsit, partim aliis verbis exhibet*  
*SD I* 4 annum *om. B* post annum *add. et eo implius Flor*  
*(cf. cc. 22, 12; 74, 10, 63)* 6 fatigatur *Co B P Ar W Pet:*  
*fatigatus Camd: fatigabatur Flor* 7 haberet *For* quo *Co B*  
*P Ar Flor* aut] ut *B* sustineret *Flor* 9 desperaret *Flor*  
 13 et . . . et] de . . . de *Flor* 14 cotidiana *Co: quotidiana rell.*

num, quae in Tyrreno mari usque ultimum Hiberniae 15  
 finem habitant? Nam etiam de Hierosolyma ab El(ia)  
 patriarcha epistolas et dona illi directas vidimus et  
 legimus. De civitatibus et urbibus renovandis et  
 aliis, ubi nunquam ante fuerant, construendis? (De)  
 aedificiis aureis et argenteis incomparabiliter, illo 20  
 edocente, fabricatis? De aulis et cambris regalibus,  
 lapideis et ligneis suo iussu mirabiliter constructis?  
 De villis regalibus lapideis antiqua positione motatis  
 et in decentioribus locis regali imperio decentissime  
 constructis? † Qui maxima, excepto illo dolore, per- 25  
 turbatione et controversia suorum, qui nullum aut  
 parvum voluntarie pro communi regni necessitate  
 vellent subire laborem. Sed tamen ille solus divino  
 fultus adminiculo susceptum semel regni gubernacu-  
 lum, veluti gubernator praecipuus, navem suam 30  
 multis opibus refertam ad desideratum ac tutum  
 patriae suae portum, quamvis cunctis propemodum  
 lassis suis nautis, perducere contendit, haud aliter  
 titubare ac vacillare, quamvis inter fluctivagos ac  
 multimodos praesentis vitae turbines, non sinebat. 35

post cotidiana coniecit legatione W p. 173, ego opinor mendum  
 in cotidiana latere 15 quae in] om. B: aut Co Tyrreno  
 emend. W: Cyrreno Co P Ar Camd: eyreno B Hiberniae  
 Co B: Hyberniae rell.: Hyberiae coni. W p. 173 16 Hiero-  
 solymae B: Hierosolima Ar ab Elia scripsi: a Bel SD 1: Abel  
 rell. 17 patriarcha Co B SD 1: patriarchae rell. 19  
 De ex Flor supplevit W 23 motatis Cott. (teste W) Co B P  
 Ar Camd: mutatis ex Flor correx. W Pet 25 Quid Co B 27  
 voluntariae Co 28 post divino add. sane Flor 31 ac tutum om. B  
 tutum] tuum Co 33 lassis suis] lassiscentibus Co nautis suis B  
 perducere Co B Ar P Camd: producere W Pet 34 flucti-  
 vagas Co B Ar P Flor 35 multimodas Co B Ar P Flor

Nam assidue suos episcopos et comites ac nobilissimos, sibi que dilectissimos suos ministros, *necnon* et praepositos, *quibus post Dominum et regem omnis totius regni potestas, sicut dignum, subdita videtur,*  
 40 leniter docendo, *adulando*, hortando, imperando, ad ultimum inoboedientes, post longam patientiam, acrius castigando, vulgarem stultitiam et pertinaciam omni modo abominando, ad suam voluntatem et ad communem totius regni utilitatem sapientis-  
 45 sime usurpabat et annectebat. At si inter *haec* regalia exhortamenta propter pigritiam populi imperata non implentur, aut tarde incepta tempore necessitatis ad utilitatem exercentium minus finita non provenirent, ut de castellis ab eo imperatis  
 50 adhuc non inceptis loquar, aut nimium tarde inceptis ad perfectum finem non perductis, et hostiles copiae terra marique irrumperent, *aut, ut saepe evenit, utraque parte,* tunc contradictores imperialium diffinitionum *inani poenitentia pene exinaniti*  
 55 *verecundabantur. Inanem enim poenitentiam scriptura teste nomino, qua homines innumerabiles nimio detrimento pluribus insidiis perpetratis saepe percussi dolent. Sed quamvis per † hanc rem, heu, proh*

36 et *om. Flor* 37 sibi que dilectissimos *om. Co* 38 propositos *B* quibus] quorundam *Cott. (teste W)*: quorum decimo *Co B*, quae ab quorum dñio (*videlicet dominio*) *profecta reor*  
 40 leniter *B* post docendo *add. monendo B* adulando *Co* post imperando *add. vel B* 43 omnino *B* 45 usurpabat et annectebat] attrahebat *Flor* At si *Flor*: Ac si *Co*: et si *B Ar P Camd W Pet* 46 exhortamenta *Co* 47 implerentur *Flor*  
 49 provenirent *Flor* 51 deductis *B* et *Co Flor*: quod *rell.* 53 contra ductores *B* 54 penetret *Co* exaniniti *B*  
 57 insillit *Co* 58 hanc rem heu *B P Ar Camd W Pet (ex emendatione P, ut videtur)*: hac reccheu *Co* pro *in* *proh*



dolor! eulogii miserabiliter contristentur, et perditis eorum patribus, coniugibus, liberis, ministris, 60 servis, ancillis, operibus, et omni suppellectili flebiliter commoveantur, quid detestabilis iuvat poenitentia, quando nec occisis suis propinquis succurrere valent, nec captivos suos a captivitate exosa redimere, nec etiam interdum sibimet, qui evaserint, adiuvere 65 valent, quoniam propriam unde sustentent vitam non habent. Sera igitur poenitentia nimium attriti poenitent, et regalia <se> praecepta incuriose despexisse dolent, et regalem sapientiam totis vocibus collaudant, et quod ante refutaverunt, totis viribus implere 70 promittunt, id est de arcibus construendis et ceteris communibus communis regni utilitatibus.

De voto quoque et proposito excellentissimae meditationis suae, quam semper inter prospera et adversa sua nullo modo praetermittere poterat, praetereundum esse hoc in loco utiliter non existimo. Nam, cum de necessitate animae suae solito cogitaret, inter cetera 5 diuturna et nocturna bona, quibus assidue et maxime studebat, duo monasteria construi imperavit: unum monachorum in loco, qui dicitur Æthelingæg, quod

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mutatum Co 59 miserabiliter om. B 60 eorum] enim Co  
61 ancillis Ar opibus B 63 occurrere B 64 redimere]  
liberare B 65 evaserunt Co B 68 se ex Flor addidi post  
praecepta add. nimium B dispexisse Co 69 dolere Flor  
sapientiam om. B collaudantes Flor 71 promissere Flor

92 Scriptum fuit 'manu recentiori' in Cott. (vide cap. 88, v. 11)  
Exscripp. totum SN (ann. 900), partim SD I (ann. 887), SD 2  
(ann. 888) 1 De . . existimo (v. 4) om. SN 2 semper Cott.  
(teste W) Co: om. B Ar P Camd 3 post sua add. tomnitens,  
in committens correctum, Co 5 post cetera add. quae rex idem  
gessit Flor 6 diuturna et nocturna om. SN 7 construi  
scripsi: construere omnes 8 Æthelingæge Co: Ethelingæg

permaxima gronna paludosissima et intransmeabili et aquis undique circumcingitur, ad quod nullo modo aliquis accedere potest nisi cauticis, aut etiam per unum pontem, qui inter duas [alias] arces operosa protelatione constructus est: in cuius pontis occidentali limite arx munitissima praefati regis imperio  
 10  
 15 pulcherrima operatione consita est; in quo monasterio diversi generis monachos undique congregavit et in eodem collocavit.

98 Nam primitus, quia nullum de sua propria gente nobilem ac liberum hominem, nisi infantes, qui nihil boni eligere nec mali respuere pro teneritudine invalidae aetatis adhuc possunt, qui monasticam voluntarie vellet subire vitam, habebat; nimirum quia  
 5  
 10 per multa retroacta annorum curricula monasticae vitae desiderium ab illa tota gente, nec non et a multis aliis gentibus, funditus desierat, quamvis per-

---

B: Æthelingaeige SN post Æthelingaeige add. ubi Flor post Æthelingaeige add. in quo constituit Iohannem abbatem, religiosum virum, de genere Antiquorum Saxonum, quia nullum de sua etc. (cc. 93, 1; 94, 1) SN omissis quod . . . collocavit 9 permaxima scripsi: per maxima omnes gronna B: gronnaa rell. intransmeabili Co Ar P Camd: intransmeabilis B: intransmeabilia W Pet 10 et 'forte deesset' W 11 cauticis Cott. (ut videtur) Co B Ar P Camd: nauticis aut navaticis coniec. W: cauticis pro caudicis scriptum puto 15 pulcherima Co 16 diversis Flor monachos] monachis coadunatis, primitus Iohannem, presbyterum et monachum, genere Eald Saxonum, abbatem constituit (ex cap. 94, v. 1) Flor, inde pergens ad cap. 98 undique B

98 Scriptum fuit 'manu recentiori' in Cott. (vide cap. 88, v. 11) Exscripsit SN ann. 900 1 Nam primitus om. SN qui B post nullum add. potuit invenire (sic) SN 2 ac] vel SN 3 post teneritudine add. et SN invalida SN 4 aetate SN adhuc possunt om. SN voluntariae Co 5 habebat . . .

plurima adhuc monasteria in illa regione constructa  
permaneant, nullo tamen regulam illius vitae ordina- 10  
biliter tenente, nescio quare, aut pro alienigenarum  
infestationibus, qui saepissime terra marique hosti-  
liter irrumpunt, aut etiam pro nimia illius gentis  
in omni genere divitiarum abundantia, propter quam  
multo magis id genus despectae monasticae vitae fieri 15  
existimo; ideo diversi generis monachos in eodem  
monasterio congregare studuit.

Primitus Iohannem, presbyterum <et> monachum, 94  
scilicet Eald-saxonum genere, abbatem constituit;  
deinde ultramarinos presbyteros quosdam et dia-  
conos. Ex quibus, cum nec adhuc tantum numerum,  
quantum vellet, haberet, comparavit etiam quam- 5  
plurimos eiusdem gentis Gallicae, ex quibus quosdam  
infantes in eodem monasterio edoceri imperavit, et  
subsequenti tempore ad monachicum habitum sub-  
levari. In quo etiam monasterio unum paganicae  
gentis edoctum in monachico habitu degentem, iuvenem 10  
admodum, vidimus, non ultimum scilicet eorum.

Facinus quoque in eodem monasterio quodam 95  
tempore perpetratum muti taciturnitate silentii ob-  
livioni <non> traderem, quamvis indignum facinus

existimo (v. 16) om. SN- qui Co B 12 qui scripsi: quae  
omnes se piissime Co hostiliter terra marique B 14  
habundantia Co 15 multo magis om. B 17 congregata Co

94 In Cott. scriptum fuit 'manu recentiori' (vide cap. 88, v. 11).  
Clausulam primam exscripp. Flor (vide c. 92, 16 not.) SD 2 SN  
(vide c. 92, 8 not.) 1 et ex Flor addidi 7 in om. Co B  
8 ad] et Co monachorum B 10 monastico B

95 Scriptum fuit 'manu recentiori' in Cott. (vide cap. 88, v. 11)  
1 quodam om. B 2 tempore om. B 3 non addidi tradere  
Co fac non (perperam pro facinus) superscripto factu manu  
correct. Co, unde factu non male adnotat Pet

- est, quia per totam scripturam impiorum turpia facta*  
 5 *inter venerabilia iustorum, sicut zizania et lolium*  
*in tritici segetibus, interseminantur: bona scilicet ut*  
*laudentur, sequantur, aequiparentur, sectatores quo-*  
*que eorum omni honore venerabili digni habeantur;*  
*mala vero <ut> vituperentur, execrentur, et ut*  
 10 *omnino effugiantur, imitatores quoque eorum omni*  
*odio et despectione ac vindicta corripiantur.*
- 96 *Nam quodam tempore, cum instinctu diabolico qui-*  
*dam sacerdos et diaconus, Gallici genere, ex praefatis*  
*monachis, invidia quadam [latenti] excitati contra*  
*suum abbatem praefatum Iohannem, nimium latenter*  
 5 *in tantum amaricati sunt, ut Iudaico more dominum*  
*suum dolo circumvenirent et proderent. Nam duos*  
*eiusdem gentis Gallicae servulos praemio conductos*  
*ita fraudulenter docuerunt, ut nocturno tempore, cum*  
*omnes delectabili corporis quiete graviter dormirent,*  
 10 *patefactam armati intrarent ecclesiam; quam post*  
*se iterum solito more clauderent et unicum abbatis*  
*adventum in ea absconditi praestolarentur. Cum-*  
*que solus solito <more> orandi causa ecclesiam*

---

5 venerabilia *Co B P Ar*: venerabiliora *Camd W Pet* zizannia  
*Co* liliium *Co* 7 sequentur *Co B* (ante laudentur) aequi-  
 perentur *P* 8 abeantur *Co* 9 prius ut addidi

96 *Scriptum fuit 'manu recentiori' in Cott. (vide cap. 88, v. II).*  
*Exscripsit SN* 2 diaconus et sacerdos *B* diaconos *Co*  
 generis *B* 3 latenti *om. SN* quod ex latenter versu se-  
 quenti errore inter scribendum profectum esse suspicatus, seclusi  
 4 Ioannem *B* 7 Gallicae gentis *B P Ar SN* servulos] ministros  
*B* 8 ita fraudulenter docuerunt *om. SN* cum . . . pate-  
 factam *om. SN* 9 graviter *om. B* 11 clauderent scripsi  
*secutus SN*: claudent *Co*: claudebant *B P Ar Camd W Pet* uni  
 cum *Co* 12 abscondi *Co*: absconsi *SN* praesularentur *Co*  
 13 solita *B* more ex *SN* addidi

latenter intraret, et ante sanctum altare flexis ad  
 terram genibus se inclinaret, hostiliter irruentes <sup>15</sup>  
 in eum, tunc eum ibidem occiderent. Cuius corpus  
 exanime inde trahentes ante ostium cuiusdam mere-  
 tricis, quasi illic occisus esset in meretricando, iacta-  
 rent. Quod etiam machinaverunt, crimen crimini  
 addentes, sicut dictum est: 'Et erit novissimus error <sup>20</sup>  
 peior priore'.<sup>a</sup> Sed divina misericordia, quae semper  
 innocentibus solet subvenire, impiam impiorum medi-  
 tationem maxima ex parte frustrata est, quo non per  
 omnia evenirent, sicut proposuerant.

Omni itaque mala doctrina a malis doctoribus <sup>97</sup>  
 malis auditoribus elucubratim exposita et conducta,  
 nocte adveniente atque suppetenti, et impunitate pro-  
 missa, latrunculi duo armati in ecclesia <se> conclu-  
 serunt, adventum abbatis praestolantes. Cumque <sup>5</sup>  
 media nocte Iohannes solito <more> furtim, nemine  
 sciente, orandi gratia ecclesiam intrasset et flexis  
 genibus ante altare incurvaret, tunc duo illi latrun-

<sup>a</sup> Matt. xxvii. 64.

15 seipsum B 16 post prius eum add. et SN alterum eum  
 om. Co SN: eum tunc B occiderent ex Co SN reposui: occidere  
 conarentur W Pet: o. conabantur B Ar P Camd 17 examine  
 errore operarum SN Ed. exinde B hostium in ostium  
 mutatum Co 20 error om. Co 22 meditationum Co SN (quod  
 correxit Ed. tacitus) 24 eveniret Co: evenirent post proposuerant B  
 97 Scriptum fuit 'manu recentiori' in Cott. (vide cap. 88, v. 11).  
 Exscripsit SN 1 omnis compendio scriptum B mala om. B  
 3 atque . . . promissa om. SN suppetentia Co: suppetentiam B  
 in punitate Co 4 latrunculi duo armati ex SN reposui: latrun-  
 culos duos armatos rell. ecclesia Co: ecclesiam B se ex  
 SN addidi 5 abbas SN 6 Ioannes B more ex SN addidi  
 furtim om. SN 7 aecclesiam Co 8 genibus B Ar SN:  
 genibus rell. curvaret, suprascripto incurvaret manu corr. Co:  
 curvaretur B; oraret SN illi duo B SN latrunculi] nequis-



culi ex improvise dispoliatis gladiis in eum irrumpunt  
 10 et crudelibus afficiunt vulneribus. Sed ille ut solito  
 ac semper acris ingenio et, ut audivimus de eo a  
 quibusdam referentibus, bellicosae artis non expers,  
 si in meliori disciplina non studeret, statim ut  
 sonitus latronum audivit, priusquam videret, in-  
 15 surgens acriter in eos, antequam vulneratur, et voci-  
 ferans, quantum poterat reluctabatur, inclamitans  
 daemones esse et non homines; non enim aliter  
 sciebat, quia nec hoc homines ausos esse existimabat.  
 Vulneratus est tamen antequam sui advenirent. Sui  
 20 ergo hoc rumore expergefacti et etiam, audito dae-  
 monum nomine, perterriti utrique et inexpertes, et  
 etiam illi, Iudaico more, domini sui proditores, hinc  
 inde ad ecclesiae ostia concurrunt, sed antequam  
 advenirent, latrunculi praecipiti cursu ad proxi-  
 25 mantia sibi gronae latibula, semivivum abbatem  
 relinquentes, confugiunt. Monachi vero seniore[m]  
 suum semivivum colligentes, cum gemitu et moerore  
 domum reportaverunt, sed nec etiam illi dolosi minus  
 lachrymabantur innocentibus. Sed Dei misericordia

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simi *SN* 9 in ex proviso *Co* dispoliatis ex *Co B SN* reposui :  
 evaginat[is] *rell.* 10 officiant *Co* ut solito . . . vulneratur et  
 (v. 15) *om. SN* 11 ac] hac *Co*: huc *B* post et *add.* etiam  
*Co B* 13 in] non *B* non *om. B* destuderet *Co* 14  
 sonitum *B* 15 antequam *B* vulneraretur *Co B* 17 et  
*om. B* non . . . sciebat *om. SN* post enim *add.* hoc *B*  
 aliquantulum *B* 18 esse *om. B* 19 post advenirent *add.* usque  
 ad mortem *SN* Sui . . . advenirent (v. 24) *om. SN* 20 hoc  
 rumore] quorum more *Co* atque *B* 21 an utique?  
 23 ecclesiae *Co* hostia *Co B* antequam *B* 24 proxi-  
 mantia sibi gronae *om. SN* 25 post latibula *add.* paludis  
*SN* 27 semivivum colligentes *om. SN* 28 sed . . .  
 redeamus (v. 34) *om. SN* dolosi *om. B* 29 lacrimabantur *Co*

*tantum facinus impunitum fieri non permittente, 30  
latrunculi, qui hoc perpetraverunt, omnes tanti  
sceleris persuasores capti ligatique per varia tor-  
menta morte turpissima periere. His ita relatis, ad  
incepta redeamus.*

Aliud quoque monasterium iuxta orientalem 98  
portam Sceftesburg, habitationi sanctimonialium  
habile, idem *praefatus* rex aedificari imperavit;  
in quo propriam filiam suam Æthelgeofu, devotam  
Deo virginem, abbatissam constituit, *cum qua etiam 5  
aliae multae nobiles moniales in monastica vita Deo  
servientes in eodem monasterio habitant.* Quae duo  
monasteria terrarum possessionibus et omnibus  
divitiis locupletatim ditavit.

*His ita diffinitis, solito suo more intra semetipsum 99  
cogitabat, quid adhuc addere potuisset, quod plus  
placeret ad piam meditationem; non inaniter in-  
cepta, utiliter inventa, utilius servata est. Nam  
iamdudum in lege scriptum audierat, † Dominum 5  
decimam sibi multipliciter redditurum promisisse  
atque fideliter servasse, decimamque sibi multipliciter  
redditurum fuisse. Hoc exemplo instigatus et ante-*

32 perswasores Co : perpetratores B 33 itaque B

98 *Scriptum fuit 'manu recentiori' in Cott. (vide v. 9 et cap. 88,  
v. 11). Exscripp. totum SN, partim SD 1 SD 2* 2 Sceftes-

burge Co : Scestesburgae B : Sceaphtesburgh SN habitationi Co  
B Flor SN: habitationem P Ar Camd W Pet monialium SN

3 habile Co Flor SN: habitabile B P Ar Camd W Pet praefatus  
om. SN aedificari scripsi: aedificare omnes 4 Ethelgeofu

Ar: Æthelgeovam SN 6 sanctimoniales SN 7 habitant  
... monasteria om. SN 8 positionibus Co B P Camd 9 locu-

pletatum SN ditavit] *'Hic desinit manus recentior Cod. Cott.' W*  
99 Paululum exscripsit SD 1 1 itaque B 6 reddituram

Co 7 servisse Co 8 reddituram Co

cessorum morem volens transcendere, dimidiam ser-  
 10 vitii sui partem, diurni scilicet et nocturni temporis,  
 nec non etiam dimidiam partem omnium divitiarum,  
 quae annualiter ad eum cum iustitia moderanter  
 acquisitae pervenire consueverant, Deo devote et  
 fideliter toto cordis affectu pius meditator se daturum  
 15 sponpondit; quod et quantum potest humana discretio  
 discernere et servare, subtiliter ac sapienter adimplere  
 studuit. Sed ut solito suo more cautus evitaret,  
 quod in alio divinae scripturae loco cautum est: 'Si  
 recte offeras, recte autem non divides, peccas<sup>a</sup>,' quod  
 20 Deo libenter devoverat quomodo recte dividere posset,  
 cogitavit, et, ut dixit Salomon, 'Cor regis in manu  
 Domini<sup>b</sup>,' id est consilium; consilio divinitus in-  
 vento omnium uniuscuiusque anni censuum succes-  
 sum bifarie primitus ministros suos dividere aequali  
 25 lance imperavit.

100 His ita divisis, partem primam *secularibus negotiis*  
*pertinere addixit, quam etiam in tribus partibus*  
*sequestrari praecepit, cuius primam divisionis partem*  
*suis bellatoribus annualiter largiebatur, item suis*  
 5 *ministris nobilibus, qui in curto regio vicissim com-*  
*morabantur, in pluribus ministrantes ministeriis.*  
*Ita enim ordinabiliter agebatur regalis familiaritas*  
*tribus omni tempore vicissitudinibus: in tribus*

<sup>a</sup> Gen. iv. 7 (Versio Antiqua).

<sup>b</sup> Prov. xxi. 1.

11 necnon] Ad haec *Flor* dimidiam etiam *B* 13 acquisitae  
*Co P* 15-16 et . . . ac] mentis alacritate *Flor* 22 ante  
 consilio *add.* Denique *Flor* 23 omnem *compendio scriptum B*  
 24 ministros] *magistros Camd*  
 100 *Paululum exscripsit SD I* 2 tres portiones *Flor* 3  
 cuius] quarum *Flor* 4 item] id est *Co B* 5 cultu *Co*  
*Flor: om. SD I*

namque cohortibus praefati regis satellites pruden-  
tissime dividebantur, *ita* ut prima cohors uno mense <sup>10</sup>  
in curto regio die noctuque administrans commo-  
raretur, menseque finito et adveniente alia cohorte,  
prima domum redibat, et ibi duobus, propriis  
quibus necessitatibus studens, commorabatur men-  
sibus. Secunda itaque cohors mense peracto, ad- <sup>15</sup>  
veniente tertia, domum redibat, ut ibi duobus com-  
moraretur mensibus. Sed et illa, finito unius mensis  
ministerio et adveniente prima cohorte, domum  
redibat, ibidem commoratura duobus mensibus. *Et*  
hoc ordine omnibus vitae *praesentis* temporibus <sup>20</sup>  
talium vicissitudinum in regali curto rotatur ad-  
ministratio.

*Talibus itaque primam de tribus praedictis partibus* <sup>101</sup>  
*partem, unicuique tamen secundum propriam digni-*  
*tatem et etiam secundum proprium ministerium,*  
*largiebatur; secundam autem operatoribus, quos*  
*ex multis gentibus collectos et comparatos prope-* <sup>5</sup>  
*modum innumerabiles habebat, in omni terreno*  
*aedificio edoctos: tertiam autem eiusdem partem*  
*advenis ex omni gente ad eum advenientibus longe*  
*propeque positis et pecuniam ab illo exigentibus,*  
*etiam et non exigentibus, unicuique secundum pro-* <sup>10</sup>

10 ita] adeo Flor 11 cultu Co Flor commemoraretur Co 13 post  
duobus add. (ex v. 14) mensibus B 14 quibus] suis Co B: quis Flor  
studens om. B mensibus om. B 19 duobus mensibus commoratura  
Co: duobus comm. m. B 20 omni Flor post vitae add. suae Flor  
tempore Flor 21 cultu Cott. (teste W) Co Flor rotabatur Flor  
101 Paululum exscripsit SD 1 4 secundum Co autem]  
vero partem Flor 5 collecto, set Co et] etiam Co B: vel  
etiam Flor propomodum om. B 6 post innumerabiles add.  
prope B 7 an artificio? 9 propeque] lateque B

*priam dignitatem, mirabili dispensatione laudabiliter et, sicut scriptum est 'Hilarem datorem diligit Deus<sup>a</sup>, hilariter impendebat.*

- 102 Secundam vero partem omnium divitiarum suarum, quae annualiter ad eum ex omni censu perveniebant *et in fisco reputabantur, sicut iam paulo ante commemoravimus, plena voluntate Deo devovit,*  
 5 *et in quatuor partibus aequis etiam curiose suos ministros illam dividere imperavit, ea condicione, ut prima pars illius divisionis pauperibus uniuscuiusque gentis, qui ad eum veniebant, discretissime erogaretur. Memorabat etiam in hoc, quantum*  
 10 *humana discretio custodire poterat, illius sancti papae Gregorii observandam esse sententiam, qua discretam mentionem dividendae eleemosynae ita dicens agebat: 'Nec parvum cui multum, nec multum cui parvum, nec nihil cui aliquid, nec aliquid cui nihil<sup>b</sup>.'* Secundam  
 15 *autem duobus monasteriis, quae ipse fieri imperaverat, et servientibus in his Deo, de quibus paulo ante latius disseruimus; tertiam scholae, quam ex multis suae propriae gentis nobilibus et etiam pueris*

<sup>a</sup> 2 Cor. ix. 7.

<sup>b</sup> S. Gregorii *Regula Pastoralis*, iii. cap. 20: 'Unde et necesse est, ut sollicitè perpendant, ne commissa indigne distribuunt; ne quaedam quibus nulla, ne nulla quibus quaedam, ne multa quibus pauca, ne pauca praebeant quibus impendere multa debuerunt.' Cf. Isidori Hispalensis 'Sententiarum' lib. iv, cap. 48, §§ 5, 6.

12 scriptum] dictum Co

102 1 Secundum Co vero] autem Flor 4 post ante add.  
 reputavimus sed lineola subducta deletum B 5 partes aequales  
 Flor equis Co B: om. P Ar Camd W Pet etiam om. Co B  
 12 eleemosynae Co 13 prius nec] ne Co B P: nec Camd W Pet  
 14 nihil deletum Co cui aliquid om. Co Secundum Co  
 15 imperavit Co 17 deseruimus Co 18 propriae suae B  
 et etiam pueris om. B P Ar Camd W Pet post pueris add. et etiam



ignobilibus studiosissime congregaverat; quartam circum finitimis in omni Saxonia et Mercia monasteriis, et etiam quibusdam annis per vices in Britannia et Cornubia, Gallia, Armorica, Northanhymbris, et *aliquando etiam* in Hybernia, ecclesiis *et servis Dei inhabitantibus*, secundum possibilitatem suam, *aut ante* distribuit, *aut sequenti tempore* erogare proposuit, *vita sibi et prosperitate salva.*

His ita ordinabiliter ab eodem rege dispositis, memor illius divinae scripturae sententiae, qua dicitur: 'Qui vult eleemosynam dare, a semet ipso debet incipere'<sup>a</sup>, etiam quid a proprio corporis sui et mentis servitio Deo offerret, prudenter excogitavit; nam non minus de hac re quam de externis divinis Deo offerre proposuit, quin etiam dimidiam partem servitii mentis et corporis, in quantum infirmitas et possibilitas atque suppetentia permetteret, diurno scilicet ac nocturno tempore, *suapte* totisque viribus se redditurum Deo spondit. Sed quia distantiam nocturnarum horarum omnino propter tenebras, et diurnarum propter densitatem saepissime pluviarum et nubium aequaliter dignoscere non poterat, excogitare coepit, qua ratione *fixa et sine ulla haesitatione*

<sup>a</sup> S. Augustini *Enchiridion de Fide*, c. 20: 'Qui enim vult ordinate dare eleemosynam, a se ipso debet incipere.'

Co 19 ignobilibus om. B 22 Cornubia et Britannia B  
Northanhymbris B: Northimbris Co: Northymbris Ar P rell.  
Edd.: Northymbria Flor 25 distribuere B Ar 26 pro-  
speritate 'Sic Ed. P: posteritate Ed. Camd' W salva  
om. Co

103 1 ordinabiliter B (post rege) Flor: ordinaliter Co P Ar Camd  
W Pet 8 servitii mentis] servi timentis Co mentis om. B  
12 omnino post tenebras B post tenebras add. equaliter (ex v. 14)  
sepissime (ex v. 13) Co et om. Co 14 et om. Co aequaliter

*hunc* promissum voti sui tenorem leto tenus incommutabiliter, *Dei fretus misericordia*, conservare posset.

- 104 *His aliquandiu excogitatis*, tandem, invento utili et discreto consilio, *suos capellanos* ceram offerre *sufficienter imperavit*, quam *adductam* ad denarios pensari in bilibri praecepit; cumque tanta cera  
 5 *mensurata* fuisset, quae septuaginta duos denarios pensaret, sex candelas, unamquamque aequa lance, inde capellanos facere iussit, ut unaquaeque candela duodecim uncias pollicis in se signatas in longitudine haberet. Itaque hac reperta ratione, sex illae  
 10 candelae per viginti quatuor horas die nocteque sine defectu coram sanctis multorum *electorum Dei* reliquii, quae semper *eum* ubique comitabantur, ardentem *lucescabant*. *Sed cum aliquando per diem integrum et noctem ad eandem illam horam, qua*  
 15 *anteriori vespera accensae fuerant, candelae ardendo lucescere non poterant, nimirum ventorum violentia inflante, quae aliquando per ecclesiarum ostia et fenestrarum, maceriarum quoque atque tabularum, vel frequentes parietum rimulas, nec non et tento-*  
 20 *riorum tenuitates, die nocteque sine intermissione*

*om. Co* (cf. v. 12) *dinoscere Co Camd*: discernere *B post poterat add. Unde Flor* 17 *conservare Flor*: cum servare *Co* (*compendio con pro cum lecto, id quod saepe fit*): servare *rell.*

104 2 *ceram ex Flor correxit W*: coram *Cott. (teste W) Co B Ar P Camd*: sibi ceram sufficientem offerret *Flor* 4 *pensari scripsi*: pensare *omnes bilibri] trutina Flor* tantum cerae *admensurata B* 6 *pensare Co* 7 *capellanis Flor* iussit] *mandavit ita Flor* 10 *noctique B Flor* 11 *sanctis om. Flor* *electorum Dei] sanctorum Flor* 12 *eum om. B*: cum eo *Co* *comitabant Co* 13 *ardenter B*: ardebant *Flor omisso* *lucescabant* 14 *et] ac B* 17 *hostia Co Ar* 18 *atque] et B* 19 *fre-*

flabat, exardescere citius plus debito ante eandem horam finiendo cursum suum cogebantur, excogitavit, unde talem ventorum sufflationem prohibere potuisset, consilioque artificiose atque sapienter invento, laternam ex lignis et bovinis cornibus pulcherrime con-<sup>25</sup>struere imperavit. Bovina namque cornua alba ac in una tenuiter dolabris erasa non minus vitreo vasculo elucent. Quae itaque laterna mirabiliter ex lignis et cornibus, ut ante diximus, facta, noctuque candela in eam missa, exterius ut interius tam lucida ardebat,<sup>30</sup> nullis ventorum flaminibus impedita, quia valvam ad ostium illius laternae ex cornibus idem fieri imperaverat. Hoc itaque machinamento ita facto, sex candelae, unaquaeque post alteram, per viginti quatuor horas sine intermissione nihil citius, nihil tardius<sup>35</sup> lucescabant. Quibus extinctis, aliae incendebantur.

His ita ordinabiliter per omnia digestis, dimidiam,<sup>105</sup> sicut Deo devoverat, servitii sui partem custodire cupiens, et eo amplius augere, in quantum possibilitas aut suppetentia, immo etiam infirmitas, permetteret, taediosus examinandae in iudiciis veritatis arbiter<sup>5</sup> existebat, et in hoc maxime propter pauperum curam,

quenter Co B tentoriarum Co B 22 horam] coram Co  
finiendo post suum exhibet B 24 atque] et B laternam W  
Pet: lanternam Co B P Ar Camd 26 ac in] iacij Co: et in B  
27 erasa] crassa ex erassa emendatum Co 28 laterna W Pet:  
lanterna Co B P Ar Camd lignis Co 29 cornubus B 30  
eam] eandem B 32 hostium Co laternae W Pet: lanternae  
Co B P Ar Camd 35 sitius Co

105 Exscripsit partim SN (ann. 900) 1-8 His . . . regno]  
Erat enim ille rex fortissimus defensor sanctarum Dei ecclesiarum,  
clementissimus consolator orphanorum et viduarum, largissimus dis-  
tributor eleemosinarum in toto regno illo etc. SN 2 voverat B  
4 permetteret] vide p. 341 infra 5 in examinandis B 6 post  
curam add. solverunt Cott. (teste W) Co

quibus die noctuque inter cetera praesentis vitae debita mirabiliter incumbibat. Nam in toto illo regno praeter illum solum pauperes aut nullos aut etiam  
 10 paucissimos habebant adiutores; nimirum quia etiam pene omnes illius regionis potentes et nobiles ad secularia magis quam ad divina mentem declinaverant negotia: magis enim unusquisque † speciali etiam in secularibus negotiis, quam communi.

- 106 Studebat <is> quoque in iudiciis etiam propter nobilium et ignobilium suorum utilitatem, qui saepissime in contionibus comitum et praepositorum pertinacissime inter se dissentiebant, ita ut pene nullus  
 5 eorum, quicquid a comitibus et praepositis iudicatum fuisset, verum esse concederet. Qua pertinaci dissensione obstinatissime compulsi, regis subire iudicium singuli subarabant, quod et confestim ab utraque parte implere festinabant. Sed tamen ille, qui in  
 10 sua parte aliquam de illa causa iniustitiam fieri cognosceret, ad talis iudicis iudicium, contra voluntatem tamen, quamvis per vim † lege et stipulatione venire coactus esset, voluntarie volebat accedere. Sciebat enim ibidem nihil ex sua malitia confestim  
 15 posse delitescere; nimirum erat namque rex ille in exequendis iudiciis, sicut in ceteris aliis omni-

7 diu B 9 etiam om. SN 13 magis . . . communi om.  
 SN etiam Cott. (teste W) Co: lucro rell. 14 post communi  
 add. inhiabat B P Ar Camd W Pet, quod om. Cott. (teste W) Co  
 106 Exscripsit partim SN 1 Studebat . . . nimirum  
 (v. 15) om. SN is om. Cott. (teste W) Co etiam om. B 2  
 post et add. etiam B utilitate B, quod pro utilitates legit Pet  
 4 nullius B 5 indicatum Co fuisset iudicatum B 8  
 sub arrabant Co 9-10 implere . . . parte om. Ar 12 legis  
 astipulatione B 15 nimirum Cott. (teste W) Co: nec mirum rell.  
 namque] praeterea Flor ille] idem Flor 16 ceteris om. B

bus rebus, discretissimus indagator. Nam omnia pene totius suae regionis iudicia, quae in absentia sua fiebant, sagaciter investigabat, qualia fierent, iusta aut etiam iniusta, aut *vero* si aliquam in 20 illis iudiciis iniquitatem intelligere posset, leniter *utens suatim* illos ipsos iudices, aut per se ipsum aut per alios suos fideles quoslibet interrogabat, quare tam nequiter iudicassent, utrum per ignorantiam aut propter aliam quamlibet malevo- 25 lentiam, id est utrum pro aliquorum amore vel timore aut *aliorum* odio aut etiam pro alicuius pecuniae cupiditate. Denique si illi iudices profiterentur propterea se talia ita iudicasse, eo quod nihil rectius de his rebus scire poterant, tunc ille, 30 discrete et moderanter illorum imperitiam et insipientiam redarguens, aiebat, ita inquires: 'Nimum admiror vestram hanc insolentiam, eo quod, Dei dono et meo, sapientium ministerium et gradus usurpastis, sapientiae autem studium et operam 35 neglexistis. Quapropter aut terrenarum potestatum ministeria, quae habetis, illico dimittatis, aut sapientiae studiis multo devotius † docere ut studeatis,

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aliis *om. Ar* 18 suae totius *B* 20 etiam *om. SN* in-  
 iuste *SN* (*quod correxit Ed. tacitus*) aut etiam iniusta *om. SN*  
 vero *om. SN* 21 iudiciis illis *B* leniter *B* leniter . . .  
 iudices *om. SN* 22 *utens suatim ex Co reposui: advocatos B*  
*P Ar Camd W Pet* ipsum *om. B* 24 tam *Cott. (teste W)*  
*Flor: ita B P Ar Camd SN: ita tam Co W Pet* 25 *post*  
 propter *add. aliquam B* aliam *om. SN* quamlibet *om. B*  
 26 id est utrum] vel *SN* 28 paecuniae *B* 29 eo *om. SN*  
 30 poterant] nosset *SN* 31 moderate *SN* 32 dicens *SN*  
 nimirum *B* 33 hanc vestrum *B* 34 meum *Co* 38  
 docere *om. Co: de ceteris SN* ut *om. SN* docere ut studeatis  
 impero] quam hactenus insistere, mando studeatis *Flor*



impero.' Quibus auditis verbis, perterriti <ac> veluti  
 40 pro maxima vindicta correcti, comites et praepositi  
 ad aequitatis discendae studium totis viribus se  
 vertere nitebantur, ita ut mirum in modum illiterati  
 ab infantia comites pene omnes, praepositi ac  
 ministri literariae arti studerent, malentes in-  
 45 suetam disciplinam quam laboriose discere, quam  
 potestatum ministeria dimittere. Sed si aliquis  
 litteralibus studiis aut pro senio vel etiam pro nimia  
 inusitati ingenii tarditate proficere non valeret, suum,  
 si haberet, filium, aut etiam aliquem propinquum  
 50 suum, vel etiam, si aliter non habeat, suum proprium  
 hominem, liberum vel servum, quem ad lectionem  
 longe ante promoverat, libros ante se die nocteque,  
 quandocumque unquam ullam haberet licentiam,  
 Saxonicos imperabat recitare. Et suspirantes  
 55 nimium intima mente dolebant, eo quod in iuventute  
 sua talibus studiis non studuerant, felices arbitantes

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39 ac ex Flor addidi 41 se vertere] revertere B 42 post modum  
 add. illi SN (ex illiterati sequenti ortum) illiteratos Co 43  
 praepositos Co ac] et B 44 ministros Co litterariae Co  
 malentes] magis SN 45 quam om. SN post discere add.  
 volentes SN 47 litteralibus Co SN: literalibus B P Ar Flor:  
 liberalibus Camd W Pet vel etiam pro Cott. (teste W) Co B P  
 Ar Flor: vel etiam SN: aut Camd W Pet 49 filium post  
 valeret (v. 48) habet SN etiam aliquem om. SN 50  
 suum om. SN aliter si B: taliter Ar: alium SN ha-  
 beret Flor SN 52 sese B nocteque B Flor: et nocte  
 SN 53 unquam om. SN 54 Anglicos SN post  
 recitare add. in quibus, iussu regis praefati, fuerunt scripta iusta  
 iudicia inter potentes et inpotentes, et alia multa utilia tam cleri  
 quam plebi omissis quae sequuntur SN Et] Ipsi vero senes  
 nimium suspirantes Flor suspirantes (ex Cott. ut videtur) W  
 Flor: suspirans Co B P Ar Camd 55 dolebant (ex Cott. ut  
 videtur) W Flor: dolebat Co B P Ar Camd 56 studuerant

huius temporis iuvenes, qui liberalibus artibus feliciter erudiri poterant, se vero infelices existimantes, qui nec hoc in iuventute didicerant, nec etiam in senectute, quamvis inhiante desiderarent, 60 poterant discere. *Sed hanc senum iuvenumque in discendis literis solertiam ad praefati regis notitiam explicavimus.*

[Anno Dominicae 900, Ælfredus veridicus, vir in bello 106 b per omnia strenuissimus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum nobilissimus, prudens vero et religiosus atque sapientissimus, hoc anno, postquam regnasset viginti et novem annis et dimidio super totam Angliam, praeter illas partes, quae subditae 5 erant Dacis, cum magno suorum dolore viam universitatis adiit, die septimo kalend. Novemb., anno regni sui vigesimo nono et dimidio, anno vero aetatis suae quinquagesimo primo, Indictione quarta. Qui apud Wintoniam civitatem regalem decenter et regali honore est sepultus in ecclesia Sancti Petri, 10 Apostolorum principis. Mausoleum quoque ipsius constat explicavimus.]

[De cuius regimine laborioso hos versus proloqui dignum 106 c duxi:

*Nobilitas innata tibi, probitatis honorem,  
armipotens Ælfrede, dedit, probitasque laborem,  
perpetuumque labor nomen; cui mixta dolori* 5

(ex Cott. ut videtur) *W Flor*: studuerat *Co B P Ar Camd*  
faelices *B* 57 qui] in *Co* 58 faelicitate *B* eruditi *B*  
infaelices *B* 59 hoc nec *Co* 62 literis] libris *B* 63  
explicavimus] 'Hic desinit Codex Cott.' *W*: desinit etiam *Co*

106 b Interpolatum ex *SN*, praeter postquam . . . Dacis (vv. 4-6), quae ex *Henrici Huntingdon* 'Historia Anglorum,' lib. v. cap. 13, hauriuntur, in *B P Ar Camd*; secl. *W Pet* 1 viridicus *P Camd* 2 Orientales *B* 3 et om. *B*: atque *SN* 4 novem] octo *H. Hunt* dimidium *B P Camd* 9 quarta]

tertia *SN* Wyntoniam *B* regale in *B* 11 Mausolaeum *B*  
106 c Interpolatum ex *Hen. Huntingdon* loco laud. in *B P Ar Camd*; secl. *W Pet*. Auctoris nomen in margine exhibent *P Ar Camd* 5 nomen compendio scriptum *B*

- gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.*  
*si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella pavebas.*  
*si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.*  
*cui vestes sudori iugi, cui sica cruore*  
 10 *tincta iugi, quantum sit onus regnare, probarunt.*  
*non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi*  
*cui tot in adversis vel respirare liceret.*  
*nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,*  
*aut gladio potuit vitae finisse labores.*  
 15 *iam post transactos vitae regnique dolores,*  
*Christus ei sit vera quies sceptrumque perenne.]*  
 106 d [*Hic Iohannes Asser, episcopus quondam Scireburnensis,*  
*scripsit Ælfredi res gestas, et annales Britanniae. Huius*  
*Asseri annalibus vetustus quidam auctor paralipomenon*  
*addidit, et eum obiisse scribit anno Domini 909.]*

8 ad] et B      9 fica B      10 tincta] iuncta B      opus B

106 d *Interpolatum in B P Ar Camd; secl. W Pet. 'Hanc notulam (in Cott.) addidit Reverendiss. Archiep. Parkerus' (W), quam ex Balaei 'Scriptoribus,' cent. Sec. contexuerat (cf. p. 98, not. 3, p. 115 infra)      I quondam om. Camd*

## APPENDIX

### THE ANNALS OF ST. NEOTS

§ 1. Character of the work, p. 97. § 2. Origin of Name, p. 98.  
§ 3. Probably an East-Anglian compilation, p. 100. § 4. Date of compilation, p. 102. § 5. Use of Frankish sources, p. 103. § 6. English sources, p. 104. §§ 7, 8. Version of O.E. Chronicle employed, p. 105. §§ 9-11. Relations with Florence of Worcester, p. 107. § 12. Compiler does not use William of Malmesbury or Geoffrey of Monmouth, p. 111. § 13. Use of the work by later compilers, p. 111. §§ 14-16. Description of unique MS., p. 113. § 17. Early transcripts, p. 114. § 18. Previous edition, p. 115.

§ 1. THE compilation known since the time of Leland<sup>1</sup> by this name has been so long and closely connected with the Life of Alfred, owing to Archbishop Parker's unfortunate conclusion that it embodied a fuller text of the latter work than that contained in the Cottonian MS., and to his consequent interpolations from it<sup>2</sup>, that we have found it necessary to print it along with the Life. In doing so we have omitted the passages drawn from the Life and from other well-known sources, indicating merely the beginning and ending of each extract. These extracts and the translations from the Old English Chronicle constitute by far the greater part of the work<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 98, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xix.

<sup>3</sup> Of the matter whose sources we have been unable to trace, the most important is the vision of Rollo given under 870 (see below, § 5, p. 103); the famous story of Alfred and the cowherd's wife and the appearances of St. Neot to Alfred, given under 878, which are professedly taken from a life of that saint (see below, p. 256); the account of the miraculous raven-banner of the Danes under the same year (see below, p. 265); the passages relating to St. Edmund (see below, p. 99); the mention of the place of burial of Guthrum, the Danish King of East Anglia (see below, p. 100); the notice of

The compiler's office was restricted to changing a word here and there, omitting a clause or word, and substituting *Angli* for *Saxones*, *Anglia* for *Saxonia*, and *Nordmanni* for *Dani*, proceedings that stamp the work as a post-Conquest production. He commences his work abruptly by an extract from Beda without explaining the object of his work. A lack of literary feeling on the part of the compiler is revealed throughout the compilation. He displays so little intelligence in piecing together his extracts that he transcribes passages in which the authors of the matter conveyed by him refer to themselves or their times, and, as he does not mention the sources whence he derived the passages, he thus makes himself the witness of events that happened many centuries before his birth<sup>1</sup>. The absence of thought thus exhibited renders it difficult to believe that he was the author of the passages for which we have been unable to find sponsors. Possibly, however, he may have translated into Latin the extracts from the Chronicle, as his version differs from those of Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, and other compilers from the Chronicle<sup>2</sup>.

§ 2. Nothing is known of the compiler or of the date or place of the compilation. Leland met with a copy of the work at the priory of St. Neots, in Huntingdonshire, and hence bestowed upon it the title *Chronicon Fani Sancti Neoti*<sup>3</sup>. This has no other merit beyond that of

the murder of St. Æthelberht, King of East Anglia under 794 (see below, p. 110); and the eulogy on Alfred under 900. The blunder about King Ceolwulf under 731 seems to be deduced from the Chronicle (see below, § 7, p. 107).

<sup>1</sup> Thus he repeats 'senior monasterii nostri' under 651, by which Beda meant his own monastery of Jarrow-on-Tyne. Under 741 he similarly repeats 'nos autem illos vidimus, qui usque ad nostram aetatem duraverunt, qui huic rei interfuerunt et nobis viva voce sunt testati,' referring to events of that year. From the Life he copies 'quod a domino meo audivi,' c. 13, 32; 'quam nos ipsi propriis nostris oculis vidimus,' c. 39, 6; 'sicut ab his, qui viderunt . . . audivimus,' c. 37, 13.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 105, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Commentarii de Scriptioribus Britannicis*, ed. Anthony Hall, Oxford, 1709, p. 152, in reference to the date of Alfred's death 'quod quanquam ex multis abunde liqueat autoribus, illustrissime tamen ex eo libello, qui Asserii annales in epitomen redegit. Nos



distinguishing this anonymous chronicle, for there is nothing to connect it specially with the Huntingdonshire monastery beyond the long extract from the Life of St. Neot. It would be rash to conclude from this that the compiler was a member of the monastery of St. Neots, although access to a Life of this saint might be easier there or in its vicinity. It is not, however, St. Neot but St. Edmund who receives the greatest attention. The work embodies not only long extracts from Abbo's 'Passion of St. Edmund,' but contains notices of the commencement of Edmund's reign in 855, of his consecration as king in the following year, and of his death in 870, containing much information peculiar to itself. The extract from the Life of St. Neot may perhaps be due to the compiler's singular passion for visions, such as the appearance of St. Neot to Alfred. Thus he transcribes at length the vision of Furseus from Beda under 651, that of Charles Martel under 741, of Charles III ('the Fat') under 886, and of Rollo under 876. Three of these are visions of punishment in a future state, but the dream of the Norman leader is of much the same nature as that of Alfred.

igitur, quoniam apud fanum Neoti in vetus exemplar nuper incidimus, ipsa tam bonae fidei autoris verba subiciemus,' quoting the passage from the Annals under 900. Extracts from the work are given in his *Collectanea*, ii. 190 (ed. Hearne, vol. iii. p. 214), where he describes it as 'Chronicon Fani Sancti Neoti, incerto autore.' Hearne notes that Leland wrote at first 'Ex libro annalium autoris incerti nominis, sed quem constat familiarem fuisse Alfredo, sive Alredo, regi, literatorum omnium Maecenati'; with 'Asserionis' interlined over 'autoris incerti' in a darker ink, but in Leland's hand. These words Leland afterwards cancelled. The priory of St. Neots was surrendered to the King on December 21, 1539 (*Monasticon*, iii. 465 a), and the MS. was probably carried off about this date by Leland, whose search among monastic libraries, &c., ceased before 1545 (*Dict. Nat. Biography*, xxxiii. 14). It is curious that Bale makes no mention of these annals in his notebook (*Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole, Oxford, 1902), which contains so many references to works in Leland's 'bibliotheca.' But in the *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum Summarium*, Ipswich, 1548, fo. 65, Bale adds to his notice of Asser's Life of Alfred 'Author quidam vetustus et doctus Paralepomena (*sic*), opus tersum et spectabile, huius historiarum libro postea annexit, ut saepe Lelandus notat in antiquarum doctorum syllabo' (i. e. his work *De Scriptoribus Britannicis*).

§ 3. The references to St. Edmund's predecessors on the throne of East Anglia are, although few in number, more at home in a work proceeding from the great East Anglian monastery bearing his name than in one composed in the Huntingdonshire priory. In the latter the interest would be historically with the kings of Mercia, who are ignored by the compiler. Thus he omits the whole of c. 7 of the Life, which relates to the latter kingdom. He devotes considerable attention to the succession of the kings of Wessex, but this may be ascribed to the feeling that they demanded notice in a work dealing with the history of England as a whole, since they represented the line from which the sole kings of England sprang. The substitution of *Wili* as the name of the Wiltshire river Wiley for the Celtic *Gwilou* of the Life, c. 42, 19, which is elsewhere transcribed so slavishly, is the only passage suggestive of a knowledge of Wessex. This alone is insufficient evidence upon which to claim a West Saxon origin for the work<sup>1</sup>. The mention of King Guthrum's burial at Hadleigh under 890, which is known only from this compilation, is further evidence of interest in East Anglia. It might, it is true, have been derived from an East Anglian addition to the copy of the Chronicle, or of the translation of the Chronicle, used by the compiler. But, if we accept this supposition, we must admit that acquaintance with a copy containing East Anglian additions is more natural in a compiler working in an East Anglian monastery than in a Mercian or West Saxon one. When the erroneous identification of *Sceobyrig* (Shoebury, co. Essex) with Sudbury (co. Suffolk) was written by a second hand in the twelfth century between the lines in the entry for 893, the MS. must have been accessible to some one with a local knowledge of East Anglia. The fact that the monastery

<sup>1</sup> The mention of the regnal year of Ceadwealla of Wessex under 685, the foundation of Glastonbury under 726, and the description of Alfred's tomb at Winchester under 900 may be explained without adopting the hypothesis of West Saxon origin. The statement that the abbot Cenwulf who fell in 904 was abbot of Peterborough is suggestive of an interest in that monastery. The death of the founder of that monastery is excerpted under 705.

of St. Edmunds possessed a copy of the Norman Annals<sup>1</sup>, from which the compiler borrowed so largely, does not, in view of the wide distribution of these annals in English monasteries in the twelfth century<sup>2</sup>, afford a very strong argument for referring the compilation of the work to an inmate of Bury St. Edmunds. It was, however, known to the monks of Bury, for the late twelfth century copy of Florence of Worcester that belonged to the East Anglian monastery<sup>3</sup> contains several additions that seem to have been copied directly from the present work and not immediately from the sources<sup>4</sup>. This MS. also contains a marginal addition of *utens* to complete the curious phrase of the author of the Life *suatim utens* in c. 56, 18, which would seem to have been taken directly from a MS. of the Life or from the

<sup>1</sup> In addition to the use of these annals in the construction of the twelfth-century *Annales Sancti Edmundi*, published by Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen*, Strassburg, 1879, pp. 107 sqq., the St. Edmund's copy of Florence of Worcester (Bodleian MS. 297) affords evidence of the use of these annals in the East Anglian monastery. Besides numerous additions from the Annals of St. Neot (see below, note 4), it has several marginal notes taken from the Norman Annals that do not occur in the Annals of St. Neots, while many of the extracts in the latter work do not appear in this MS. The notices in the *Annales S. Edmundi* derived from the Norman Annals occasionally differ in dates and in other respects from those in the present work. But most of the variations may be due to errors in transcription.

<sup>2</sup> See Liebermann, *l. c.*, p. 31.

<sup>3</sup> See note 1 above.

<sup>4</sup> Thus under 734 it introduces the letter of Cuthbert relating the last moments and death of Beda in the same way as the present work; it has the account of the punishment of Charles Martel given in the present work under 741; the anointing of St. Edmund as King under 856; the minute details of the date of St. Edmund's death and other passages added to the matter derived from Abbo's *Passio Sancti Edmundi* under 770; the notice of the length of reign and the burial of Guthrum at Hadleigh, exactly as in the present work under 890, which it continues in the words of Florence of Worcester 'Hic in Orientali Anglia cum suis habitavit,' &c., instead of the corresponding sentence in the present work; and the passage under 912 translated from the Chronicle is reproduced in the same words, whereas it appears more correctly in a different form in Florence under 913 and 914. The Bury MS. then proceeds with the two extracts from the Norman Annals given in the present work, but completes the last one by copying the remainder of the entry from the Norman Annals. See also p. 252, below, note to c. 49, 24.

present work, since Florence omits the participle. The evidence of the possession by St. Edmunds of copies of the Norman Annals, of the Life of Alfred, and of the present work are in favour of the composition of the latter within its walls, for the two former and the Chronicle and Beda supplied almost the whole of the matter copied out by the compiler. On the other hand, we have the difficulty that the later compiler of the *Annales Sancti Edmundi* makes no use of the present compilation, taking his matter relating to English history before the Norman Conquest from the work of Ralph de Diceto, and from Roger of Wendover, or rather the St. Albans compilation embodied by him. The latter compilation borrowed from the present work, for the passages common to the two are inserted in exactly the same manner as in the present work<sup>1</sup>.

§ 4. The date of the compilation is as uncertain as the place of origin. It is not continued beyond the year 914, and is evidently incomplete. The use of Norman sources is proof that it is later in date than the Norman Conquest, while the evidence of the unique MS. of the work limits its date to the early part of the twelfth century. It is probably later than the year 1104, the date of the completion of Hariulf's chronicle of the monastery of St. Riquier in Ponthieu (*Chronicon Centulense*) from which was derived, in all probability, the account of the vision of Charles III under 886. This work was written in 1088, but the author continued it to 1104<sup>2</sup>, and it is

<sup>1</sup> Thus it inserts into matter derived from Abbo's *Passio Sancti Edmundi* the clause giving the date of his death under 870 in the present work, commencing 'Passus est,' but omitting the reference to the reigns of the emperor and of the King of Wessex (Wendover, i. 314; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. 400). It gives under 897 the description of Rollo's dream (Wendover, i. 364; Paris, i. 433, 434) as in the present work under 870, with a few insignificant alterations. For the account of Alfred's alleged encounter with the cowherd's wife and his vision of St. Neot it goes to a life of St. Neot differing from that used by the compiler of the present work, but quoting the same verses. See p. 257, below.

<sup>2</sup> See the edition by Ferdinand Lot, Paris, 1894, p. xvii, in the excellent *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*. Hariulf states that his work was a continuation of an earlier one by Saxovalus (p. 283). M. Lot remarks that



possible that the vision may have been in circulation even earlier in an independent form.

§ 5. In addition to this vision, the compiler borrowed from the Frankish Annals under 883, and from the record of the synod of Cérizy in 741 under 858. His most important continental source was the Norman Annals. The original of these annals has not been preserved, but the copy used by the compiler agreed very closely with the version preserved by the monastery of St. Évroul at Ouche in Normandy<sup>1</sup>. The Norman Annals were introduced into England after the Norman Conquest, and were widely circulated in the south of the country. They form the basis of several monastic chronicles, notably of those of Bury St. Edmunds<sup>2</sup>, a twelfth-century compilation of later date than the present work. The vision of Rollo given under 876 differs from those described by Dudo of St. Quentin and later Norman writers, and is evidently of late date. It is possibly derived from some lost life of Archbishop Franco of Rheims, by whom Rollo was baptized, as here stated. Its Rouen origin is clear.

William of Malmesbury, who copies from Hariulf this vision and other matter, may have derived these materials from a common source, a MS. of St. Wandrille (Fontenelle) in Picardy (p. lv, note 2; cf. p. xxii, note 7).

<sup>1</sup> Hence we have quoted them as *Annales Uticenses*. They are printed in the appendix to Le Prevost's and Delisle's edition of the history of Ordericus Vitalis, Paris, 1838-1855, v. 139 sqq. Upon the various texts of these annals, which had a wide circulation in Normandy and on the Continent, see Delisle, in the fifth volume of Ordericus Vitalis, p. lxxviii; Ludwig Theopold, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen zur angelsächsischen Geschichte des achten Jahrhunderts*, Lemgo, 1872, pp. 84 sqq.; and the excellent account of Liebermann, *Ungedruckte anglo-normannische Geschichtsquellen*, p. 31 sqq., and in *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, iv. 26. Liebermann remarks that all the English copies of these annals seem to descend from the Rouen version, of which the Ouche Annals appear to be a faithful copy. The Rouen entries do not appear in the present work, but the close agreements with the Ouche annals, which are based upon the Rouen recension, make it probable that the compiler of the present work had before him a MS. of the Rouen recension. This latter was made late in the eleventh century, the Rouen entries being continued down to circ. 1085. See Holder-Egger's history of the Norman Annals in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 'Scriptores,' tom. xxvi, p. 489.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 101, note 1.



From Frankish sources was also derived the notice of the death of Charles the Bald, which is entered wrongly under 879.

§ 6. The English sources used in the compilation are Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the Chronicle, the Life of Alfred, Abbo of Fleury's 'Passion of St. Edmund,' a life of St. Æthelberht, King of East Anglia, and a life of St. Neot. The text of the latter has not come down to us, but the verses quoted from it occur in a twelfth-century MS. life of this saint<sup>1</sup>. The compiler makes extensive use of the Life of Alfred, embodying nearly the whole of it. He omits the passages relating to the author, the interpretations of local names, and, like Florence, *anno Dominicæ Incarnationis* and the note of Alfred's age under each year. With these exceptions, he fortunately transcribed the Life very accurately. The MS. used by him agreed closely with the lost Cottonian MS.<sup>2</sup>, and his evidence is of value as supporting readings of the latter recorded in the transcripts that have been entirely obliterated in the editions. Thus he has preserved in c. 97, 9 the reading *dispoliatis*, which occurs in transcripts Co and B. Parker substituted *evaginatīs*, which is tacitly repeated by the other editors. Similarly his *suatim utens* in c. 56, 18 is supported by the occurrence of this strange expression elsewhere in the Life and by Florence's *suatim*, but is obscured by Parker's emendation *sua ipsius*, a reading repeated by the later editors without a word about any variation from the MS. The copy used by the compiler had *dormiret* in c. 67, 9, which Florence emended into *rediret*. The compiler, not understanding the adverb *oppido*, c. 18, 12, added *longe ab omni*, where Florence and the Durham compilers omitted it altogether. In c. 37, 11 he substituted *similiter* for this adverb. Occasionally he has manifestly superior readings to those of the Cottonian MS. of the Life<sup>2</sup>, so that it is probable that he used a better MS. In these cases, as there are no such difficulties as that presented by *oppido*, we see no reason for thinking that he has deserted the readings of the copy before him.

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. xlix, § 25; p. lvii, § 34; p. 254, note 3, below.

The reading *Turkesige* for the *Lindesig* of the Life, c. 45, 5, suggests that the copy of the Life used by the compiler differed from the Cottonian MS., each of them omitting one of these two names, both of which occur in Chronicles A, B, and C.

§ 7. Historically the greatest interest in the compilation centres round the matter taken from the O.E. Chronicle. The chronology in the eighth century differs from that of the existing MSS. of the Chronicle, and, as it is demonstrably more accurate, Theopold has concluded that the compiler used a copy of this work more correct than any that has come down to us<sup>1</sup>. That the copy from which the Latin was translated was an ancient one is proved by the reproduction of the old spelling *Koen-uualh* in 642 and 672, where the existing copies have the later form *Cen*<sup>2</sup>. In like manner the early form *Oisc* occurs under 455, as in Beda, for which the extant MSS. of the Chronicle have wrongly substituted *Æsc*, which

<sup>1</sup> *Kritische Untersuchungen*, pp. 53, 85. He rightly concludes with Grubitz that these Latin annals are not a relic of the hypothetical Latin original of the Chronicle. See above, p. lxxiii, § 53. That the Latin translation in the present work is of late date is proved by the rendering of the O.N. *hold* in the Chronicle under 904 by 'baro,' a Frankish term that was unknown in England before the coming of the Normans. The use of the accusative *Ludecan* in the Chronicle in 825 as a nominative in the corresponding entry under 827 proves that the Latin version is derived from one written in O.E. and that the translator's knowledge of O.E. was somewhat imperfect. This is also proved by the annal of 903, where Æthelwald is described as a brother of King Alfred, although correctly called a 'patruelis' of King Edward under 900 with the Chronicle. The error under 903 has evidently arisen from a mistranslation of the same passage in the Chronicle, owing to the translator referring the pronoun *his* to Alfred and rendering *fædran sunu* as though it were *fæder sunu*, 'father's son.' The former word *fædera* is the O.E. cognate (apart from a declensional change) of Latin *patruus*, Greek *πάτριος*, 'paternal uncle,' and the confusion with *fæder* could only have arisen at a late time, when the full endings of the O.E. were becoming blurred and when the suffixless genitive *fæder* was being replaced by one with the *-es* ending. The translation can therefore not have been made much before the date that we have assigned for the compilation of the present work, and may possibly be due to the compiler. The suggestion that this Latin version of the Chronicle was used by the compiler of the Annals of Lund is shown to be baseless at p. 112, below.

<sup>2</sup> See note to c. 1, 13, p. 160, below.

was more intelligible to the copyists. The type of MS. represented in the compilation agreed with MS. A in assigning six years for the reign of Ceol under 591, against the five years of MSS. B and C. But this may be derived from a copy of the regnal table, and not from the Chronicle. Apart from this it seems to have had no agreements with A against the other MSS.<sup>1</sup> It was most nearly related to B and C. Thus under 528 Cynric is assigned a reign of twenty-seven years with them and F, against twenty-six in A and E, but this, again, may be due to a copy of the regnal table. With B, C, and D it states under 900 that Æthelwold was elected king by the Northumbrians, which does not appear in A, and it supports the reading *Byrhtnoð*, *Beorhtnoð* of B, C, D in this year against the *Beornod*<sup>2</sup> of A under 905 by *Brichtnoth* under 904. It, however, differs from B and agrees with C, D, E and F in assigning the commencement of Cuthred's reign to 740, against the 741 of A and B, and again in placing Ine's journey to Rome in 726 instead of 728 with A and B. Under 842 it has correctly *Quantauic*, corresponding to the *Cwantawic* of A and B under 839, where C has blundered the name into *Cantwarabirig*, followed by *Cantwic* in D, E, and *Cwantuwic* in G. With B, C, D, E it mentions the capture of the Raven-banner of the Danes in 878, which is missing in A and in the Life. On the other hand it agrees with the two latter in having no mention of Alfred's mission to India, which appears in B, C, D, E, and F under 883. It would therefore seem that, as with the Life, the MS. of the Chronicle used by the compiler was nearer to the original than any extant copy. With the late MSS. E and F it agrees in recording the commencement of the reign of Æthelberht of Kent under 565, and in mentioning the length of his reign. The seven years assigned to Ceolwulf under 731 may be due to a clerical error. Under 709 the title *rex* is added to Offa, who was King of East Anglia. "This

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles parallel*, ii. ciii, note 6, holds that up to 892 it was nearest to A.

<sup>2</sup> Upon the confusion of these names see Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Charters*, p. 85, note 4.

does not occur in Beda or the Chronicle, and seems to be another East Anglian trait. The compiler has committed a singular error under 731 in stating that Ceolwulf, the ex-king of Northumbria, became bishop of Lindisfarne. He has clearly confused his name with that of Cynewulf, whose succession to the bishopric is recorded, with the tonsuring of King Ceolwulf, under 737 in D, E, and F.

§ 8. From the numerous omissions of entries in the Chronicle, Sir Thomas Hardy has concluded that the compiler used an imperfect copy of the Chronicle. But it is probable that he did not embody all the matter in the copy before him. The few entries given by him under the reign of Edward the Elder are suggestive of an eclectic use of the Chronicle, rather than of imperfections in the copy of the latter. In a similar manner he omits much of the contents of the Norman Annals. For the latter part of the reign of Alfred and for that of Edward the variations in arrangement of the material seem to suggest that the Chronicle at the back of the Latin version differed widely from the existing copies. But this may be due to rearrangement of the material by the translator. Such rearrangement is apparent in the entry under 910, which is noticeable for containing the name of the battle of Wodnesfeld, which occurs in Æthelweard and in Florence, but is omitted in Chronicles A, B, C, D, where the battle is recorded under 911 without the name of the site. The name of the Danish leader Eagellus does not appear in the Chronicle or in the other sources.

§ 9. The relationship of the Annals to the work bearing the name of Florence of Worcester is somewhat obscure. Florence commenced his work before 1095<sup>1</sup>, and died in 1118, and his autograph has not been preserved. The four twelfth-century MSS. of his work are copied from an edition that contained a continuation to

<sup>1</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, iii. c. 15, states that John (by whom he means Florence) of Worcester commenced his work by the order of Bishop Wulfstan (ed. Le Prevost, ii. 159), who died in 1095. This passage was written before 1124. See Delisle, vol. v, p. xlvi.

1131<sup>1</sup>, which in the MS. at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, reaches down to 1141. This MS., which is held to be the best, has several additions from William of Malmesbury that are absent from the other MSS. What is more remarkable is that the notices of the deaths and successions of bishops are added in a different coloured ink and, apparently, a different hand at the ends of lines, and have thus the appearance of interpolations. In the same manner passages from Asser are continued, although in many cases the sentences were complete without such continuations. These additions concerning the bishops and from Asser appear in all the other MSS. The blundered entry that places Asser's death in 883 shows how untrustworthy these entries may be<sup>2</sup>. As it seems clear that the text of Florence had been tampered with in other respects between his death and 1131, it is difficult to resist the suspicion that these notes about bishops were additions in the margin made after his death<sup>3</sup>. They occur almost without exception at the end of paragraphs, which is exactly the position that would be occupied by marginal additions when embodied in the text of a copy. The fact that three out of the four MSS. have these suspected additions embodied in the text is not a conclusive argument that they formed part of Florence's work, for the text common to all four MSS. embodies passages derived from William of Malmesbury<sup>4</sup>. These must have been added after

<sup>1</sup> Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Lambeth MS. no. 42; Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. 92; and Bodley MS. no. 297.

<sup>2</sup> Further examples of the inaccuracy of these notes about the succession of bishops may be found in Theopold, p. 95.

<sup>3</sup> Theopold speaks unreservedly of these notices as being due to an interpolator. He has been misled by the remarks of Hardy in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 86, into regarding the notices of the bishops, which occur in all four of the early MSS., as being as clearly interpolations as the passages from Malmesbury that occur only in the Corpus Christi, Oxford, MS.

<sup>4</sup> Thus the story of Denewulf, which follows a notice of his succession, one of the suspicious entries regarding the succession of bishops, is from Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, § 75, p. 162, with unimportant changes, and that about Bishop Byrnstan under 932 is from the same source, § 75, p. 163. The passage regarding St. Wistan under 850 and in the Appendix, p. 267, ed. Thorpe, seems also, from



the death of Florence, for Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum* was not completed until 1125<sup>1</sup>, and his *Gesta Regum* is little, if at all, earlier in date<sup>2</sup>. The suggestion that Malmesbury may have copied from Florence is precluded by his custom of recasting, instead of copying, matter derived from other writers, except in the case of documents. Interpolation in the Middle Ages was easy and almost inevitable, for copyists commonly embodied in the text they were transcribing marginal additions that did not clash very violently with the text.

§ 10. The compiler of the Annals of St. Neots was clearly not acquainted with Florence's work. The translation of the passages from the Chronicle given by him varies from that of Florence, and his excerpts from the Life of Alfred were made independently of those in Florence, including many words and passages that are omitted by the Worcester writer. The additions and corrections of the Life in Florence are unknown to him<sup>3</sup>. Apart from some agreements arising from both using the Chronicle, and some partial agreements in giving regnal years, which both may have derived independently from regnal tables, the only agreement between the Annals and the body of Florence's work noticed by us is the application of the title 'venerabilis' to Beda under 734, the statement under 827 that King Ludeca of Mercia

the agreement in phraseology, to be taken from the *Gesta Regum*, § 212, p. 263, repeated in *Gesta Pontificum*, § 161, pp. 297-8. Under 973, in the narrative of the rowing of King Edgar upon the Dee by tributary rulers, the remark assigned to Edgar agrees verbatim with that in the *Gesta Regum*, § 148, p. 165. But this may be a case of borrowing by Malmesbury from Florence, or possibly from a common original, as suggested by Stubbs. See the present writer in the *English Historical Review*, xiii, p. 505, note 5. The passage at the end of the annal for 827 regarding St. Swithun is derived from Goscelin's life of this saint (*Acta Sanctorum*, July, vol. i, p. 327 a), and is probably also an interpolation, as it agrees so closely in character with those derived from Malmesbury. The same remark applies to the passages from Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Edmundi* at the end of the annals for 859 and 870.

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, § 278, p. 442.

<sup>2</sup> Stubbs, introduction to *Gesta Regum*, i. xix.

<sup>3</sup> Thus he omits the date of the death of King Æthelred, which Florence added to c. 41, and the notice of the battle of Merantun after c. 40.

was trying to avenge the death of his predecessor when he met his death, and the entry under 876 of the words 'Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetrauit, xv. kal. Decembris.' This is derived from the Norman Annals, and therefore forms more naturally a part of the present work than of that of Florence, who, apart from this passage, shows no signs of acquaintance with these Annals. In Florence the words are added at the end of the entry for the year, and have thus the position that would be occupied by an interpolation. The notice of St. Edmund derived from Abbo's 'Passion' of that saint given in Florence under 859 is represented in the present work under 870 by the transcription of Abbo's words at length. But although there are no clear proofs of the use of Florence by the compiler to be derived from the body of Florence's work, there are three agreements with the Appendix to the Worcester writer's work. Thus the account of the death of King Sigebert of East Anglia in 651 agrees with the Appendix<sup>1</sup> in the addition of certain words to Beda; under 794 the words 'innocenter sub pacis foedere occisus est ab Offa, rege Merciorum perfidissimo' occur in the Appendix<sup>2</sup>, without the last word, which would hardly be applied by a Worcester writer to King Offa, the greatest name in the list of benefactors of that monastery<sup>3</sup>. The statement under 654 'Anna rex . . . a Penda, rege Merciorum, occisus' also occurs in the Appendix<sup>4</sup>, but the agreement in this case may be accidental. It would seem that in the 794 passage the Annals of St. Neots have preserved a fuller reading than the Appendix. Thus the only agreement of importance is in the passage about King Sigebert. This is difficult to explain. If the compiler borrowed from the Appendix, it is curious that his debt should be so exceedingly small, and the same objection applies to the theory of borrowing by the Appendix from the Annals. Bishop Stubbs has suggested that the Appendix to Florence is an older compilation, and that it is con-

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Thorpe, p. 143.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 262.

<sup>3</sup> In this case both writers may be borrowing from a lost life of St. Æthelberht. See p. 208, note 3 below.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Thorpe, p. 261.

nected with the lists of bishops and kings<sup>1</sup>, the original of which goes back to the ninth century. This theory might explain the agreements between the wording of the Appendix and the Annals of St. Neots, but there are difficulties in the way of its acceptance. In the early MSS. of Florence the sketches of the history of the various kingdoms, in which these agreements occur, are written in the margins of the pages containing the lists of bishops and kings. These lists were current a century or so before Florence's death without any traces of such marginal histories, which would therefore seem to be of later date. The sketches occasionally agree in wording with the body of Florence's work<sup>2</sup>, but they give several passages from Beda at greater length than Florence does.

§ 11. The Annals share with Florence the error in giving the length of Alfred's reign as twenty-nine and a half years<sup>3</sup>, but it is clearly not borrowed from him, for the king's death is correctly referred to 7 kal. November (October 26) against the 5 kal. November (October 28) of Florence, and the year is given as 900, whereas Florence follows the Chronicle in assigning it to 901.

§ 12. The compiler shows no sign of acquaintance with the works of William of Malmesbury. This and his ignorance of the chronicle portion of the work of Florence of Worcester are arguments in favour of composition very early in the twelfth century. The marvellous history of Geoffrey of Monmouth, completed in 1147, is unknown to the compiler. It is a work that would have appealed strongly to his tastes.

§ 13. The Annals of St. Neots had, possibly owing to their stopping at so early a date as 914, a very small circulation. The somewhat later St. Albans compilation

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. lxii.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the instances given at p. lxii, note 5, above, there is the agreement in the wording of the passage about St. Wistan, which may, however, be a later interpolation. See above, p. 108, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> For the origin of the error see the present writer's article on the date of King Alfred's death in the *English Historical Review*, xiii, p. 71.

made use of them, and thus handed down to later writers some of their contents<sup>1</sup>. The dream of Rollo given in the Annals under 876 appears also in John of Tynemouth's *Historia Aurea*, a late fourteenth century production<sup>2</sup>, and in Polydore Vergil<sup>3</sup>, and in the compilation known by the name of John Brompton<sup>4</sup>, but seems in all these cases to have been taken from one of the St. Albans writers. There are no grounds for holding that the Annals or the Latin version of the Chronicle imbedded in them formed part of the sources of the Swedish twelfth-century compilation now known as the *Annales Lundenses*<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See above, note 1, p. 102.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Bodl. 240, p. 314, the Bury St. Edmunds copy, written in 1377.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglica Historia*, lib. v (Basle edition, 1570, p. 102; Leyden edition, 1651, p. 134).

<sup>4</sup> Printed by Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 810.

<sup>5</sup> Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. 329, note 2, drew attention to the citations by Adam of Bremen in his *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, i. c. 41; ii. c. 22, from unknown *Gesta Anglorum*. See also Lappenberg, i. 392, note 2; Pauli, *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, xii, p. 143, note 5, and in Pertz, *Scriptores*, xiii. 102. They seem to be taken from the Northumbrian Annals. Waitz in his edition of the *Annales Lundenses* in the *Nordalbingische Studien*, Kiel, 1850, v. 5, remarked the presence in them of a number of entries relating to early times that had come from England. The English entries were referred by Prümers to the O. E. Chronicle, and Theopold, *Kritische Untersuchungen*, pp. 53, note 2, 86, note 2, laid emphasis upon the agreements in the wording of certain entries in the Lund Annals and the Annals of St. Neots, and was inclined to regard the latter as the vehicle by which the English and Frankish entries reached the north of Europe. The entries relating to England that he particularly drew attention to, those of 604 and 642, are taken into the Annals of St. Neots and into the Lund Annals in the words of Beda's *Recapitulatio* at the end of his *Historia Ecclesiastica*, and the Lund Annals for 166, 189, 430, 449, 567, 601, 642, 655, 668 are derived from the same source. The Lund entry for 407 is made up from Beda's chronicle (in the *De sex huius saeculi aetatibus*) and the *Recapitulatio*. As the compiler mentions under 725 and 730 that Beda wrote his *calendarium* and martyrology and his 'Historia Anglorum,' and as he elsewhere uses his chronicle, it is obvious that the agreements in wording between the Lund Annals and the Annals of St. Neots prove only that both used Beda's works. The greater part of the matter derived from Beda in the Lund Annals does not appear in the Annals of St. Neots. The late entries in Chronicle E, which have formed the basis of the claim that the Chronicle was used

§ 14. One MS. only of this work is known. It is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, under the press mark R 7, 28, and was presented to the College by Thomas Neville, Dean of Canterbury, who was Master of the College from 1593 to 1615<sup>1</sup>. Dr. M. R. James states that the MS. formerly belonged to Archbishop Parker<sup>2</sup>. It is paged in red pencil (partly cut away by the binder), and under 909 is a note in a Parkerian hand against the record of Asser's death 'Ergo aut non est As(s)er Annalium horum auctor aut non totius operis.' The MS. is on vellum, and now measures 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches by 4 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, and has suffered much from an early binder's knife, so that the first line of p. 36 is entirely pared away<sup>3</sup>, and the twelfth century marginalia are cut into. At the head of the first page a Parkerian hand (perhaps that of Parker himself) has written 'Annales Io. Asser, Epi. Wigorn.' (sic), which has also suffered from the binder's knife. The Annals occupy the first seventy-four pages of the volume, which is a composite one, including other works having no connexion with them. A considerable portion of the last page is left blank, so that the work appears to be complete.

§ 15. The handwriting of the MS. is of the early part of the twelfth century, and the capitals are written in blue, red, green, and violet. From pages 1 to 18 it is written in a neat and well-formed hand in brown ink,

by the compiler of the Lund Annals, are, on the other hand, English translations of entries in the Norman annals that appear in their original Latin form in the Lund Annals. Waitz, in his edition of these Swedish annals (in Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 'Scriptores,' xxix, pp. 185 sqq.), has concluded that the entries relating to England had already been added to the Rouen form of the Norman Annals before the latter came to the hands of the Swedish compiler. There are no proofs of this, however. Waitz would also ascribe the addition of the Irish annals that appear in the Lund work to the same earlier redactor.

<sup>1</sup> M. R. James, *The Western MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge*, 1900-1, ii. 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> It is supplied at the foot of p. 35 in a Parkerian hand, so that the damage to the margins is not due to the binder who affixed the present binding, which is considerably later than Parker's time.



after which a second and somewhat rougher hand commences. This second hand employs a darker ink, and is more sparing than the first in the use of capitals, although it frequently writes personal names in small capitals. A third and more compressed hand appears towards the end, which may, however, be that of the second scribe. Throughout the entire work  $\xi$  is used for *ae* and *oe*, although *ae*, *æ* and *e* are also used. The English *hér*, *hér*, *hér*, derived from Abbo's *Passio S. Edmundi*, at p. 48, *Ycanhó* under 654, and *Aclea* from the Life of Alfred, c. 5, 6, have accents, and the marginal additions written by the first hand under 527 and 579 are referred to their places in the text by þ, the OE. sign for 'that.' This suggests that the scribe was an Englishman, but Norman spellings occur, such as *Medouuege* in a passage from the Life, c. 66, 7, the *Adhel*-forms of names in *Æthel*, and in the representation of OE. ð by *d*. There are what may possibly be traces of English influences in some of the letters, but it is hardly yet possible to separate definitely the OE. and French elements in the composite hands used at this time.

§ 16. A later twelfth or early thirteenth century hand has added several interlinear and marginal glosses and marginal notes. There are also traces of marginal notes, some of which have been pared away by the binder, in an early sixteenth century hand, and of others in a somewhat later hand, which may be that of Parker or one of his secretaries. The earlier sixteenth century hand seems to be that of John Leland, for Parker's transcript, which was clearly taken from this MS., states that the original had notes in Leland's hand. At p. 73 the Parkerian hand has written after 'tam cleri quam plebis' in the passage under 900 before the notice of the anointment of Edward the words 'Hactenus Asserius,' which marks the end of the extracts from the Life.

§ 17. A transcript made for the use of Parker is preserved among his MSS. at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. 100, fol. 261-319. It is in the same hand as the copy of the Life, which it precedes<sup>1</sup>. On

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. lii, above.

the first page is the title 'Annales Britanniae, authore I. Asser, cum paralipomenis alterius scriptoris,' and at the end is a note, in a small hand, 'Hic liber transcriptus e quodam vetustissimo codice, notato in margine manu Iohannis Leilandi.' To this is added in a cramped hand, 'Asserius Menevensis scriba scripsit Ælfridi res gestas et annales Britannię: huius Asserii annalibus vetustus quidam auctor paralipomenon addidit. Hęc Balęus,' founded upon the wording of Bale quoted above<sup>1</sup>. Extracts from the work in the hand of John Joscelyn, Parker's literary secretary, are preserved in the British Museum, Cottonian MS. Vitellius E xiv, fol. 148 (*olim* 158) sqq.<sup>2</sup>, with the title 'Annales Asserii Menevensis ab anno Christi 596 ad annum 914<sup>3</sup>.' It commences with the year 596 (=597) 'anno 147<sup>o</sup> ex quo Horsus et Hengistus fratres venerunt in Angliam.' Fol. 163 (*olim* 170) *verso* has the final note after the annal for 914 'Finis historiae Asserii Scire(burnensis)<sup>4</sup>.'

§ 18. The work was printed from the Trinity College MS. at Oxford in 1691 by Thomas Gale in his *Quindecim Scriptores*, i. 141-175. This is somewhat carelessly edited, containing silent alterations of errors in the original, with numerous misprints, and occasional blunders such as *tumidi* for *Tuidi* in the 705 passage from Beda (p. 149), *tertius* for *territus* in the annal for 876 (p. 167). In the passage derived from the Life, c. 49, 20, Gale has falsified the text by comparison with the printed text of Asser or Florence, or perhaps with Parker's transcript of the present work. In the latter the reading of the MS. 'occidentem versus in Domniam' is altered to 'occidit versusque inde Domniam,' the erroneous

<sup>1</sup> See p. 99, note.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. xxviii, note 4, above.

<sup>3</sup> In the early seventeenth-century table of contents at fol. 2, which seems to have been written after the volume had come into the possession of Cotton, the work is entered as 'Annales Asserii Menevensis, ab anno Christi 596 ad annum 914, ex antiquo manuscripto codice in bibliotheca Collegii Sancti (*sic*) Trinitatis, Cantabrigiæ, per Iohannem Gosselinum exscriptæ' (*sic*).

<sup>4</sup> A transcript in the hand of William Lambarde is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris, according to Hardy, *Catalogue of Materials*, i. 557.

reading in the Life and Florence. Gale added to this passage, without warning the reader, *rex* from Florence of Worcester, a serious falsification of the text for which he could not allege the authority, such as it was, of Parker or Camden. In the copy of c. 46, 18 of the Life Gale has inserted without notice the words 'Quibus in eadem' from the Life, and 'tres' in c. 56, 25, and he has altered the 'Liduicii' of c. 70, 6 into 'Lidwicus,' under the impression that it was a personal name, in an interlinear note that he has, as in other cases, absorbed into his text. In like manner he corrected the *Sarepte*, derived from the Ouche Annals under 746, into *Soracte*.

CHRONICON  
FANI SANCTI NEOTI

SIVE

ANNALES, QUI DICUNTUR, ASSERII

Igitur *Brittannia Romanis usque ad Gaium Iulium Caesarem inaccessa atque incognita fuit . . . bellorum tumultibus undique est circumventus et conflictatus est* (ex Bedae 'Hist. Ecclesiast.' i. 2).

Anno autem ab urbe condita DCCXCVII(1) Claudius 5 imperator . . . *capta et subversa sunt* (ex eadem cap. 3).

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini centesimo quinquagesimo sexto . . . *in pace servabant* (ex eadem c. 4).

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini CLXXXVIII . . . regno 10 *potitus est* (ex eadem c. 5).

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis CCXLVI(1) *Philippus imperat, primus Christianus imperator* (ex *Annalibus Uticensibus*).

Anno Domini CCLXXXVI *Diocletianus et Maximianus* (ex *eisdem ann.* 285). Hoc tempore *Sanctus martyr* 15 *Albanus passus est* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' i. 7).

Anno Incarnationis Christi CCCX, hoc est anno ab urbe condita MLXI, *Constantinus, filius Constantii et Helenae, gloriosae reginae, imperat* (ex *Annal. Utic.*).

*Codex unicus titulo caret. Vide supra, pagg. 98, 113, §§ 2, 14. Utic. = Annales Uticenses (vide pag. 103, § 5, supra).*

Anno CCCLXV<1> *Hilarius Pict(avenensis)* episcopus obiit *(ex eisdem)*.

<CC>CLXIX. *Hoc (tempore Med)iolano Sanctus (Ambrosius) episcopus ordinatur (ex Annal. Utic. ann. 368)*.

5 <CC>CLXXV. *Am(brosium per)fida obsidio(ne vexav)it, nec priusquam (prolatis b)eatorum Gerva(sii et Prota)sii martyr(um), Deo (revelan)te, reliquiis in(corrup)tis nefanda (coepta d)eseruit (ex eisdem)*.

Anno Dominicae (Incarnationis) CCCLXXIX *Theodo-*  
10 *sius imperat (ex eisdem)*.

Anno Christi CCCXCV *Archadius imperat (ex eisdem)*.

Anno Domini CCCCVIII *Honorius imperat (ex eisdem)*.

Anno Dominicae (Incarnationis) CCCXIX *Roma a*  
15 *Gothis fracta; ex quo tempore Romani in Brittannia*  
*regnare cessarunt (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. i. 11)*.

Anno Christi CCCCX. *Hoc tempore inventio corporis*  
*Sancti Stephani primi martyris et sociorum eius (ex*  
*Annal. Utic.)*.

Anno Dominicae (Incarnationis) CCCCXII *Sanctus*  
20 *Martinus Turonensis archiepiscopus transiit (ex eisdem)*.

Anno Dominicae (Incarnationis) CCCCXXI *Sanctus*  
*Hieronimus migravit ad Dominum (ex eisdem an. 420)*.

Anno Dominicae (Incarnationis) CCCCXXIII *Theo-*  
*dosius filius Archadii imperat (ex eisdem)*.

25 Anno Dominicae (Incarnationis) CCCCXXIV *Hoc*  
*tempore Sanctus Augustinus obiit (ex eisdem an. 423)*.

Anno Dominicae (Incarnationis) CCCCXXV *Huius*  
*temporis aetate extitit exordium regum Francorum.*  
*Primus Faramundus (ex eisdem)*.

30 Anno Christi CCCCXXX *Clodio secundus rex Fran-*  
*corum (ex eisdem)*.

3-8. *in margine scripta eadem manu. Quae abscissa sunt, et hic*  
*et alibi supplevimus.*



Anno Domini ccccxxxvii *Meroveus tertius rex Francorum* *(ex eisdem)*.

Anno Domini ccccxliv *Marcianus cum Valentiniano imperium suscipiens VII annis tenuit, quorum tempore Angli a Brytonibus accersiti Bryttanniam adierunt* *(ex 5 Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. i. 15)*.

Anno Christi ccccl *Childericus quartus rex Francorum* *(ex Ann. Utic.)*.

Anno cccclv bellum apud Cantiam in loco, qui dicitur Aeglesthrep, contra Bryttones et regem Brit-<sup>10</sup> tonum Guirthehirnum, in quo cecidit Horsa. Et frater eius Hengistus regnum suscepit cum filio Oisc apud Cantuarios *(ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.)*. Eo tempore, anno cccclxxxiii, *Clodoveus quintus rex Francorum* *(ex Ann. Utic.)*.<sup>15</sup>

Anno cccclxxxviii Oisc filius Hengisti coepit regnare super Cantuarios, et regnavit xxiii annis *(ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.)*.

Anno eodem Sanctus Remigius baptizavit *Clodoveum regem Francorum primum Christianum* *(ex Ann. Utic.)*.<sup>20</sup>

Anno ccccxcii *Theodericus rex Francorum* *(ex eisdem)*.

Anno ccccxcv *venere in Brittanniam duo duces, videlicet Cerdic et Kynricus, filius eius, cum v. navibus, in loco, qui dicitur Cerdices ora, et statim die eodem pugna-<sup>25</sup> verunt cum Bryttonibus, et acceperunt victoriam* *(ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.)*.

Anno dix *Sanctus Benedictus claruit* *(ex Ann. Utic.)*.

Anno dxx(vii) *Theodebal(dus) I. anno; cu(i suc-*

7. Childebertus *Utic. In margine scripsit prima manus Anno Christi cccclxxxiii Clodoveus, quintus rex Francorum, quae postea delevit. Vide infra, vers. 14.*

14. *supra Clodoveus scripsit alia manus I.*

27. *in margine scripta.*

cessit Clo)tharius; post q(uem iiii. filii) eius Haribertus  
(Parisius), Guntrann(us Aureliano), Hilpericus Su(es-  
sionis, Sige)bertus Metti(s) (ex eisdem).

Anno DXXVIII. Hoc tempore Dionisius in urbe Roma  
5 Paschalem cyclum composuit. Tunc Priscianus profunda  
grammaticae rimatur (ex eisdem ann. 527).

Tum Arator, subdiaconus Romanae aeccliesiae, poeta cla-  
ruit (ex eisdem ann. 530).

DXIX Regnavit Cerdic rex primus Occidentalium Sax-  
10 onum annos xv (cf. Chron. Anglo-Sax. an. 534).

DXXXIII (K)ynricus annos XXVII (ex eisdem).

Hoc tempore Sigebertus, rex Francor(um), occisus est fraude  
Hilperici, germani sui, cum quo bellum inierat, regnumque  
eius Childebertus, filius eius adhuc puerulus, cum Bruni-  
15 childe matre regendum suscepit (ex Ann. Utic. an. 556).

DLX Ceaulin ann. xvii (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.?). Hoc  
tempore, id est anno Dominicae Incarnationis DLXV,  
Columba presbyter de Scottia venit Britanniam ad  
docendum Pictos, et in insula Hii mon(asterium) fecit  
20 (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iii. 4).

Anno eodem Æthelbrihtus, rex Cantuariorum, regnum  
optinuit, et gubernavit annis LIII (ex Chron. Anglo-  
Sax.?).

Anno DLXX(xv Chil)debertus, rex Fr(ancorum) (ex  
25 Annal. Utic.).

Anno DLXXIX Chilperi(cus, rex Francorum) (ex Ann.  
Utic.).

DXCI Ceol ann. vi (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.). Huius  
regis tempore, id est, anno Dominicae Incarnationis  
30 (DCXVI), Sanctus Papa Gregorius misit Britanniam

5. circulum Utic.

9. DXIX in margine.

16. DLX in margine.

24. in margine scripta eadem manu.

6. rimatus est Utic.

11. DXXXIII in margine.

19. ducendum Cod.

28. DXCI in margine.

*Augustinum cum monachis, qui verbum Dei genti Anglorum evangelizarent* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. i. 23).

Anno DLXXX—.

(DX)CVII Ceoluulfus ann. XIII. Eodem anno Dominicae Incarnationis DXCVII *venere Britanniam praefati doctores, qui fuit annus plus minus CL adventus Anglorum in Britanniam* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. i. 25).

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCI *misit sanctus papa Gregorius pallium Bryttanniam Augustino iam facto episcopo, et plures verbi ministros, in quibus et Paulinum* (ex eadem; cf. i. 29).

Anno DCIII *Orientalis Saxones fidem Christi percipiunt sub rege Sębercto et antistite Mellito* (ex eadem; cf. ii. 3).

Anno Incarnationis Christi DCV *sanctus Papa Gregorius obiit* (ex *Annal. Utic. et Bedae 'H. E.'* v. 24; cf. ii. 1). 15

(DCX)I *Kynegylsus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum primus Christianus, regnavit annis XXXI* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*) *Baptizatus est apud Dorcaęstram a Sancto Byrino episcopo, suscepitque eum de sacro fonte Sanctus Osuualdus, Nordanimbrorum rex, anno Christi DCXXXV* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*) 20

Anno Christi DCXVI *Sanctus Æthelbryhtus, rex Cantuariorum, migravit ad Christum* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*), quem Sanctus Augustinus episcopus baptizavit primum (cf. Bedae 'H. E.' i. 26). 25

Anno DCXXXV—.

Anno DCXX *Dagobertus, rex Francorum* (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno DLXXX—.

1. gentem *Cod.*
3. *in margine scripta eadem manu.*
4. *DX abscissa.* 6. *post minus addidit annus Cod.*
16. ( ) *I in margine.*
20. *anno Christi DCXXXV in margine.*
26. *errore hic addita.*

DCXXXIII (Ed)uinus, Nordan(himb)rorum rex, occisus (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.). Anno eodem (Flodo)veus cepit reg(nare), filius Dagoberti (ex Annal. Utic.).

Anno Christi DCXXXIII Sanctus Byrinus episcopus 5 praedicavit (apud) Occidentales Saxones (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.).

Anno Christi DCXXXVI praedicavit apud Orientales Anglos Sanctus Felix episcopus (ex eisdem).

Anno Christi DCXLII Koenuualch regnavit xxxi annis 10 (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.).

Anno primo regni sui occisus est Sanctus rex Osuualdus (Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iii. 9).

Et anno Domini DCXLIII Sanctus episcopus Paulinus, quondam Eboraci archipraesul, sed tunc Rofensis antistes, 15 migravit ad Dominum (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iii. 14).

Anno DCLI Sanctus Osuvinus, Nordanhymbrorum rex, fraudulenter occisus, et sanctus antistes Aidanus defunctus est (Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iii. 14).

20 His temporibus Sigeberhtus, rex Orientalium Anglorum, dum adhuc regni infulas teneret (ex Bedae 'H. E.' iii. 19 usque ad finem).

Hoc tempore Sigeberchtus, rex Orientalium Anglorum, pro amore regni caelestis, relicto regno et cognato suo 25 Ecgrico commendato, in monasterio, quod sibi fecerat, monachus factus est. Et multo post tempore contra regem Merciorum Pendan, ad confirmandum militem, invitatus in certamen ductus, suae professionis non inmemor, dum nisi virgam tantum in manum habere voluit, occisus 30 est, una cum rege Ecgrico. Quorum regni successor factus est Anna, filius Eni fratris Reduualdi (ex Flor. Wig. append. 1, 261?; cf. Bedae 'H. E.' iii. 18).

1. in margine scripta eadem manu.

Anno Christi Incarnationis DCLIII *Anna, rex Orientalium Anglorum, a Penda, rege Merciorum, occisus est, et*

*Sanctus Botulfus abbas fabricavit monasterium apud Ycanhó* (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax. et Bedae 'H. E.' iii. 18).

Anno DCLV *Penda periit, et Merce facti sunt Christiani* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iii. 24). Anni ab initio mundi usque huc  $\bar{V}$ DCCCL (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.).

Anno Domini DCLIX *Clotharius rex Francorum* (ex Annal. Utic.).

Anno Christi DCLXIII *eclipsis facta. Ceadda et Wilfridus Nordanhymbrorum ordinantur episcopi* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iii. 26-28, iv. 1), et anno eodem *Sanctus Deusdedit archiepiscopus transiit* (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.; cf. Bedae 'H. E.' iv. 1).

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCLXV(III) *Sanctus Theodorus ordinatur archiepiscopus* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iv. 1).

Anno Domini DCLXX *Osuius, rex Nordanhymbrorum, obiit* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iv. 5).

Anno DCLXXII *Sexburch, regina ipsius Koenualchi, regnavit annum unum* (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.).

Anno Incarnationis DCLXXIII *Sancta virgo Christi Ætheldritha regina coepit aedificare monasterium apud Elig* (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.).

Anno DCLXXIV *Aescuine annis II. regnavit* (ex eisdem).

Anno Christi DCLXXVI *Kentuine regnavit annis IX.* (ex eisdem).

Anno Christi Incarnationis DCLXXVII *Sanctus Audoenus episcopus migravit ad Dominum* (ex Annal. Utic.).

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCLXXVIII *cometa apparuit. Sanctus Wilfridus episcopus a sede sua ex-*



*pulsus est ab Ecgfrido rege, et pro eo Bosa, Eata, et Eadhead consecrati antistites* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iv. 12, v. 19).

Anno Incarnationis Christi DCLXXIX *Sancta regina* 5 *et virgo Christi Ætheldrytha migravit ad Dominum* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*; cf. Bedae 'H. E.' iv. 19). Et anno eodem reges extiterunt Francorum *Theodericus et Childericus* (ex *Annal. Utic.*).

Anno Christi DCLXXX *Sancta Hilda abbatissa obiit* 10 *apud Streanesheala* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iv. 23).

Anno DCLXXXII *mortuo Childerico, regnavit Theodericus* (ex *Annal. Utic.*).

Anno primo Ceaduallae, id est, anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXXV, *Ecgfridus, rex Nordanhymbrorum,* 15 *occisus est a Pictis* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. iv. 26). Hoc tempore Sanctus antistes Cuthberhtus multis virtutibus claruit (ex Bedae 'H. E.' *passim*).

Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCLXXXVII—  
20 *Pippinus primus maior domus efficitur* (ex *Annal. Utic.*).

*Anno regni Aldfridi regis Nordanhymbrorum tertio, Ceadualla, rex Occidentalium Saxonum . . .* (ex Bedae 'H. E.' v. 7 *usque ad finem, versibus praetermissis*).

*Anno post hunc, quo Ceadualla Romae defunctus est,* 25 *proximo, id est DCXC* (ex *eiusdem* v. 8 *usque ad Doruvernensium sunt corpora deposita*).

Anno DCXCVIII *Clodoveus rex Francorum* (ex *Annal. Utic.*).

Anno DCC *Childebertus, frater Clodovei* (ex *eisdem*).

30 Anno Dominicæ Incarnationis DCCIII *Sanctus Hedda episcopus transiit* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

18. post DCLXXXVII duo versus erasi sunt.

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCIII *Athelrædus*, rex *Merciorum*, factus est monachus, commisitque regnum *Coenrædo* cognato suo (ex *Bedae* 'H. E.' v. 24; cf. v. 19).

Fuit autem temporibus huius *Keonrædi*, qui post *Athelrædum* regnavit (ex *Bedae* 'H. E.' v. 13, *omissis ad finem 5 capituli* 'Hanc historiam . . . narrandam esse putavi.').

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis DCCV obiit *Sexuulfus* episcopus (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*), fundator monasterii apud *Medeshamstede* (ex *Bedae* 'H. E.' iv. 6), quod *Burh* vocatur. 10

Anno eodem obiit *Aldfridus* monachus, olim rex *Nordanhymbrorum* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*; cf. *Bedae* 'H. E.' v. 24).

Huius regis tempore erat quidam *paterfamilias* in regione *Nordanhymbrorum* (ex *Bedae* 'H. E.' v. 12 usque 15 ad finem).

Anno DCCIX Sanctus *Aldhelmus* episcopus transit (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Anno eodem rex *Merciorum* *Kenredus* cum rege *Orientalium Saxonum* *Offa* perrexit ad *Romam*. Ibi ambo attonsi monachi effecti, atque ibi migraverunt ad Dominum (ex *Bedae* 'H. E.' v. 19).

Anno DCCXIII Sanctus *Guthlacus* anachorita transit (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Anno DCCXVI *Dagobertus* secundus rex *Francorum* 25 (ex *Annal. Utic.*).

Anno DCCXVII *Karolus* *Martellus*, filius *Pipini* primi, maior domus fit regis *Francorum* *Dagoberti* secundi (ex *eisdem*).

Anno DCCXX mortuo *Dagoberto*, *Franci* *Danihelem* 30 clericum in regem levaverunt, atque *Chilpericum* nuncupaverunt (ex *eisdem*).

Anno DCCXXVI. Hoc anno *Ine*, rex *Occidentalium Saxonum*, xxxviii anno regni sui, (post) monasterium

constructum atque dedicatum apud Glastoniam, regnum reliquit, *Romam perrexit, et ibi vitam praesentem honorifice finiens, caelestem patriam cum Christo regnaturus adiit* (ex *Asser cap. 1 et Chron. Anglo-Sax.*). Cui successit  
5 in regnum Æthelherdus, regnavitque annis XIII (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Anno DCCXXIX *cometa apparuit et Sanctus Egbrichtus transiit* (ex *Beda's 'H. E.'* v. 24; cf. v. 23).

Anno DCCXXXI Ceoluulfus, rex Nordanhymbrorum,  
10 coëpit regnare, et regnavit annis VII, ad quem Venerabilis Beda scripsit *Hystoriam Anglorum*. Qui post, relicto imperio, monachus factus, Lindisfarnensium extitit episcopus. (Vide *supra*, pag. 107, § 7)

Anno DCCXXXIV *luna sanguineo rubore perfusa, quasi*  
15 *hora integra, 11. kalendarum Februariarum circa gallitantum, dehinc nigredine subsequente, ad lucem propriam reversa est* (ex *Beda's continuatione*). Eodem anno migraverunt ad Dominum Sanctus Tatuvinus archiepiscopus Doroberniae, et Sanctus Beda venerabilis pres-  
20 byter (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Incipit epilogium de obitu beati atque eximii doctoris Bedae, qui Giruvinensis monasterii presbyter extitit, doctorque praecipuus. *Dilectissimo in Christo collectori Cuthuino Cuthbertus condiscipulus in Deo aeternam*  
25 *salutem. Munusculum, quod misisti . . . sed brevitatem sermonis ineruditio linguae facit* (ex *Cuthberti epistola de obitu Bedae*).

Anno DCCXL *Cuthred rex regnavit ann. XVI* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Anno DCCXLI *Karolo Martello defuncto, filii eius Karolomannus et Pippinus maioratum domus adipiscuntur*  
30 (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

*Karolus princeps, Pipini regis pater, qui primus inter omnes Francorum reges ac principes res ecclesiarum ab eis*

*separavit atque divisit . . . nobis viva voce sunt testati, qui viderunt et audierunt* (ex epistola Synodi Carisiacensis ad Hludovicum, regem Germaniae, directa, anno 858, apud Boretii et Krause 'Capitularia Regum Francorum' = 'Mon. Hist. Germaniae,' Legum sect. II, tom. II. 432, 31). 5

Anno DCCXLVI Karolomannus Romam perrexit, et monachus effectus est in Monte Sarepte, ubi ecclesiam in honore Sancti Silvestri construxit, et inde ad montem Cassinum monasterium Sancti Benedicti transiit (ex Ann. Utic.). 10

Anno DCCLII Pipinus rex efficitur (ex eisdem).

Anno DCCLVII Sigebrychtus regnavit annum unum (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax. ann. 754). Anno eodem Parisius Pipinus, rex Francorum, cum filiis eius Karolo et Karolomanno et filia Sigila, benedictus est a Sancto Ste- 15 phano papa inter sacra missarum solennia, praecipiente Sancto Petro et Sancto Paulo et Sancto Dionisio (ex Ann. Utic. ann. 756).

Anno DCCLVII Kyneulfus regnavit ann. XXIX (ex Chron. Sax. an. 755?). 20

Anno DCCLXIII hiemps illa maxima (ex Ann. Utic.).

Anno DCCLXVIII Pipinus, rex Francorum, obiit (ex eisdem).

Anno DCCLXIX initium regni Karoli Magni, regis Francorum (ex eisdem). 25

Anno DCCLXXI Karolomannus, frater Karoli magni, obiit II Non. Decembris (ex eisdem).

Anno DCCLXXIII Karolus magnus Romam vadit. Inde reversus, Papiam cepit cum rege Desiderio, captis civitatibus et direptis universae Italiae (ex eisdem). 30

Anno DCCLXXVI conversio Saxonum (ex eisdem).

7. Soracte tacitus emendavit Galeus.  
30. universis Utic.

Anno DCCLXXVIII *Karolus magnus in Hispanias intravit, Pampiloniam urbem destruxit, apud Caesar Augustam exercitum suum coniunxit, et, acceptis obsidibus, subiugatisque Saracenis, per Narbonam et Wasconiam*  
 5 *Franciam redit (ex eisdem).*

Anno DCCLXXX *Saxonia capta est (ex eisdem).*

Anno DCCLXXXIII *Witichingis cum sociis in A(n)-tiniaco baptizati partem regioni contulerunt (ex eisdem).*

Anno DCCLXXXVI *Brichtricus, rex Occidentalium*  
 10 *Saxonum, regnavit annis XVI (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.).*

Anno primo regni ipsius *Franci signum crucis in vestibus (ex Ann. Utic.).*

Anno DCCLXXXVII *ite(ru)m Karolus Romam per-*  
 15 *eisdem an. 786).*

Anno DCCLXXXVIII *Karolus per Alemanniam venit ad fines Bauuariae (ex eisdem).*

Anno DCCLXXXIX. *Hoc anno Brychtricus rex accepit Eadburgam, filiam Offae regis Merciorum, in matri-*  
 20 *monium (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax. an. 787). Et eo etiam tempore primum III naves Normannorum applicuerunt in insula, quae dicitur Portland (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.).*

Anno DCCXC *Tassilio dux venit in Franciam, et Bauuaria capta est (ex Ann. Utic.).*

25 Anno DCCXCII *Karolus pergīt in Sclavos, qui dicuntur Wilti (ex eisdem).*

Anno DCCXCIII *Karolus Hungrorum regnum vastat (ex eisdem).*

Anno DCCXCIII *Sanctus Æthelbrihtus, Orientalium*  
 30 *Anglorum rex, innocenter sub pacis foedere occisus est*

5. in Hispanias intravit post redit exhibet *Utic.*

8. regni sui *Utic.*

21. *supra* Normannorum scripsit alia manus id est Danorum.

26. Vult *Utic.*



ab Offa, rege Merciorum perfidissimo. (Cf. *Flor. Wig. App.* i. 262; *Chron. Anglo-Sax. an.* 792.)

Anno DCCXCVI *Adrianus papa obiit* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Eodem anno Offa, perfidus rex Merciorum, obiit, anno 5 XXXIX regni sui, regnavitque Ecgfridus, filius ipsius, post illum diebus centum quadraginta uno (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax. ann.* 755, 795).

Anno DCCXCIX Sanctus *Leo Papa* a Romanis de sede sua est expulsus, et oculis evulsis ac lingua praecisa, sed, 10 Deo iuvante, visum recepit et loquelam, sed et sedem propriam (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax. an.* 797).

Anno DCCC Dominus *Karolus magnus, rex Francorum, imperator factus est, et a Romanis appellatus est Augustus, qui illos, qui Leonem Papam dehonesterant, 15* morte dampnavit, sed precibus Sancti papae, morte indulta, exilio retrusit. Ipse enim papa *Leo Imperatorem eum sacraverat* (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno DCCCII *Ecgbrychtus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum, regnavit annis XXXVII. mensibus VII* (ex *Chron. 20 Anglo-Sax.*).

Anno DCCCXIII *Karolus magnus imperator, dum Aquisgrani hiemaret, anno aetatis circiter LXXI, regni autem XLVII, subactaeque Italiae XLIII, ex quo vero Imperator et Augustus appellatus est anno XIII, v. kal. 25* Februarii rebus humanis excessit (ex *Annalibus Regni Francorum*). Initium regni *Loduuici, filii ipsius Karoli magni* (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno DCCCXV *Berneardus, rex Langobardorum, nepos Karoli Imperatoris, excaecatus moritur* (ex *eisdem*). 30

Anno DCCCXVI *Dompnus papa Leo* migravit ad Dominum (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Anno DCCCXXII *fames valida* (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

16. sanctae Cod.

17. detrusit Utic.

Anno DCCCXXXIII in territorio Tullensi iuxta Com-  
 merciacum villam puella quaedam, annorum circiter XII,  
 post sacram communionem, quam in Pascha de sacerdotis  
 manu sumendo perceperat, primo pane, deinde aliis omnibus  
 5 cibis et potibus abstinendo, in tantum ieiunasse perhibetur,  
 ut, nulla penitus corporis alimenta percipiens, sine omni  
 victus desiderio plenum triennium compleverit. Coepit  
 autem ieiunare, ut diximus, anno Domini DCCCXXXIII, et  
 anno Domini DCCCXXV, circa Novembris mensis initium,  
 10 peracto ieiunio, escam sumere ac more ceterorum mortalium  
 vivere coepit (ex *Annal. Francorum an. 825*).

Eodem anno natus est Karolus rex gloriosus Fran-  
 corum, filius Loduici Imperatoris et Iudith imperatricis,  
 apud Franconoford, id (ib)us Iunii. In quo palacio novo  
 15 illo anno imperator hiemavit, et a Paschali papa in die  
 Paschae Romae coronatus et imperator est appellatus (ex  
*Annal. Utic.*).

Anno DCCCXXV Beornulfus, rex Merciorum, in bello  
 occiditur ab Orientalibus Anglis (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*  
 20 *an. 823*).

Anno DCCCXXVII Ludecan, Merciorum rex, dum suum  
 praedecessorem atque propinquum ulcisci vellet, ab  
 eisdem East Anglis occiditur, et v. comites cum eo (ex  
*Chron. Anglo-Sax. ; cf. Flor. Wig. an. 825*).

25 Anno DCCCXXXI. In isto anno dereliquerunt Loduui-  
 cum, et elegerunt Lotharium (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno DCCCXXXIII redditum est Loduico regnum (ex  
*eisdem*).

Anno DCCCXXXIX mortuo *Ecgbrychto* rege nobili, re-  
 30 gnavit *Adheluulfus*, rex Occidentalium Saxonum filius  
 pro eo, regnavitque annos XVIII et dimidium (ex *Chron.*  
*Anglo-Sax.*).

4. sumenda *Cod.*5. cybis *Cod.*

25. scilicet Franci.

Anno DCCCXL *Loduuicus Imperator obiit XII kal. Iulii* *(ex Ann. Utic.)*.

Anno DCCCXLI *bellum inter tres fratres, scilicet Loduuicum, Lotharium, et Karolum, filios Loduici imperatoris, haud procul ab urbe Autisiodorensium, in quo Christianus uterque populus mutua se caede prostravit. VII kal. Iulii diuisum est regnum (ex Ann. Utic.)*.

Anno DCCCXLII *translatio Sancti Audoeni episcopi, quando Normani vastauerunt Rothomagum et succenderunt monasterium illius, idus Maii (ex eisdem)*. Ipso 10 anno bellum contra paganos apud *Lundoniam*, et item apud *Quantauic*, et rursus apud *Hrofescestram (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax. an. 839)*.

Anno DCCCLI *venerunt Normanni in Sequanam (ex Ann. Utic.)*.

15

Eodem anno *Ceorl, Domnaniae comes . . . propior est quam ad East Seaxum (ex Asser c. 3, vv. 2-9)*.

*Eodem quoque anno (ex eiusdem c. 4 usque ad finem ; deinde sequuntur cc. 5, 6, 8, 9)*.

Anno DCCCLV rex *Eadmundus, Orientalium Anglo-20 rum gloriosissimus, coepit regnare VIII kal. Ianuarii, id est die Natalis Domini, anno aetatis suae XIII*.

Hoc etiam anno *Lotharius, Imperator Romanorum, obiit, filius Hloduuici Augusti piissimi (ex Ann. Utic.)*.

Anno eodem initium regni *Karoli Imperatoris, filius 25 Loduuici secundi*.

Eodem anno *magnus paganorum exercitus hiemavit in insula Sceaþeige (ex Asser c. 10 usque ad finem capituli 16)*.

Anno DCCCLVI, hoc est anno secundo *Karoli Imperatoris tertii, anno vero regni Adheluulfi, Occidentium Saxonum regis, XVIII, Hunberchtus, Orientalium Anglorum antistes, unxit oleo consecrauitque in regem Eadmundum gloriosissimum, cum gaudio magno et*

6. utrinque *Utic*.

honore maximo, in villa regia, quae dicitur Burna, quia tunc temporis regalis sedes erat, anno aetatis suae xv. sexta feria, luna xxiiii, die Natalis Domini.

Anno dccclvii Adheluulfus, saepe memoratus rex  
5 Occidentalium Saxonum, viam universitatis adiit, (et) quievit in pace, sepultusque est apud *Stęningam*. Regnavit Adhelbaldus, filius eius, post illum duos annos et dimidium, qui et ipse antea cum patre regnavit annis duobus et dimidio; sed post patrem *contra Deum et*  
10 *Christianorum dignitatem, necnon et . . . in matrimonium duxit* (ex *Asser c. 17, vv. 2-7*).

Anno dccclix Hoc anno coepit gelare ii kal. Decembris et finivit Non. Aprilis (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno dccclx Adhelbaldus, Occidentalium Saxonum  
15 rex (ex *Asser c. 18 et usque ad finem c. 20*).

Anno dccclxv venerunt Normanni in Franciam, medio Iulii (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno dccclxvi Adhelberchtus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum, frater Adhelbaldi, *quinque annis* (ex *Asser*  
20 *c. 19 usque ad finem*). Eodem vero anno *Adherędus, frater ipsius Adhelberchti regis, Occidentalium Saxonum regni gubernacula* (ex *Asser c. 21 usque factus est v. 9*).

Anno dccclxvii *praedictus paganorum exercitus* (ex *Asser c. 26 usque ad finem; sequuntur cc. 26, 27*).

25 Anno dccclxviii *fames valida* (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno eodem *Aelfrędus venerabilis rex secundarii . . . subarravit et duxit* (ex *Asser c. 29*).

Eodem vero anno . . . *pax inter Mercios et paganos facta est* (ex *Asser c. 30, vv. 1-19*).

30 Anno dccclxix *item fames magna et mortalitas hominum et pestis animalium* (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Eodem anno *praefatus paganorum* (ex *Asser c. 31 usque ad finem*).

Anno Dominicae Incarnationis dccclxx Sanctissi-

mus *Deoque acceptus rex Orientalium Anglorum Eadmundus*, ex *Antiquorum Saxonum nobili prosapia* (ex *Abbonis Floriacensis Passione S. Eadmundi*, c. 3, deinde sequuntur c. 4 et c. 5 usque ad 'in exterminium adducere totius fines Britanniae.' Deinde) 'Praedicti iniqui duces 5 *Hinguar et Hubba*' (ex eadem usque ad 'coram maternis obtutibus'). Cumque iam multitudine . . . in exercitu contraheret minus (ex eadem, c. 6). Dirigit impius Hinguar dux ad Sanctum Eadmundum, accito uno ex com-  
 militionibus, qui exploret . . . iudicaberis et regno (ex 10 eadem, c. 7). Quo audito, rex sanctissimus alto cordis dolore ingemuit, et directo nuntio ait: 'Omnipotens rerum arbiter . . . subdere collo iugo nisi divino servitio' (ex eadem, c. 8). Et ait ad eum, qui de condicione regni locuturus ab impiissimo Hinguar fuerat missus . . . 're- 15 sponsa perfer quantocius' (ex eadem, c. 9). Sanctus vir et rex Eadmundus vix verba compleverat (ex eadem, c. 10 usque ad finem capitis). Talique exitu (ex eadem, c. 11 usque ad finem capitis). Quidam autem Christianae religionis delitescendo interfuit praedicto horribili specta- 20 culo, quem subtractum (ex eadem, cap. 12 usque ad finem capitis). Quod ut factum est, . . . ut increparet prophetae insipientiam (ex eadem, c. 13). Haec magnalia Christus suo concessit martyri primum, et multa post alia contulit et confert adhuc, Qui vivit in secula secu- 25 lorum. Passus est autem Sanctus Eadmundus, Orientalium Anglorum rex gloriosissimus, XII. kal. Decembris, anno Christi Incarnationis DCCCLXX, Indictione tertia, secunda feria, luna XXII, anno aetatis suae XXIX, anno vero regni sui XVI, et anno etiam XV imperii Karoli 30 tertii Augusti, filii Lodovici Secundi. Hoc est autem anno quinto Adheredi regis Occidentalium Saxonum.

26. Passus est autem Sanctus Edmundus *supra versum scripta*.

31. *post Secundi scripsit supra versum alia manus Augusti*.



- Sancto rege sic martyrizato, *proh dolor ! pagani nimium gloriantes* (ex *Asser* c. 33), *per Merciam* (ex *eadem*, c. 32 usque ad finem), *et totam illam regionem suo dominio subdiderunt* (ex *eadem*, c. 33), eo quod omnes fortiores et  
 5 nobiliores eiusdem gentis una cum Sancto rege, sive ante beatum regem crudeliter occubuerunt. *Eodem . . . sepultus est* (ex *Asser* c. 34; *deinde sequuntur* cc. 35, 36, 37, 38, 39). *His ibi gestis* (ex c. 40 usque ad finem. *Sequuntur* cc. 41-50).
- 10 *Rollo cum suis anno eodem Normanniam penetravit*, xv. kal. Decembris (ex *Ann. Utic.*). Idem Normannorum dux Rol(lo) cum in antiqua Brytannia sive Anglia hiemaret, militaribus fretus copiis, quadam nocte fruitur  
 15 visione mox futurae certitudinis. Visum enim est sibi dormienti, supra se et exercitum suum subito exsurrexisse examen apum, suoque stridore avolare versus occidentem per maris medium, terramque petentes insidere gregatim  
 20 in frondibus diversarum arborum, moxque omnem circa regionem quasi advenientibus congratulantem, aspersam coloribus variorum florum. Evigilans itaque industrius dux, secum primo visionem tractat, eiusque significantiam  
 sapienter ad requiem cursus sui suorumque in eisdem partibus, ubi apes viderat requievisse, coniectat. Pulchreque in hanc spem confortatur, quod tota illa regio  
 25 subitis floribus induebatur. Erat enim hoc quasi quaedam divinae pietatis evocatio, ut ex Dei munere adepta terra illa mox in Christi floreret titulo, variisque virtutum floribus in vera religione sua suorumque ornaretur successio. Advocatis ergo suis, strenuus dux edocet som-  
 30 nium, illucque totius classis iubet parari cursum. Aspirat quoque prospere divina miseratio, tum necessario venti spiraculo, tum maris et caeli habitu iocundissimo subeunt

12. *supra* Brytannia *scripsit alia manus* id est Anglia.

27. *florere* *Cod.*

Sequanae hostium, optatoque cursu perveniunt ad ipsam metropolim Rothomagum, fiuntque rebellantium inter-  
necies, dedentium vero se et eorum societati confaven-  
tium defensio et requies. Amore ergo pacis, potissimum  
autem proelii taedio, allecto Francorum rege, impellente 5  
que hinc gratia illinc violentia, facta est tota regio illa  
ducis suorumque Normannorum dominica, ut eam sci-  
licet suis usibus possiderent et in regis Francorum fide-  
litate eam sibi recognoscerent et deservirent. Suscepta  
itaque tota monarchia illa, redit inclitus dux Rotho- 10  
magum, destructum eius relevat murum, reparat pro-  
pugnacula, fossaque et turribus eius ambit moenia.  
Interea frequentius accersito ad colloquium suum eius  
archiepiscopo Francone, venerabil(is) vitae viro, divinae  
religionis instruitur documento et super talibus paulatim 15  
coepit delectari, interius inspirante Spiritu Sancto.  
Abluitur tandem, eodem pontificante, divinae regenera-  
tionis sacramento in agnitionem Dei, eiusque exemplo  
omnis exercitus eius eodem modo Christo regeneratus  
in albis candescit fidei. Insistit deinde Christianae 20  
fidei amator gloriosus dux in combustis ecclesiis et  
monasteriis reparandis in Christi honore, sanctorumque  
corporibus referendis, quae sua suorumque hostili ablata  
fuerant formidine, relataque ad sua ampliori relocavit  
cultu et reverentia; summo enim studio usus est et dili- 25  
gentia circa sanctorum reliquias devotius recondendas,  
adhibitis in eorum famulatio clericis vel monachis, prout  
didicerat quosque fuisse in singulis sanctorum locis.  
Terras etiam non solum eas, quae ex antiquo eis ad-  
iacebant, verum plures superaddidit, ut eos intercessores 30  
haberet apud Deum, Qui eos sibi sanctificavit. Omnibus  
itaque recte curatis, verus Christicola, ut pius pater,  
omnibus pie praefuit.

Ipso anno *Hloduicicus rex*, filius Lodwici imperatoris,

obiit. *Ite(ru)m ipso anno Karolus Italiam ingreditur, et eandem terram per aliam viam Karlomannus intravit. Inde Karolus territus fugit, et in eodem itinere mortuus (est. Ex Ann. Utic.).*

5 Anno DCCCLXXVII item exercitus paganorum Węham deserens, partim equitando, partim navigando, sed cum pervenerunt ad locum, qui dicitur Suanauic, perierunt  
 10 cxx e navibus. Equestrem vero exercitum rex Alfredus insequens quousque venit ad Exancestram, ibi accepit  
 (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax.). Ipso anno (ex Asser c. 51 usque ad finem).

Anno DCCCLXXVIII magnus paganorum exercitus Danorum sive Nordmannorum post Theophaniam latenter  
 15 Cippanham, villam regiam (ex Asser c. 52 usque ad finem. Sequitur c. 53). Et, ut in vita Sancti patris Neoti legitur, diu latebat apud quandam suum vaccarium.

Contigit autem die quadam, ut rustica, uxor videlicet illius vaccarii, pararet ad coquendum panes, et ille rex  
 20 sedens sic contra focum praeparavit sibi arcum et sagittas et alia bellorum instrumenta. Cum vero panes ad ignem positos arduos aspexit illa infelix mulier, festinanter (cu)currit et amovit eos, increpans regem invictissimum, et dicens: '*Heus homo*

25 *urere, quos cernis, panes gyrare moraris, cum nimium gaudes hos manducare calentes?*'

Mulier illa infausta minime putabat illum esse regem Alfredum, qui tot bella gessit contra paganos, tantasque victorias accepit de eis.

30 Non solum autem eidem glorioso regi victorias de inimicis et prosperitatem in adversis conferre Dominus

3. tertius Galeus perperam.

9. insequens ex insequente factum Cod.

25. girare Cod.

dignatus est, verum etiam ab hostibus fatigari, adversitatibus affligi, despectu suorum deprimi multotiens eum idem benignus Dominus permisit, ut sciret, quoniam 'unus est omnium dominus, cui curvatur omne genu, cuius in manu corda sunt regum, Qui ponit de sede 5 potentes et exaltat humiles<sup>a</sup>,' Qui suos fideles in summa prosperitate positos flagellis adversitatum vult aliquando tangi: ut depressi de Dei misericordia non desperent, et exaltati de honore non superbiant, sed etiam sciant cui debent omnia, <quae> habent. Quam siquidem 10 adversitatem praefato regi illatam non inmerito ei evenisse credimus, quia in primo tempore regni sui, cum adhuc iuvenis erat, animoque juvenili detentus fuerat, homines sui regni sibique subiecti, qui ad eum venerant et pro necessitatibus suis eum requisierant et qui depressi 15 potestatibus erant, suum auxilium ac patrocinium implorabant. Ille vero noluit eos audire, nec aliquod auxilium eis impendebat, sed omnino eos nihili pendebat. Quod beatissimus vir Neotus adhuc vivens in carne, qui erat cognatus suus, intimo corde doluit, maximamque 20 adversitatem ob hoc ei venturam spiritu prophético plenus praedixerat. Sed ille et piissimam viri Dei correctionem parvi pendebat, et veris(s)imam eius prophetiam non recipiebat. Quia igitur quicquid ab homine peccatur, aut hic aut in futuro necesse est ut quolibet 25 modo puniatur, noluit verus et pius iudex illam regis insipientiam esse impunitam in hoc seculo, quatenus illi parceret in districto iudicio. Quare ergo idem saepedictus Alfrēdus in tantam miseriam saepius incidit, ut nemo subiectorum suorum sciret ubi esset vel quo de- 30 venisset.

Verumtamen in maximis necessitatibus ac periculis ei posito Beatus Neotus saepe apparuit, consolans eum

<sup>a</sup> Ephes. iv. 6; Isa. xlv. 23; Prov. xxi. 1; Luc. i. 52.

ac praedicens illum bene superaturum omnia mala sibi instantia.

*Eodem anno . . . (ex Asser c. 54 usque ad finem).*  
Ibique acceperunt spolia non minima. In quo etiam  
5 acceperunt illud vexillum, quod Reafan nominant (*ex  
Chron. Anglo-Sax.*). Dicunt enim, quod tres sorores  
Hynguari et Hubbae, filiae videlicet Lodebrochi, illud  
vexillum texuerunt, et totum paraverunt illud uno meri-  
diano tempore. Dicunt etiam, quod in omni bello ubi  
10 praecederet idem signum, si victoriam adepturi essent,  
appareret in medio signi quasi corvus vivens volitans ;  
si vero vincendi in futuro fuissent, penderet directe nihil  
movens. Et hoc saepe probatum est.

*Anno eodem post Pascha (ex Asser c. 55 usque ad  
15 finem).* Nocte illa, cum se sopori dedisset, apparuit ei  
quaedam effigies in speciem Sancti Neoti, quondam eius  
familiaris amici et propinqui, ammonuitque, ut omnem  
terrorem et metum barbarorum abiceret, ne in despera-  
tionem incideret propter multitudinem eorum, quia  
20 Dominus in crastinam visitaturus esset eum et plebem  
suam, et quia propter arrogantiam suam, quam habuit in  
iuventute, omnia illa adversa sibi sustinenda fuissent.  
Et adiecit: 'Cras praecedam tota die ante vexilla tua,  
ut securius dimices contra hostes tuos, nihil timens, et  
25 scias, quia Dominus Omnipotens pugnat pro te et pro  
populo tuo.' Statimque rex sompno excitus letissimus  
effectus est de angelica visione.

*Mane illucescente vexilla commovens inde (ex Asser c. 56  
usque ad finem).*

30 *Anno DCCCLXXIX, Indictione XII, Non. Octobris, prae-  
cellentissimus Imperator Karolus sanctae recordationis,  
insignisque memoriae temporalem finiens cursum, feliciter,  
ut credimus, ad gaudia migravit aeterna. Hic siquidem*

15. soporem *Cod.*

17. amicus et propinquus *Cod.*



*fuit serenissimi Augusti Hludovici filius, ac nepos gloriosissimi Caesaris eiusdem nominis Karoli* (‘*ex libro quodam abbatiæ S. Farae Meldensis, Pertz, M. H. G. ‘Scriptt.’ iii. 367*).

*Eodem anno eclipſis ſolis inter nonam et veſperam, ſed 5 propius nonam facta eſt* (ex *Asser c. 59*). Ipſoque anno obiit Hludovicus, rex Occidentalium Francorum, frater Iudittæ, reginæ Adhelwlfii, regis Anglorum (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax. an. 885; cf. an. 879*).

Eodem vero anno *praefatus paganorum exercitus* (ex *10 Asser c. 57* usque ad finem; sequitur deinde *c. 58*).

*Loduuicus, rex Saxonum, adhuc fratre suo Karlomanno vivente, Bauuariam ingreditur* (ex *Ann. Utic.*).

Anno DCCCLXXX saepe memoratus paganorum exercitus (ex *Asser c. 60* usque ad finem; sequitur deinde *c. 61*). <sup>15</sup>

Anno DCCCLXXXI initium belli Francorum contra paganos (ex *Ann. Utic. an. 879*), finitoque proelio pa(ga)ni, equis inventis, equites facti sunt (ex *Asser c. 62*).

Anno DCCCLXXXII *Loduuico, filio Loduuici regis, primum exeunte ad pugnam, Deoque donante, potiti sunt* <sup>20</sup> *victoria, et pars innumerabilis eorum maxima cecidit* (ex *Ann. Utic. an. 879*).

Anno DCCCLXXXIII *sedes Normannorum in Diusburg* (ex *eisdem*).

Anno DCCCLXXXV *Paganorum exercitus diuisit se in* <sup>25</sup> *duas turmas* (ex *Asser c. 56* usque ad finem).

*Eodemque anno Karlomannum* (ex *Asser c. 68* usque ad finem).

*Anno eodem Karolus* (ex *eiusdem c. 70* usque ad finem).

*Eodem anno beatæ memoriæ Marinus* (ex *eiusdem c. 71* <sup>30</sup> usque ad finem).

Anno DCCCLXXXVI *Alfredus, rex Occidentalium Saxo-*

21. *victoria scripsi: victoriam Utic. Cod.*

num, *post incendia urbium* (ex *Asser c. 83 usque ad finem*).

Karolus Tertius Imperator, filius Hloduici, regis Noricorum sive Baioariorum, hoc tempore vidit visionem, 5 quam ita ut hic constat scriptam referebat, dicens: 'Ego Karolus, gratuito Dei dono' (ex *Hariulfi Chron. Centulensi*, iii. 21; extat etiam apud *Will. Malmesbur. 'Gesta Regum'*, ii. 111).

Anno DCCCLXXXVII *Karolus Imperator viam uni-*  
10 *versitatis adiit* (ex *Asser c. 85 usque ad finem*).

Anno DCCCXC obiit *Guthram, rex paganorum, qui*  
et *Athelstanus nomen in baptismo suscepit*. Qui primus  
apud *Orientalis Anglos* regnavit post passionem sancti  
regis Eadmundi, ipsamque regionem divisit, *coluit*, atque  
15 *primus inhabitavit* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*). Mortuus  
est itaque anno XIII postquam baptismum suscepit,  
mausoleatusque in villa regia, quae vocatur *Headleaga*,  
apud *Orientalis Anglos*.

Anno DCCCXCI *cometae apparuerunt post Pascha circa*  
20 *Rogationes* (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax. an. 892*).

Anno DCCCXCII *magnus paganorum exercitus venit*  
*de orientali regno Francorum usque ad Bononiam*, inde  
que *cum CCCL navibus in ostium Limene fluminis*, et ibi  
non longe a flumine in loco, qui dicitur *Apuldran*,  
25 *fecerunt castellum firmissimum*. Quod *Limene flumen*  
currit de silva magna, quae vocata est *Andreadesuueald*,  
quae silva habet spatium *in longitudine ab oriente in occi-*  
*dente(m) milliaria CXX et eo amplius, et in latitudine XXX*  
(ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax. an. 893*).

30 Eodem anno *Hastengus venit cum LXXX navibus*  
*in ostium Tamensis fluminis fecitque sibi firmissi-*  
*imum oppidum apud Middeltunam in australi ripa*  
*Tamensis*. Non multo post fecit aliud in aquilonali

5. scriptum *Cod.*

33. alium *Cod.*

parte Tamensis in loco, qui dicitur *Beamsfleot* (ex eisdem an. 894).

Anno DCCCXIII initium regis Karoli pueri; huius miles Hagano. Eodem anno capta est civitas Ebroacensis a Nordmannis, sed episcopus, Sebar nomine, Deo auctore, 5 evasit (ex Ann. Utic.).

Hoc etiam anno Alfredus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum, pugnavit contra Nordmannos in loco, qui dicitur *Fearnhamme*; qui eos occidit et regem eorum sauciavit atque fugavit, necnon et spolia multa eis diripuit, transieruntque 10 *Tamensis flumen* coacti, ad East Seaxam profecti sunt, sed tamen multi in Tamense perierunt. Rex vero Alfredus, ut audivit, quod magna pars paganorum exercitus, quae inde fugata est, perrexit per mare navigans usque ad *Exanceastram*, qui statim equestrem atque 15 pedestrem secum illo adducens exercitum, contra eos atrociter pugnans, illosque ibidem devicit, stravit atque fugavit. Interea ex praecepto regis Alfredi Adhered, comes Merciorum, una cum civibus *Lundoniae* et aliis innumeris bellatoribus prudentissimis, venit usque *Beam-* 20 *fleotam*, munitionemque paganorum obsedit, fregit, atque innumera spolia ibidem accepit in auro et argento, equis et vestibus. In quibus etiam et uxor *Hastengi* cum duobus filiis ad *Lundoniam* est adducta. Et ante regem Alfredum praesentata; quos rex statim iussit reddi, eo 25 quia filii sui unus erat filiulus regis Alfrēdi, alter *Adheredi comitis*. Cum autem *Hastengus* iterum venit *Beamsfleotam*, reparavit ibidem castellum, quod fractum fuerat. Deinde perrexit ad *Sceobyrig*, et ibi construxit munitionem validissimam, adiunctusque est ei exercitus ille, qui 30 apud *Apuldran* sedit, necnon et ab *Orientalibus Anglis et a Nordanhymbris* non minima sed maxima multitudo, qui simul properantes sursum trans *Tamensem* fluvium

29. supra *Sceobyrig* scripsit alia manus id est *Sudbiri*.

depraedantes quousque pervenerunt ad *ripam Sabrinae* fluminis, et ibi apud *Buttingatunam* munitissimum oppidum fecerunt, sed mox *Adheredus*, comes Merciorum, cum comitibus *Eathelmo* et *Eathelmotho* (sic), necnon et cum aliis fidelibus regis, obsedit oppidum ex omni parte, quousque paganis defecit omnis victus, sic ut *carnes equorum suorum comederent*, ac demum fame coacti procedunt ad bellum contra eos, qui ex *orientali parte obsidionis* erant. Ceciderunt ibidem multi ex utraque parte, tamen, Deo auxiliante, *Christiani victoria sunt potiti*, Dani vero in fugam sunt versi. Item ad *East Seaxum* redierunt, unde venerunt (ex eisdem).

Anno DCCCXCIV praefatus exercitus paganorum hiemavit in *insula*, quae vocata est *Mereseige* (ex eisdem ann. 895).

Anno DCCCXCV Hastengus cum exercitibus sibi adhaerentibus, *tertio anno postquam venerunt in ostium Tamensis* et in ostium *Limene* fluminis, *mare transiit sine lucro* et sine honore; sed multis *perditis* ex sociis suis, applicuit in ostium *Sequanae* fluminis (ex eisdem ann. 896).

Anno DCCCXCVIII *Arnulfus Imperator obiit*, et *Loduuicus* filius eius in regem elevatur. Eodem anno *Rollo* cum exercitu suo *Carnotensem civitatem obsedit*, sed episcopus eiusdem urbis *Walthelmus* nomine, vir religiosissimus, *Richardum*, *Burgundiae ducem*, et *Ebalum*, *Pictavensium comitem*, in suo auxilio provocans, *tunicam Sanctae Mariae Virginis in manibus ferens*, *Rollonem ducem*, *Divino nutu, fugavit*, et *civitatem liberavit* (ex Ann. Utic.).

(A) Anno DCCCC *Alfredus veridicus*, vir in bello per omnia strenuissimus, rex Occidentalium Saxonum nobilissimus, prudens vero et religiosus atque sapientissimus, hoc anno cum magno suorum dolore *viam universitatis*

adiit, die VII kal. Novembris, anno regni sui XXIX et dimidio, anno vero aetatis suae LI, Indictione III. Qui apud Wintoniam civitatem regalem decenter et regali honore est sepultus in ecclesia Sancti Petri, Apostolorum principis. Mausoleum quoque ipsius constat factum de 5 marmore porfirio pretiosissimo.

*Nam inter cetera bona . . . Aethelingaeige* (ex *Asser* c. 92 vv. 4-8), in quo *constituit Iohannem abbatem*, religiosum virum, de *genere Antiquorum Saxonum* (ex *eiusdem* c. 94, v. 1), *quia nullum* potuit invenire *de sua* 10 *propria gente . . . monasticam . . . vitam* (ex *eiusdem* c. 93, vv. 1-5); *ideo diversi . . . studuit* (ex *eodem*, vv. 16-17).

*Nam quodam tempore* (ex *eiusdem* c. 96 usque ad finem, sequitur *deinde* c. 97 usque ad domum reportaverunt 15 v. 28). *Aliud quoque monasterium* (ex *eiusdem* c. 98 usque ad finem). Erat enim ille rex fortissimus defensor sanctarum Dei aecclesiarum, clementissimus consolator orphanorum et viduarum, largissimus distributor elemosinarum. *Nam in toto illo regno praeter illum . . .* 20 *declinaverunt negotia* (ex *Asser* c. 105, vv. 9-13). *Erat namque rex . . . imperabat recitare* (ex c. 106, vv. 15-54), in quibus, iussu regis praefati, fuerunt scripta iusta iudicia inter potentes et inpotentes, et alia multa utilia tam cleri quam plebis.

(A)nno eodem Eaduardus, filius ipsius regis Aelfrēdi, unctus est in regem, regnavitque annis xxvi. Hoc etiam anno *Adheltuoldus, patruelis* regis Eaduardi, discessit ab eo, perrexitque ad *exercitum* paganorum, qui occupaverat gentes *Nordanhymbrorum*, statimque totus 30 exercitus elegit eum ad regem (ex *Chron. Anglo-Sax.*).

Anno dccccii Sanctus *Grimbaldus sacerdos* transiit. Et *Adhulfus comes, frater Alchsuuithae* reginae, obiit (ex *eisdem*, ann. 903).



Anno DCCCIII *Adheluuoldus*, rex Danorum, frater  
(*sic*) regis Aelfrēdi, venit cum classe magna ad *East*  
*Seaxam* (*ex eisdem ann. 904*).

Anno DCCCIII *Adheluuoldus*, rex paganorum, adduxit  
5 magnum exercitum ab *East Seaxa* et ab Orientalibus  
Anglis per totam *Merciam depraedantem* et occidentem,  
*quousque pervenit ad Criccaladam, ibique transiit Tamen-*  
*sem* et ubique circa *Bradenam* maxima spolia diripuit,  
*indeque reversus est. Rex vero Eaduuardus, quam citius*  
10 *potuit, congregavit exercitum Christianorum, et perrexit*  
*usque inter Fossas et usque Husam flumen, et deprae-*  
*davit terram eorum usque ad paludes boreales. Cum*  
*autem rex expectavit ibidem exercitum eius de Cantia,*  
15 *subito supervenit Adheluuoldus, rex Danorum, cum tota*  
*paganorum gente, qui confestim contra hostes vexilla*  
*erexerunt, consertoque proelio hinc et inde atrociter*  
*pugnantes, ceciderunt multi ex utraque parte. Ex parte*  
*autem Christianorum Sigeuulfus et Sigehelmus comes et*  
*Æduuoldus praeses et Kenuulfus, abbas de Burch, et*  
20 *Sigeberchtus, filius Sigeulfi, et Eadwoldus, filius Accan,*  
*et multi alii ex nobilibus Anglorum. Ex parte vero*  
*Nordmannorum ceciderunt Eochricus et Athelwoldus,*  
*reges eorum, et Brichtsinus, filius Brichtnothi clitonis, et*  
*Hysopa et Oskytellus barones et multi plures, quorum*  
25 *numerus nemo scit, sed tamen, proh dolor! pagani loco*  
*funeris dominati sunt. Eodem etiam anno Alchsuytha*  
*regina, mater regis Eadwardi, decessit* (*ex eisdem ann. 905*).

Anno DCCCIX *A(s)ser*, episcopus *Scireburnensis*, obiit,  
*et Frithestanus suscepit episcopatum Uuintoniae* (*ex eisdem*  
30 *ann. 910*).

Anno DCCCX bellum apud *Wodnesfeldam*, in quo  
ceciderunt *Eouuilsus* et *Healfdena*, reges paganorum,  
et *Ochter* et *Scurfa* comites, et *Othulfus* et *Bensingus* et

*Anolafus niger et Thurfridus et Osfridus et Godefridus et alius Godefridus et Eagellus et Agamundus, primates paganorum, et multi alii innumerabiles quasi arena maris (ex eisdem ann. 911).*

Anno DCCCCXI *Loduuicus Imperator, filius Arnulfi* 5  
Imperatoris, *obiit, et Burchardus dux occiditur. Conradus, filius Conradi, in regem elevatur (ex Ann. Utic.).*

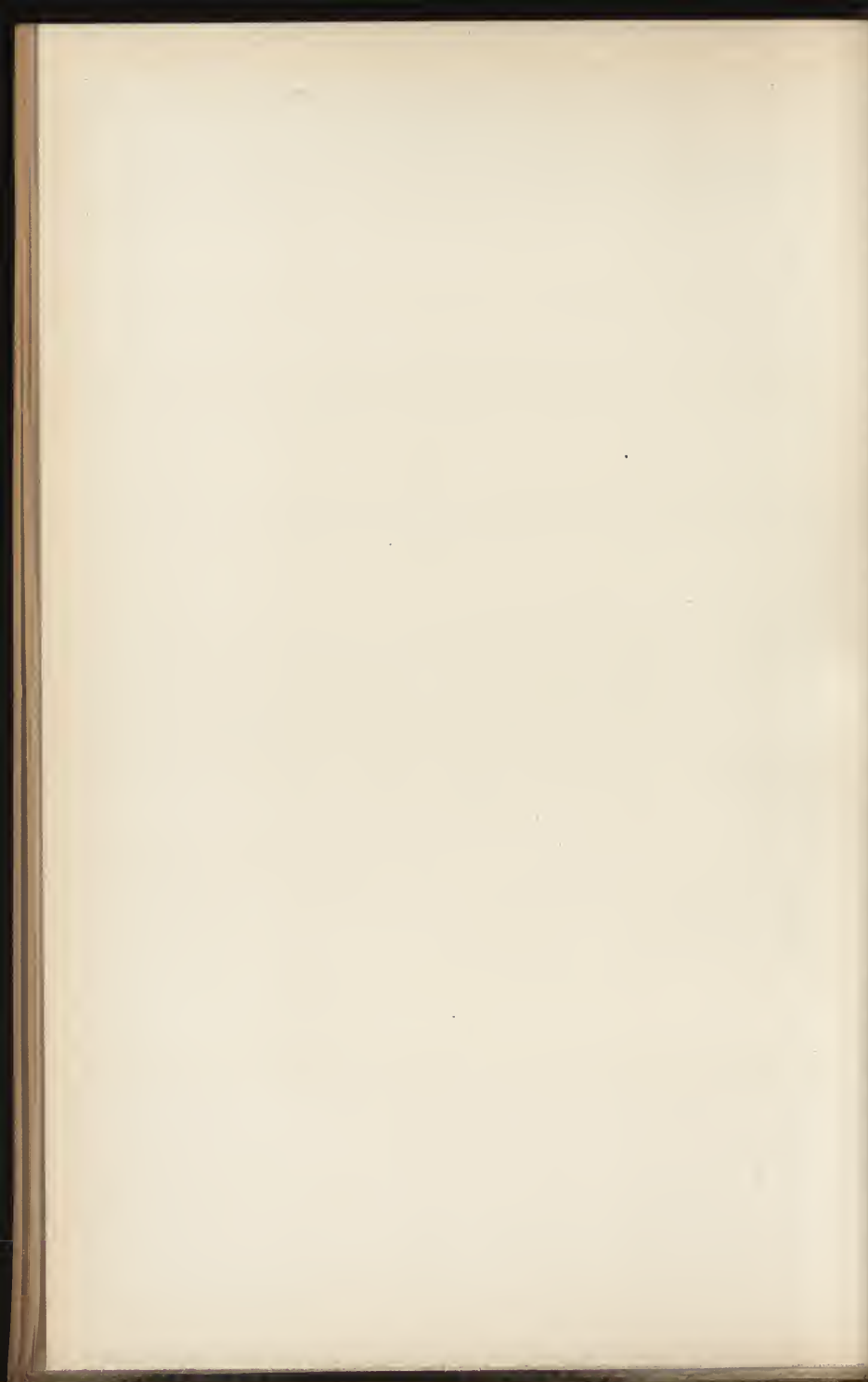
Ipsa anno *Aetheredus, comes Merciorum, obiit. Et Eaduuardus rex suscepit Lundoniam et Oxenafordam, cum omnibus eis adiacentibus (ex Chron. Anglo-Sax. 10 ann. 911, 912).*

Anno DCCCCXII *Eaduuardus rex iussit aedificari urbem aquilonalem apud Heortfordam, inter flumina, quae nuncupata sunt Memeran et Beneficeam et Lygeam, circa festiuitatem Sancti Martini. Circa quoque festiuitatem* 15  
*Sancti Iohannis Baptistae praecepit construi urbem apud Wittham. Item ipso anno apud Heortfordam in australi parte Lygean fluminis (ex eisdem ann. 913).*

*Hoc etiam anno baptizavit Franco, archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, Rollonem ducem Nordmannorum (ex 20 Ann. Utic.).*

Anno DCCCCXIII *facta est pax inter Karolum, regem Francorum, et Rollonem, ducem Northmannorum (ex Ann. Utic.).*

1. *supra Godefridus scripsit alia manus id est Gutheferth.*
6. *dux] rex Utic.*
12. *aedificare Cod.*
16. *construere Cod.*



## NOTES

**Dedication.** This was written in the Cottonian MS. in capital letters, as shown by Wise's facsimile. The description of Alfred as 'ruler of all the Christians of the island of Britain' is somewhat surprising, for there is no proof of any subjection to him of the people of Northumbria beyond the mention of their taking oaths to him in 893 (894 according to the chronology of the Chronicle) or of Scotland. But it must be borne in mind that the latter was not comprised under the dominion of the kings who bore the rank of *Bret-walda* or *Bryten-w(e)alda*, a title ascribed to Alfred's grandfather in the Chronicle under 827<sup>1</sup>. It is possible that the description here applied to Alfred may have been influenced by this title, for *rector* is the natural translation of *wealda*. According to cap. 80 most, if not the whole, of Wales was under Alfred's supremacy. The Chronicle says under 901 that he was king of all England, except the parts that were under Danish government (that is, East Anglia, north-east Mercia, and Northumberland). The remainder of Mercia seems to have been in some sort of dependency upon him, after the death of its last king, under the rule of his son-in-law Æthelred<sup>2</sup>. Rulership over the whole island of Britain is

<sup>1</sup> It is noteworthy in this connexion that the Chronicle calls Egbyrht *Bryten-walda* or *Bret-walda* as soon as his rule reached the Humber. The agreement with the Northumbrians is related afterwards, and the reduction of the North Welsh is narrated in the following year.

<sup>2</sup> The statement in this work, cap. 80, 22, that Æthelred was subordinate to Alfred, harmonizes with the evidence of the charters of Æthelred and Æthelflæd, his wife, which are allowed or witnessed by Alfred; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 166, 173, 200, 222 (all from later copies). Cf. also p. 279, which is either spurious or interpolated. It is possible that this superiority of Alfred was the ground upon which Edward the Elder took the direct government of Mercia into his own hands upon Æthelflæd's death. According to the Appendix to Florence of Worcester (ed. Thorpe, i. 267), Alfred acquired the portion of Mercia that Ceolwulf ruled over (see c. 51). The part under Æthelred's power may have been identical with Ceolwulf's dominion. Its boundaries were defined and possibly changed by Alfred's agreement with Guthrum.

asserted in the titles of Æthelstan<sup>1</sup> and the succeeding kings, but as it is not, as in the present case, restricted to Christians<sup>2</sup>, it does not seem that the description here given to Alfred is an imitation of the imperial styles of the tenth century. Possibly it is to be referred to c. 83, 6, in which we are told that all the Angles and Saxons who had been hitherto dispersed or under captivity to the Danes turned to Alfred and submitted to his rule<sup>3</sup>. This was in 886, and it is possible that Alfred adopted about this time

<sup>1</sup> Æthelstan is described as 'rex Anglorum et aequae totius Brytanniae curagulus' (= 'curam agens') in a contemporary charter of 939 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 447), and in other charters of which the originals are not preserved, occasionally with slight modifications (*ibid.* ii. 412, 414, 415, 417, 418, 420, 421, 439, 457, 459, 462); and as 'rex Anglorum per Omnipatrantis dexteram totius Britanniae regni solio sublimatus' in contemporary charters of 930 and 934 (*ibid.* ii. 403; iii. 681, *Crawford Charters*, no. iv, p. 6), and in a charter of 932 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 390), which is preserved in a somewhat later tenth-century copy, and in texts derived from chartularies (*ibid.* ii. 349, 357, 363, 378, 383, 385, 392, 394, 406, 407, 423, 425, 426, 465). On some of his coins he is 'rex totius Brit(anniae).' The later kings usually describe themselves as kings of Albion or Britannia and of all the surrounding peoples, or as having acquired the empire of the whole of Albion. In the O.E. version of a charter of 934 Æthelstan is twice described as 'Ongol Saxna cyning ond Brytæn walda,' representing the Latin 'rex et rector totius huius Britanniae insulae' (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 410). This is a title of the later kings, and is not found in any genuine charter of Æthelstan's (see p. 150, note 3, below), and the charter is open to grave suspicions on other grounds.

<sup>2</sup> Æthelstan, under the impossible date of 850, is called 'rex Angul Sexna et Norphymbra imperator, paganorum gubernator, Brittanorumque propugnator' (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 466). This title is applied, with occasional modifications, to Eadred (*ibid.* iii. 28, 37, 41, 73, 687) and Eadwig (*ibid.* iii. 114), and even to Æthelred (*Cod. Dipl.* vi. 166). These texts, which are all derived from chartularies, form a related group, which is distinguished by peculiarity of composition from all other O.E. charters, with the exception of a charter of Eadred of 946. In this Edmund is said to have governed 'regimina regnorum Angulsaxna et Norphymbra, paganorum, Brettonumque' (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 576). The original of this was at Worcester in 1649, according to Dugdale's list (in *Wanley's Catalogus*, 1705, p. 299, no. 49). It was printed by Wanley, p. 302, because it was 'formae minus usitatae,' without saying that the writing was of later date, although the differently shaped crosses in the subscriptions mentioned by him suggest a post-Norman scribe.

<sup>3</sup> This, however, seems to be a mistranslation of the Chronicle under 886, which states that all the English who were not under captivity to the Danes submitted to him ('him all Angelcyn to-cirde þæt buton Deniscra manna hæftniede was').



the style 'rex Angul-Saxonum,' by which he is described in the present work<sup>1</sup>, or the equivalent 'Anglorum Saxonum rex,' as in this dedication. He was then the only English king in the country, and the style of his predecessors 'rex Occidentalium Saxonum'<sup>2</sup>; or simply 'Saxonum rex,' as correctly used in this work<sup>3</sup>, might be exchanged for one that should include the Angles, whose importance was so great that Alfred himself calls his own language *Englisc*, not *Seaxisc*. The compound *Angul-Saxo* first occurs on the continent<sup>4</sup>, and was used to distinguish the English Saxons from the Old Saxons. It came into use in England in or shortly after Alfred's time, and was employed to describe the political union of the Angles and Saxons. Its appearance in the present work may possibly be due to the Frankish element discernible in its Latinity<sup>5</sup>. The style 'rex Angulsaxonum' was used by Edward the Elder, if we may place any trust in the charters ascribed to him<sup>6</sup>, and by

<sup>1</sup> See cc. 1, 2; 13, 31; 21, 17; 64, 1; 67, 1; 71, 4; 73, 6; 83, 1; 87, 1.

<sup>2</sup> His father's title was 'rex Occidentalium seu (or necnon et) Cantuariorum' (the latter title used in Kentish charters), as we learn from original charters of his (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 17, 30, 33), and the same style was used by Æthelberht and Æthelred his sons (*ibid.* ii. 113, 19; 115, 11; 129, 1), which are also contemporary texts. See also 86, 10; 107, 30; 132, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Æthelwulf is 'Saxonum rex' in c. 5, 4, but 'Occidentalium Saxonum rex' in cc. 7, 4; 9, 10; 68, 11. The latter title is applied to Æthelred in 30, 8. Cf. also cc. 17, 9; 21, 4.

<sup>4</sup> It occurs in the form *Engel-saxo* in the Life of Alcuin, written between 823 and 829, in Pertz, *Scriptores*, xv. 193; Jaffé, *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, p. 25. There are similar instances of the composition of two ethnic names in O.E.; see Theodor Storch, *Angelsächsische Nominalcomposita*, Strassburg, 1886, p. 7. There is, however, no reason to refer the form *Angul*, as Storch does, to Latin influences, since it occurs in other O.E. compounds, such as *Angul-cyn*, &c. *Angul-Seaxe* is exceedingly rare in works composed in O.E. Apart from the late translations of charters, it seems to occur only in the curious mixture of O.E. and Latin in the poetical introduction to Aldhelm, in the tenth-century copy in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, no. 326, in the lines 'Ealdhelm, æpele sceop, etiam fuit ipse los (ἰψηλός) on æðel Angelsexna (corrected to Angol-), byscop on Bretene'; Napier, *Old English Glosses*, Oxford, 1900, p. xiv.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, § 58, p. xciii.

<sup>6</sup> No charter of Edward is preserved in an original form, and the majority of the texts ascribed to him come from the Winchester and Hyde chartularies, and the remainder from chartularies of little better character.

Æthelstan in the early part of his reign<sup>1</sup>, and occasionally by his successors until the time of Eadwig<sup>2</sup>. It is applied to Edgar in a charter that is obviously spurious<sup>3</sup>. Its non-occurrence elsewhere amongst the great number of charters bearing Edgar's name shows that it did not survive in use after his accession. Its sporadic occurrence in eleventh-century charters<sup>4</sup> is therefore to be assigned to the antiquarian uses of older formulas in the chanceries of that time, by which they are characterized. In most of the examples of late date it is combined with other titles, and is merely part of the rhetorical embroidery of the charters.

<sup>1</sup> He is described as 'Angel-Saxonum Denorumque gloriosissimus rex' in an undated demise by the monks of Hyde (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 326, a tenth-century copy), and in charters of 926 in later copies (*ibid.* ii. 333, 335), and in a spurious or much corrupted charter of 930 in the Abingdon chartulary (*ibid.* ii. 346). In the dubious Winchester charter of 934, referred to at p. 148, note 1, he is 'Angul-Saxonum necnon et totius Britannie rex' (*ibid.* ii. 410). Little weight can be placed upon the statement in the Appendix to Florence of Worcester (ed. Thorpe), p. 271, that Æthelstan 'monarchiam primus Anglo-Saxonum obtinuit.'

<sup>2</sup> Edmund is described as 'rex Anglo-Saxonum' or 'rex Anglo-Saxona' (= O.E. gen. pl. *Seax(e)na*) in two Glastonbury charters of 940 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 472, 473), the former of which is most probably spurious, and the latter belongs to the curious group of charters mentioned at p. 148, note 2. Both formulas are alien to the genuine charters of this king. Eadmund is 'rex et rector Angul-Sæxna' in another charter of the latter class (*ibid.* ii. 505). In the strange Worcester charter of 946 (*ibid.* ii. 577), belonging to the same class (see p. 148, note 2), Eadred is said to govern 'sceptra diadematum Angulsaxna cum Norþhymbris et paganorum cum Brettonibus.' Eadwig calls himself 'Angul-Saxonum basileus,' &c., in a contemporary charter of 956 (*ibid.* iii. 143). Cf. also *ibid.* iii. 107, 141, 145, 166, 238, from the Abingdon and Winchester chartularies, and therefore open to doubt.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 446, from the Winchester chartulary. The formulas of this charter are unknown except in a charter assigned to Eadwig (*ibid.* iii. 155). Both are dated 956.

<sup>4</sup> Æthelred subscribes in 1001 (a contemporary charter) as 'rex et rector Angul-Sexna' (*Cod. Dipl.* iii. 317), and is called 'Angul-Saxonum rex' in a doubtful text dated 1005 in the Eynsham register (*ibid.* iii. 340). Edward the Confessor is described as 'Angul-Saxonum rex' in a contemporary (?) charter of 1044 (*ibid.* iv. 79), and, with the addition of 'aeque totius Albionis rex,' another piece of antiquarianism, in a contemporary (?) charter of 1049 (*ibid.* iv. 115). He is 'basileus totius gentis Angul-Saxonum' in a text from the Abingdon chartulary in 1050 (*ibid.* iv. 123), and 'Angul-Saxonum rex' in a suspicious Bath charter of 1061 (*ibid.* iv. 150). See Introduction, p. lxxi, note 3, and p. 192, note 4, below, concerning these antiquarian survivals.

It was clearly an intermediate stage between 'rex Occidentalium Saxonum' and 'rex Anglorum,' which latter was adopted by Æthelstan when he became really king of all England, and which continued to be the official style of the kings long after the Norman Conquest. The real title of the kings is to be discovered not in the highly rhetorical styles ascribed to them in the bodies of the charters, but in the subscription clauses. In the vast majority of cases from Æthelstan onwards the king is described in such clauses as 'rex (*or occasionally* basileus) Anglorum.' The evidence of the coins is to the same effect. Æthelstan is 'rex Saxorum' (*sic*), the style of the early part of his reign, or 'rex totius Britanniae' on his coins. After his time the royal title is invariably 'rex Anglorum.' We may therefore conclude that the employment of the title 'rex Angul-Saxonum' in the present work is evidence that it was composed not later than the middle of the tenth century. Whether this title was employed by Alfred at the date assigned for the compilation we are unable to decide, for there is no contemporary charter of his in existence. In his literary works he describes himself simply as 'Alfred the king,' and in his will, which was written between 873 and 888<sup>1</sup>, and is preserved in an eleventh-century copy, as 'king of the West-Saxons.' It is true that he is called 'Anglorum Saxonum rex' or 'Angul-Saxonum rex' in several charters, but the texts are derived from chartularies of such indifferent repute that little confidence can be reposed in them<sup>2</sup>. But that he did change his title from 'rex Occidentalium Saxonum' is proved by the existence of a unique coin, on which

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. lxxvii, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> He is 'rex Anglorum et Saxonum' in a Worcester charter of 889 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 200, 201), concerning which see above, p. lxxvi, note 3; and 'rex Anglorum,' &c., in a spurious Chertsey charter (*ibid.* ii. 203); 'Anglorum Saxonum rex' in a Glastonbury charter of 891 (*ibid.* ii. 204), and in an Abingdon charter of 892-901 (*ibid.* ii. 224); 'Angul-Saxonum rex' in a spurious or interpolated Winchester charter (*ibid.* ii. 205), in a spurious Wilton charter of 892 (*ibid.* ii. 209), and in a Malmesbury charter (*ibid.* ii. 210). His title is 'rex Saxonum' in 880 in a charter from the *Textus Roffensis*, the most trustworthy chartulary containing O.E. charters in existence (*ibid.* ii. 168), and in a Winchester charter of 882 (*ibid.* ii. 171), and in a post-Conquest forgery (*ibid.* ii. 212). The title also occurs in a charter at Canterbury (*ibid.* ii. 219), which, from the evidence of the language, must be considerably later than Alfred's time.

he is described as 'rex Anglo'<sup>1</sup>. Whether this represents 'Anglorum,' 'Anglorum Saxonum,' or 'Anglo-Saxonum,' it is impossible to decide, but it certainly adds greatly to the probability that he might have been described as 'Angul-Saxonum rex' in his lifetime, and we cannot therefore condemn the present work because this title is applied to him. Moreover, allowance must also be made in such a work for the use of titles that did not form the official style, if such existed, of the king. As examples we may cite the inscription, apparently contemporary, in the gospel of Mæil Brith Mac Durnan recording its presentation to Canterbury by 'Aethelstanus, Anglosæxana rex et rector'<sup>2</sup>; a style not found in his genuine charters<sup>3</sup>, and his description as 'Angel-Saxonum Denorumque gloriosissimus rex' in the Hyde demise referred to above<sup>4</sup>.

1. This chapter is derived from the West-Saxon royal pedigree, a copy of which occurs in the Chronicle under 855. To this the author has added the mention of Alfred's birth and the place of his birth, the derivation of Berkshire from Berroc wood, the statements as to the abundant growth of box in the latter, that the Britons called the West Saxons *Geguuis*, and that the pagans formerly worshipped Geata as a god, and the quotation from Sedulius.

1, 1. The date of Alfred's birth may have been derived from the West-Saxon regnal table and genealogy, which states that he was twenty-three years of age at his accession, which the Chronicle records under 871 (872 in C). A copy of this regnal table is prefixed to the Parker MS. of the Chronicle, and another copy was, perhaps, prefixed to Chron. B, if the detached leaf in Cott. Tiberius A iii, fo. 178 really formed part of it<sup>5</sup>. An early fragment of it, containing the passage about Alfred's age, is printed in Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*, p. 179. This is slightly older than the Parker MS. of the Chronicle. The table also

<sup>1</sup> Figured in *Montague Sale Catalogue*, no. 545; British Museum *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ii. p. 34, type 4.

<sup>2</sup> See the facsimile in Westwood, *Palaeographia Sacra Pictoria*, 'Gospel of Mæil Brith Mac Durnan,' p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> The texts in which this title is applied to him (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 347, 396, 408) are spurious.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 150, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. lxxxix.



occurs in the Cambridge University Library MS. of the translation of Beda's *Ecclesiastical History* ascribed to Alfred<sup>1</sup>, and an eleventh-century version of it has been printed by Professor Napier<sup>2</sup> from the British Museum Add. MS. 34, 652. In the latter the king's age is given as twenty-two. It has been suggested that this table was drawn up by Alfred<sup>3</sup>, and it is somewhat remarkable that it should be found in connexion with the Chronicle and the translation of Beda, with both of which he seems to have been concerned. It also occurred in his lost *Handboc*, for William of Malmsbury refers his readers to Alfred's *Liber Manualis*, which was seemingly still extant, to prove that Centwine was 'artissima necessitudine consanguineus' of Ine<sup>4</sup>. Centwine does not occur in the West Saxon royal pedigree copied into the Chronicle under 855, as that deals only with the lineal ancestors of Alfred, and it therefore seems clear that Malmsbury met with this table in the king's *Handboc*. Upon the genealogy see p. 157, below.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in Miller's edition, Early English Text Society, i. 486, and in Professor Schipper's edition, Leipzig, 1899, p. 703. The seventeenth-century editor of the O.E. version of Beda, Abraham Wheloc, states that the table occurred in more than one O.E. version of Beda. Cf. Schipper, p. 743.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, xii. 106, Baltimore, 1897.

<sup>3</sup> By Wheloc in 1643. Cf. also Grubitz, *Kritische Untersuchung über die angelsächsischen Annalen*, Göttingen, 1868, p. 23; Karl Horst, *Zur Kritik der altenglischen Annalen*, Darmstadt, 1896, p. 13. But the table is probably considerably older than Alfred's time, for the name *Celm* clearly represents the Northumbrian *Celin*, *Caelin*, which Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 5, says was in West Saxon *Ceaulin*, i.e. *Ceawlin*. Sweet's text and the Cambridge one also preserve an eighth-century orthography in *Eaba*, *Eabing*. See Napier, p. 110. Another fact pointing to an older origin is the mention of Creoda as king of Wessex between Cerdic and Cynric. See below, p. 157 sqq. Bishop Stubbs (*Will. of Malmsbury, Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xxii, note 2) states that Hardy had disposed of the attribution of this list to Alfred, because the earliest list known to him was of the time of Edward the Martyr. Hardy, however, mentions that it occurs in the Parker MS. of the Chronicle, which is much older than St. Edward's time.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, lib. v, sec. 188, p. 333: 'Qui enim legit Manualem Librum regis Elfredi, reperiet Kenten (= Centwine), Beati Aldhelmi patrem, non fuisse regis Inae germanum, sed artissima necessitudine consanguineum.' The genealogy at the end of Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, i. 272, cites the *Dicta regis Elfredi* to prove that Centus was king of Wessex (674), whereas the Chronicle says that Æscwine, his son, succeeded.



1, 2 *villa regia*, also cc. 9, 12; 35, 5; 52, 4; 56, 30; 79, 7; 81, 9; applied to Chézy at 84, 11. Although these terms were used to describe a village on the royal demesne in Frankish Latin<sup>1</sup>, the occurrence in the present work need not be ascribed to Frankish influence, for *villa regia* was used by Beda<sup>2</sup>, and the *villa regia* seems therefore to be merely the *cyninges-tun* of Alfred's laws<sup>3</sup>. At c. 91, 23 stone buildings are called *villae regiae*.

1, 3 *Uuanating*.—The birth of Alfred at Wantage rests solely upon the authority of this work. This village was in the possession of Alfred, and was bequeathed by him to Ealhswith (his wife)<sup>4</sup>. It occurs again in Eadred's will<sup>5</sup>, so that it would seem to have been an ancient possession of Alfred's house, which held much land in the vicinity. It is probably in this connexion that the Chronicle mentions under 647–8 that King Cenwealh of Wessex gave 'three thousands'<sup>6</sup> of land about Æscesdun (the Berkshire Downs)

<sup>1</sup> Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. 3, ii. part 1, p. 181, note 5; part 2, p. 191; Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. 3, p. 194; Ducange, *s. vv.*

<sup>2</sup> Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 9, 14 bis, 16; iii. c. 17, 22.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Liebermann, 1, 2, vol. i, 48; ed. Schmid, p. 68. The terms *villa regia*, *regalis* or *vicus regalis*, are not unknown in the charters. See *Cart. Sax.* i. 220, 36; 271, 23; 380, 11; 382, 27; 409, 30; 447, 10; 486, 23; 497, 25; 504, 4; 528, 30; 573, 15; 581, 30; 585, 1; &c.

<sup>4</sup> See his will in *Cart. Sax.* ii. 178. Concerning Ealhswith see Introduction, p. lx, note 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 75, 24.

<sup>6</sup> If this means three thousand hides, as Mr. Plummer holds (p. 23), the area conveyed would be more than that of Berkshire at the time of Domesday, which Professor Maitland works out at 2,473 hides (*Domesday Book and Beyond*, p. 505). It seems, therefore, improbable that hides are meant, and the omission of hides is still more improbable in the case of the *hund þusenda landes* of *Bēowulf*, line 2995, referred to by Mr. Plummer. This is more than the entire numbers of hides and carucates in Domesday for the whole of England, except Northumberland, Durham, Westmoreland, Cumberland, and part of Lancashire. See Maitland, p. 507. Moreover the passage from *Beowulf* reads 'hund þusenda landes ond locenra beaga,' 'a hundred thousands of land and locked arm-rings,' so that the sum was made up in land and in currency, and *þusend* applies as much to the latter as to the former. The 'thirty thousands' paid by the men of Kent in 694, according to the Chronicle, for killing the West Saxon (joint-king?) Mul, seem to have been scettas (Kemble, *Saxons in England*, i. 283; Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, pp. 594, 675; Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 444). A contemporary Kentish charter of 805–9 was made 'pro con-

to his kinsman Cuthred. According to the regnal table<sup>1</sup>, Ine and Ingeld, from the latter of whom Alfred was descended, had a sister Cuthburh, and she is mentioned in the Chronicle in 718 as queen of Bernicia and abbess of Wimborne. As we have here proof of the use of the name-stem *Cūð* in Alfred's family, it is probable that Cuthred was closely connected with it, and that Alfred's extensive Berkshire estates may represent this gift of 647-8.

1, 3 *paga*, 'shire, district.' This form is peculiar to the present work, in which it occurs in cc. 5, 2; 12, 7; 35, 6; 42, 19; 45, 5; 49, 6; 53, 4; 55, 4, 10, 11. That this was the reading of the original seems to be shown by the fact that Florence of Worcester and the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots agree in copying the word in this form. It has possibly arisen from a confusion of *pagus* and *plaga*<sup>2</sup>. *Pagus* was employed in Frankish Latin to describe a district corresponding to an English shire, and the use of *paga* may be ascribed to Frankish influence. *Pagus* for shire occurs in spurious O E. charters<sup>3</sup>.

1, 4 *Berroc silva*. This wood is mentioned by name as late as 1199 in a charter of confirmation by John to the nuns of Fontévrault of the possessions of the nunnery of

petenti pecunia, id est tria milia denariorum' (Brit. Mus. *Facs.*, ii. pl. 7; *Cart. Sax.* i. 445, 6), and another Kentish charter, also contemporary, written *circ.* 850, refers to the payment of 'ten thousands' (Brit. Mus. *Facs.*, ii. pl. 19; *Cart. Sax.* i. 561, 4). See also *Cart. Sax.* i. 575, 23; 576, 7, 8. The foundation charter of Gloucester has preserved a trace of very ancient origin in the corrupted 'cum uno sulcaura (for anulo aureo?), in quo fuit xxx. milia' (*Cart. Sax.* i. 95, 20, where Mr. Hart's impossible suggestion that this is an error for *sulinga*, a purely Kentish land measure, is noted). The denomination had gone out of use before the latter part of the tenth century, for Æthelweard converts Mul's wergeld into 30,000 *solidi* of 16*d.* each (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 506 E), that is 200*l.* In a similar way the scribes of Chron. B and C inserted the word 'hides' in this passage.

<sup>1</sup> See note to c. 1, 1, p. 152, above.

<sup>2</sup> The *pagae* of the Annals of St. Neots in c. 12, 28, where the others have *plagae*, may represent the reading of the original.

<sup>3</sup> The spurious St. Denis charters of 790 and 795 apply *pagus* to Sussex (*Cart. Sax.* i. 351, 10; 361, 23). These are Frankish forgeries. See the writer's remarks in *English Historical Review*, vi. 736 sqq. Other instances are 895 *Cart. Sax.* ii. 205, 2 'in paga (*sic*), qui dicitur Dorset'; 212, 28 'in pago Suthfolchi' (upon this charter see p. 201, note 4, below); 900-3 *ibid.* ii. 247, 22; 257, 20 'in pago, qui dicitur Hamtun,' the former being an early eleventh-century forgery.

Amesbury<sup>1</sup>, which had been granted to them in 1179 by Henry II upon the expulsion of the nuns<sup>2</sup>. After the mention of Letcombe (co. Berks) the charter proceeds 'et de redditu memoris de Barroc xx. sol. et decimam pasnagii tam den(arum)<sup>3</sup> quam porcorum, et quot porcos ibi habere voluerint quietos de pasnagio, et centum porcos in Chet (Chute Forest, co. Wilts) quietos de pasnagio.' Guest<sup>4</sup> thinks that the Barroc Wood originally included Windsor Forest, but that by the date given above it had shrunk down to the

<sup>1</sup> *Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 14 a. John's charter is merely a repetition of that of Henry II. The latter is recited in the Inspecimus charters of Edward II, enrolled on the Charter Roll of his tenth year, membrane 10, no. 16, and of Edward III, enrolled on the Charter Roll of his seventeenth year, mem. 12, no. 16. The spelling in both enrolments is *Berroc*' (where *ch* has the Anglo-Norman value of *k*). The date of the charter of Henry II is fixed by the mention of the making of the confirmation in 1179, a date that is repeated in John's charter.

<sup>2</sup> Round, *Calendar of Documents in France*, p. 378.

<sup>3</sup> This word is printed in the *Monasticon* from the *Cartae Antiquae*, an authority inferior to the Charter Rolls, as *denariorum*. But it is clearly a Latinization of O.E. *den(n)*, 'valley,' which was used to express 'a woody valley, or place, yielding both covert and feeding for cattle, especially swine' (Lambarde, *Roman Ports of Kent*, Oxford, 1693, p. 108). The more usual word in O.E. charters is *den-bera*, which is explained as 'pascua porcorum' in a contemporary charter of 863 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 116, 7; Ordnance Survey *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, i. pl. 10) or *den-berende*, translated by Thorn in the fourteenth century as 'dennas glandes portantes' (Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 1776). *Den* (neut.) also occurs in O.E. in this sense (*Cart. Sax.* i. 553, 12; ii. 114, 22, Brit. Museum *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters*, ii. pl. 36; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 585, 12; Brit. Mus. *Facsimiles*, iii. pl. 13; *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 227, 31; Ordn. Survey *Facs.* iii. 33), and is Latinized as *dena* in Domesday Book, i. 2, col. 2; 14 b; 30 b, col. 1; 56 b, col. 2, the last one being a Berkshire entry. The word was unfamiliar to John's chancery clerks, for in the case of the enrolment of his charter to St. Peter's, Ghent (*Rot. Chart.* 184 a), 'decimis de Andredewal' represent the more correct *dennis* of the charters of Henry I and II (*Cartae Antiquae*, T. 8), which are repeated almost word for word. In the forged charter of Edward the Confessor to Ghent the word is represented by *vallis* (*Cod. Dipl.* iv. 81). As this archaic *den* in John's charter to the nuns of Fontévrault is derived from the confirmation of Henry II, and as the latter is a repetition of some older charter, it is possible that Barroc Wood may not have been generally known by that name so late as John's time. But the charter is a welcome confirmation of the mention in the present work of the existence of a wood called Berroc. The statement of Green, *Making of England*, p. 96, that Bearruc meant 'box,' rests upon a mistranslation of the passage in the Life.

<sup>4</sup> *Origines Celticae*, ii. 152.

valley of the Kennet. He bases his conclusion upon this charter, giving an erroneous reference to the *Monasticon*, iv. 102 (for ii. 336). The charter mentions Kintbury, Challow, Fawley, South Fawley, 'Rotlea' (Temple Rothley, co. Leicester?), Letcombe, and then Barroc Wood. If any conclusion could be safely drawn from the wording of the charter, it would be that Barroc Wood was near Letcombe Basset rather than in the valley of the Kennet. Kintbury, Challow, and Fawley were in the possession of the nuns of Amesbury at the time of Domesday<sup>1</sup>. Challow and Fawley are close to Wantage. Francis Wise, the editor of Asser, claimed that Berroc Wood was identical with Boxgrove, in Sulham, near Reading. He tells us that 'the last remains of Boxgrove were grubbed up not above two years ago' (i. e. in 1736), and the memory of the growth of box in Tilehurst was still current in his time<sup>2</sup>. Gough, in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, has accepted this identification, but there is little to support it, since the growth of box was not restricted to this part of the county. It is recorded, for instance, in the name of *Boxford*, formerly *Box-ora*, between Newbury and Fawley.

1, 6 **genealogia**. This is derived, not from the West-Saxon regnal table referred to in the note to line 1, but from the genealogy of Æthelwulf, Alfred's father, which is entered in the Chronicle under 855. This deals only with the lineal ancestors of Æthelwulf, not with all the kings of Wessex, as the regnal table does, and it does not give the duration of the reigns. The descent of Æthelwulf also occurs in the regnal table, but therein it is only deduced from Cerdic, not from Woden, Geat, and Adam, as in the 855 pedigree. The copy of the genealogy used by the author of the present work agreed with the text in Chron. B, C, and D, and with the Sweet, Cambridge, and Tiberius A. iii texts of the regnal table against Chron. A, the copy of the regnal table prefixed to it, and Napier's text of the regnal table, in making Creoda the son of Cerdic and the father of Cynric. In the latter group Cynric is made the son of Cerdic. It seems clear that

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 60a.

<sup>2</sup> *A Letter to Dr. Mead concerning some Antiquities in Berkshire*, Oxford, 1738, p. 41.



Creoda occurred in the archetype of the regnal list and, from the agreement of Chron. B, C, and D, in the archetype of the Chron., a position long and erroneously assigned to A. Creoda is also mentioned in the late tenth-century pedigree of Alfred's house in Tiberius B v<sup>1</sup>, and in the list in the *Textus Roffensis*<sup>2</sup>, which are copied from a common archetype<sup>3</sup>. That Creoda was in the original of the pedigree and regnal table is proved by the fact that

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Wright in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, 1841-5, ii. 171, and in part by Pauli, *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, v. 637. This is a copy, with continuations, of the ninth-century royal genealogies and list of bishops in Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 167 sqq., a copy of which was used by the compiler of the *Historia Brittonum* (Nennius). The West Saxon genealogy has been added in Wright's text.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1720, p. 61. This text has been influenced by the Life, for it substitutes *Eata* for the *Eat* of Wright's list on the authority of the *Geata* of the Life. This is proved by the presence of another West Saxon royal genealogy in Old English in the *Textus*, pp. 59-60, which has *Geata*, 'whom the heathens worshipped as God,' a statement derived from the Life, c. 1, 22. It also repeats from the Life, c. 1, 17, that 'the Britons called the land *Gewis*' from *Gewis* (see p. 163, below). The West Saxon genealogy given by Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, ed. Le Prevost, vol. iii. p. 161, was probably derived by him from the present work or from Florence of Worcester, for it has the form *Geata*, the passage 'quem Geatam iam dudum pagani pro Deo venerabantur,' the form *Cetuuu*, and the conflate *Fingoldwulf* for *Fin, qui fuit Godwulf*. This conflation occurred in the Cottonian MS. of the Life, in Florence, and in Simeon of Durham, part 1. The editions of Florence exhibit *Fin, qui fuit Godwulf*, the reading of the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS., but the Corpus Christi College, Oxford, the Bodleian, and the Lambeth MSS. have *Fingoldwulf*. M. Delisle has identified Orderic's source with the original of a MS. at Avranches, written about 1205, which formerly belonged to Orderic's monastery of Saint-Évroult, Ouche (Le Prevost's edition, vol. v. p. li). This copy agrees with Orderic's text, and has, in the parts not copied by him, the names added by Florence to the Life in c. 1, 18, 19. It has also the remark that the Britons call the West Saxon *Gewis*. It has some additions derived from the O.E. Chronicle. As Ordericus visited Worcester and saw there Florence's work, the O.E. genealogies in which he specially mentions (lib. iii. vol. ii. pp. 160-1), it is probable that his text of the genealogy of the West Saxon house was copied from Florence by him during his visit, and that the Avranches MS. is a transcript of his copy.

<sup>3</sup> The original was written in the reign of Edgar, as both texts say that Edward, Edmund, and Æthelred, the Æthelings, are sons of Edgar. Edmund, an illegitimate son, died, according to Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 159, five years before his father's death, which occurred in 975.



the retention of his name is necessary for the alliteration, which is then complete from Cerdic downwards, and is only broken in the 855 text in the continuation to Scaef by the latter name and by those of Woden and Sceldwea<sup>1</sup>. But Creoda's name is omitted in all the complete versions of the regnal table at the commencement, and it would seem that he was omitted in the copy used by the compiler of the Chronicle, for Cynric is referred to as the son of Cerdic under 495, 534, 597, 674, 685, 688. The last four are portions of the West-Saxon pedigree, and omit Creoda in all the MSS. The author of the present work thus contradicts himself within a few lines, for he makes Cynric the son of Creoda in c. 1, 15, and of Cynric in c. 2, 8. Possibly the detection of this discrepancy is the reason why Creoda has been omitted from the 855 pedigree in Chron. A. It is noteworthy that the copy of the regnal table prefixed to the latter similarly omits Ceawlin from the list of kings, although he is mentioned in the Chron. In later copies the Northumbrian form of his name Celin<sup>2</sup> has in consequence been identified with Ceolwulf, and the two have been merged. It seems, as the editor has already suggested<sup>3</sup>, that there has been a similar confusion or conflation of the names Creoda and Cerdic. The consequent omission of Creoda has introduced complications into the regnal tables and the Chronicle. The regnal tables say that Cerdic and Cynric conquered Wessex six years after their arrival, which is dated 494, and that Cerdic reigned sixteen years. The Chronicle, on the other hand, says that he and Cynric began to reign in 519, and that he died in 534. Cynric then reigned alone twenty-six years, the succession of Ceawlin being ascribed to 560. This discrepancy may be reconciled by assuming that Cerdic reigned from 500 to 516, Creoda from 516 to 534, and Cynric from the latter date until 560. This would assign to Creoda a reign of eighteen years. The seventeen years assigned for Cynric's reign in the regnal table prefixed to A, against the twenty-six in Tiberius A. iii and, by implication, in the body of

<sup>1</sup> R. Henning, *Scaef und die westsächsische Stammtafel*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, Berlin, 1897, xli. 168.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 153, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> *English Historical Review*, xiv. 40.

the Chronicle, may, perhaps, have arisen from a confusion of the seventeen or eighteen years of Creoda with the twenty-six of Cynric. There is a similar confusion between the duration of the reign of Ceawlin and Ceolwulf consequent upon their conflation.

1, 13 **Coenred**. This preserves an older form of the name than any MS. of the Chronicle under 855. MS. A, however, has *Coen-* under 685, 704, 716. The representation of the *i-umlaut* of *o* by *oe* (*Coen* < *Coin* < *Cōni-*) is very rare in the MSS. of Alfred's time<sup>1</sup>, and must, therefore, have been copied by the author from some old MS. On the other hand the work has a later form than A in *Freothe-*, line 19, against the *Frithu-* of A<sup>2</sup>, which is preserved in lines 20, 21. The introduction of the late tenth-century form *Freothe-* in line 19 is, no doubt, to be assigned to the scribe of the Cott. MS., who has inadvertently written the form of his own time, in which the *brechung* of *i* before *u* to *eo* and the reduction of unaccented *u* to *e* had already occurred. The late eleventh-century confusion of *æ* and *ea*<sup>3</sup> represented by the form *Beldeag* for *Beldæg*, line 20, probably comes from Florence of Worcester, the Cott. MS. having, if we may trust the collations and editors, *Belde*.

1, 22 **Geata, Getam**. The way in which the author accommodates the O.E. *Gēat* to the *Geta* of his quotation, with which it has no connexion, is worthy of note. The weak form *Gēata* seems to be due entirely to this attempt at reconciliation. It occurs as *Geata* and *Eata* in the two genealogies in the *Textus Roffensis*<sup>4</sup>, both of which show proofs of being influenced by the Life. It also appears in MS. B of the Chronicle, which is somewhat older in date than the Cottonian MS. of the Life. In this case the

<sup>1</sup> P. J. Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, Haag, 1888, i. § 79, p. 96.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. § 29, p. 52, where, by an oversight, some later forms are given from MS. B of the Chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> Napier, *Old English Glosses*, p. xxvii. § 1, 1.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 158, note 2. The older copy in Tiberius B. v (see above, p. 158, note 1) has *Eating*, *Eat*, which is probably an error that has arisen from a rubricator's failure to insert the initial letters. It may, however, be a late form of *Geating*, *Geat*. See Sievers, *Angelsächs. Grammatik*, ed. 3, § 212, note 2.

addition of the final *a* to the name may be a clerical error due to the surrounding names ending with that letter, more especially as the other MSS. of the Chronicle prove by their agreement that *Geat* was the reading of the archetype. Florence of Worcester writes *Geata* in the Northumbrian royal pedigree under 547, where MSS. B and C of the Chronicle have merely the patronymic *Geating*; the *Gioting* of the ninth-century text<sup>1</sup>. Florence probably wrote *Geata* under the influence of the Life. It also appears in the Avranches MS., which is probably based upon Florence<sup>2</sup>.

1, 18 *Geguuis* = O.E. *Gewis*. The Welsh spelling of *guu*, *gw* for *w* occurs in *Gwilou*, the river Wiley, O.E. *Wilig*, and in *Gwuihtgaraburhg*, c. 2, 11, although *w* is more usually used in English names. *Gu* is naturally used in Welsh names, *Degui* (St. David), c. 79, 52, 56; *Gleguising*, c. 80, 6; *Guent*, c. 80, 7; and *Durngueir* (from Dornovaria), c. 49, 7. The Welsh form of the river-name *Exe*, O.E. \**Esce*, *Exe*, is spelt *Uuisc* in c. 49, 24. Possibly the scribe of the Cottonian MS. may have corrected the orthography of some of these and of other English names into O.E. spelling. The meaning of the present passage is probably that the West Saxons, who even in Beda's time had ceased to be called *Gewisse*<sup>3</sup>, were still known to the Britons by this name. It is applied to the English in the *Annales Cambriae* in the form *Giuoys*<sup>4</sup>, and in the later *Brut y Tywysogion* as *Iwys*<sup>5</sup>. The latter form shows that the name was of English origin and not Celtic, for the O.E. *g* was a spirant, and hence could be written *i* when followed

<sup>1</sup> Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 171, line 110. This form disconnects the name from the O. N. *Gautr*. This text preserves several early eighth-century forms. See Sievers, in *Anglia*, xiii. 19, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 158, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Historica Ecclesiastica*, iii. 7: 'gens Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geissae vocabantur.' The West Saxons are called *Gewissi* in ii. 5; iv. 15, 16; v. 19. It was used as an antiquarian revival in the royal titles of the kings of the tenth century. See further upon the name the present editor's note in the *English Historical Review*, xiv. 36, note 15.

<sup>4</sup> Under the year 900 in the tenth-century version printed by Mr. Egerton Phillimore, in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. 167.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Rhys and Evans, *Red Book of Hergest*, p. 260: *Alwryt urenhin Iwys* (Alfred, king of Iwys).

by a palatal vowel, as in this case, whereas later Welsh *g* was a stop (like *g* in English *God*) in such a position. The spelling *Iewisse* occurs in the late tenth-century record of the synod alleged to have been held by Edward the Elder in consequence of the letter of Pope Formosus in 905<sup>1</sup>. There is a pedigree in O.E. from Adam to Edward the Confessor in the *Textus Roffensis*, in which it is asserted that the Britons called the land of the English *Gewis* ('*ċa* was *Gewis*, of *ċam* Brittas clypedan *ċæt* land *Gewis*') from *Gewis*<sup>2</sup>. In the fictions of Geoffrey of Monmouth, in which names of localities are personified with a facility worthy of the Greeks, the *Gewis* are converted into *Geuissa*, printed *Genuissa*<sup>3</sup>, the daughter of *Claudius*, just as the *Mercians* are converted into *Marcia*, to whom the *Mercian* laws are ascribed. The *Wissei* and *Gewissei* are made to do duty for the names of the Britons inhabiting *Wessex* before the arrival of the Saxons<sup>4</sup>. The ultimate source of Geoffrey's knowledge of this ancient name of the West-Saxons may be the present work or *Beda*, but the perversion is his own.

**1, 24 Sedulius.** That the ensuing quotation was present in the original work is proved by the presence of the first three lines, followed by *et cetera*, in the northern compilation handed down to us by *Simeon of Durham*. From *Simeon* these three lines were taken by the twelfth-century author of the *St. Albans* compilation that forms the nucleus of the chronicles of *Roger of Wendover* and *Matthew of Paris*<sup>5</sup>. But in these works they are transferred to *Offa* under 758, whose pedigree from *Woden* to *Adam* agreed with the one here given. *Sedulius* was, from his religious subjects, a very favourite poet in Western Europe. *Beda* and *Aldhelm* make frequent references to him in their grammatical works, and he was well known to *Alcuin*

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 276, 277; Warren, *Leofric's Missal*, Oxford, 1883, p. 1 b.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Hearn, p. 60. This is, however, derived from the present work. See above, p. 158, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Historia Britonum*, iv. c. 14, 15.

<sup>4</sup> Lib. vi. c. 6; lib. vii. c. 4; lib. viii. c. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Wendover*, i. 235; *Paris*, i. 342. It is repeated from *Paris* in the work known as the *Flores Historiarum*, i. 383, the earlier part of which is really a copy of *Paris*.

and to the Carolingian poets. See the index of writers who quote or imitate him given at the end of Huemer's edition, to which the present work should be added. The passage here quoted appears, rearranged so as to suit the requirements of metrical prose, in the prologue to the Life of St. Eloy<sup>1</sup>. The commencement of the first hymn of Sedulius is quoted in the late tenth-century Life of St. Oswald<sup>2</sup>. Sedulius is mentioned amongst the authors in the library at York by Alcuin<sup>3</sup>. Leland met with a copy of the *Carmen Paschale* at Sherborne<sup>4</sup>. Sedulius is referred to in a poem wrongly attributed to Alcuin, but which seems to be by Æthilwald, a contemporary Northumbrian(?) writer<sup>5</sup>. In the present work the passage has been misunderstood, for the reference is to the slave Geta, who appears in Terence, and not to the god Gēat. The meaning was clear to Aldhelm, who quotes this line in his letter to Acircius<sup>6</sup>.

2. This chapter is derived principally from the Chron. (see note to line 6), but the mention of Alfred's mother, of her father Oslac, and of their descent from Stuf and Wihtgar are additions. The descent here ascribed to Alfred is possibly the reason why Stuf and Wihtgar are mentioned in the Chron. under 530 and 534.

2, 3 Oslac, pincerna. An Oslac occurs as a witness to a contemporary charter of Æthelberht in 858<sup>7</sup>, but his rank

<sup>1</sup> D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. Baluze, ii. 76, quoted by E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig, 1898, p. 759. Norden was not aware of this borrowing from Sedulius.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, i. 458.

<sup>3</sup> *Carmen de Pontificibus Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, 1549, *ibid.* i. 395; ed. Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, i. 204.

<sup>4</sup> *Collectanea*, iii. 255, ed. Hearne, iv. 150.

<sup>5</sup> Dümmler, *Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi*, i. 243; cf. Henry Bradley, *English Historical Review*, xv. 291. The poem is printed in Giles's edition of Aldhelm's works, p. 108.

<sup>6</sup> Angelus Maius, *Auctores Classici*, Rome, 1833, v. 574; *Aldelmi Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 307.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 33, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 101. The Osric, ealdorman of Hampshire, mentioned in c. 18, 10, was probably a kinsman of Alfred's wife. The occurrence of an *Os-* name in a great Hampshire family, such as the ealdorman's must have been, is a strong confirmation of the information given in the Life concerning Oslac and his family. Alfred mentions in his will a kinsman named Osferth (*Cart.*



is not defined. There is nothing but this passage to support Kemble's statement that the office of *pincerna* 'was one of the highest dignity, and was held by nobles of the loftiest birth and greatest consideration'. The instances of this title in the charters, which have been collected by Kemble<sup>2</sup>, are derived, with one exception, from chartularies of indifferent repute, and there is not one of them that is free from suspicion. The excepted charter is one of Uhtred, king of the Hwiccii, dated 756, in the third year of Offa's reign, with the attestation 'Duddan pincerni' (gen. sing.)<sup>3</sup>. Kemble has branded this text as spurious, but, apart from the strange errors in date, there is nothing in it to cast doubt upon its authenticity. The *pincerna* was an officer of somewhat subordinate importance in the Frankish court<sup>4</sup>, and this mention of Oslac, a man of most noble descent, and therefore not a noble by service, as fulfilling the office of butler raises suspicions of the ascription of later Frankish or English customs to Æthelwulf's court. But against this may be urged the fact that there is an equally great difficulty about the mention of a great nobleman holding this office at the time when the burnt Cottonian MS. of this work was written. The word *pincerna* occurs in the O.E. glossaries, and must have been familiar through its occurrence in the Hieronymian translation of the Bible. The

*Sax.* ii. 178, 20), to whom he leaves lands in Sussex. He was probably a member of the Hampshire family. See p. 217, below.

<sup>1</sup> *Saxons in England*, ii. 111.

<sup>2</sup> To Kemble's instances may be added that of 'Wigheard pincerna' in 809 (*Cart. Sax.* i. 458, 5, a late copy).

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 325, 13. The real date of the charter must be 777-779, as it is witnessed by Bishop Tilhere (of Worcester) and by Bishop Berthun (of Lichfield). This Dudda is, no doubt, the person of that name in a charter of Uhtred's brother Ealdred, dated 781 (ib. 332, 18). In the first-mentioned charter, he witnesses after the *principes* and *prae-fecti*. The originals of both these charters, which were seen at Worcester by Dugdale in 1643 (Wanley, *Catalogus*, p. 300, Nos. 83, 92), and are mentioned by Wanley amongst the charters in the possession of Lord Somers (ib. p. 301, Nos. 2, 4), had disappeared from the latter collection by 1722, when Smith printed them at the end of his edition of Beda's *History*, pp. 765, 767. From Wanley's silence, we may conclude that these charters presented no palaeographical peculiarities to arouse the doubts of this accomplished judge of O.E. hands.

<sup>4</sup> H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. 102, § 71; Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. 3, p. 139.

absence of evidence that great nobles held such originally menial offices about the king<sup>1</sup> does not justify us in rejecting this passage as the work of a later forger. The possibility that nobles did hold such offices at this time is deducible from the occurrence of 'Eastmund pedesecus' in the contemporary charter of Æthelberht cited above, where he witnesses next to the dux Æthelmod and before Oslac. We can hardly be wrong in identifying Eastmund with the minister of the same name who witnesses a contemporary charter of 862 and 863, and with the *dux* of the same name in a contemporary charter of 867 and 868<sup>2</sup>. At and for some time after this period the *duces* seem to have been drawn exclusively from the great nobles. *Pedisequus*, *pedisecus* occurs occasionally in the earlier charters as the name of an important official, to judge by the position of his signature, and it is evident that the word is used in a special sense, and not in the general sense of servant or attendant, which it bears in classical Latin<sup>3</sup>. Kemble was unable to define his duties otherwise than by suggesting that he was the king's messenger, an unlikely suggestion that would dis sever his office at once from that of Hunferth, who 'sat at the feet' of the king in *Beowulf*, and who was evidently an important person in the court. The title disappears from the later charters, and in copies of early ones is occasionally misunderstood or perverted. As the disappearance of the *pedisecus* from the list of witnesses precedes the time when the lay officers of the court are mentioned with specific official titles, it is probable that his functions may have been divided amongst several officers, and that his acting as *pincerna* was the one that most struck the author of this work.

<sup>1</sup> Beda, iv. c. 3, tells us that Ouini, who accompanied Æthelthryth into Northumbria, was 'primus ministrorum et princeps domus,' to her, but his rank is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> An earlier instance seems to occur in the case of Æðelheah, who is described in a charter of 812 as *ped' sec'* (Ordin. Survey Facs. i. pl. 6, Canterbury, contemporary; *Cart. Sax.* i. 478, 8), and in a ninth-century copy of a charter of 814 as *dux* (Brit. Mus. Facs. ii. pl. 14; *Cart. Sax.* i. 481, 9).

<sup>3</sup> The fem. *pedissequa* is used by Florence, an. 1051 (ed. Thorpe, i. 207), in the classical sense, but his usages are no criteria as to the meanings in the ninth century in England.

2, 5 *Gothis et Iutis*. The second of these names was misprinted, probably by an emendation of the German printer, as *Indis* in Camden's edition, although given correctly as *Iutis* in Parker's edition. It is a proof of the carelessness with which the collation of the Cottonian MS. was done for Wise's edition, that it is stated in his apparatus that the MS. read *Indis*<sup>1</sup>. In addition to the evidence of Parker's text and of the transcripts that the MS. had *Iutis*, we have the much higher authority of Archbishop Ussher, who states categorically that it had this reading<sup>2</sup>.

The author of the present work probably intended to convey that the *Iuti* or *Iutae* were the same people as the Goths. Similarly, William of Malmesbury states that *Anglia Vetus* lies between the Saxons and Goths<sup>3</sup>, evidently on the basis of the well-known passage in Beda<sup>4</sup>. Such a con-

<sup>1</sup> Wise's error has, no doubt, arisen from a fruitful cause of wrong statements as to the reading of MSS. in critical apparatus, namely, the overlooking during collation of a variant reading in a MS., and then the statement, made when drawing up the apparatus, that the particular MS. has the reading of the text used as the basis of the collation. To avoid such mistakes, constant reference is required to the MS.

<sup>2</sup> *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*, c. 12 (*Opera*, ed. Elrington, Dublin, 1847, v. 446): "de Gothis et Iutis." Ita enim ex autographo legendum est; non, ut in Francofurtensi editione vitiosissime habetur, Indis.' At the same time he drew attention to the current misreading in the editions of his time of Beda's *Iutae* as *Vitae* (through *iutae* being read *uitae*), a form that still misleads local writers and others to connect the name of these people with the Isle of Wight, which was known as *Vectis* long before their appearance upon the scene. The endeavour to connect the names of the island and of the people is as old as the thirteenth century, for the Claudius MS. C 9, of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, c. 5, calls the people *Wichti* instead of *Iuti*, as in the other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Regum*, p. 121, § 116. There is what appears to be an earlier confusion of the *Iuti* with the Goths in the words ascribed to Belisarius by Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, ii. c. 6, ed. Comparetti, ii. p. 44: ἡμεῖς δὲ Γότθοις Βρεττανίαν ὄλην συγχωροῦμεν ἔχειν . . . Ῥωμαίων κατήκοον τὸ ἀνέκαθεν γεγεννημένην. As he elsewhere—iv. c. 20 (iii. p. 146)—calls the inhabitants of 'Brittia' Ἀγγίλοι τε καὶ Φρίσσοι καὶ οἱ τῆ νήσῳ ὀμάννιοι Βρίττωες, it is possible that the *Iuti*, who seem to have been clearly a Frisian tribe, may be meant by the *Γότθοι*, but it is more probable that the latter word is used as a general name for any Germanic invaders of the empire.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* i. c. 15. The *Anglia Vetus* suggests that the immediate source was Æthelweard (*Mon. Hist. Britt.* p. 502 D). In this case William's *Gothi* have originated from Æthelweard's *Gioti* (see p. 170, below), not from Beda's *Iutae*.

fusion could hardly be made by an Englishman in the time of King Alfred, and this mention of the Goths, whose name is correctly given by Alfred as Gotan<sup>1</sup> (without the erroneous *th* of the classical forms), is, no doubt, to be ascribed to the foreign origin of the author, who has been led by learned associations to connect two unrelated ethnic names. There is no trace of the people of Kent calling themselves *Iuti* or *Iutae*, except the passage in Beda, and it is clear that they early abandoned this name in favour of *Cantware*, 'dwellers in Kent.' Their kinsmen in the Isle of Wight and in Hampshire have left hardly any more trace of their ethnic denomination. The *Iutae*, *Iuti* are not mentioned in the Chron., except in the late interpolation common to MSS. A and E under 449, which is undoubtedly derived from Beda. This writer must be also the source whence the author of the present work derived the form of the name. The evidence of philology proves that he cannot have derived it from any contemporary form. Beda latinizes the name as *Iuti*, *Iutae*, but it must have been in Germanic an *i*-stem, like so many other Germanic and O.E. ethnic and tribal names, for West-Germanic *iu* can only be explained as arising from an original *eu* followed in the next syllable by an *i*, which modified the *eu* into *iu*<sup>2</sup>. Beda's form may represent an original \**Juti-z* (i. e. \**Yuti-z*) or \**Euti-z*. If the former be the correct form, there can be no question of connecting the name with the Jutes of Jutland, for in Old Norse the semi-vowel must have disappeared before the following *u*<sup>3</sup>, as, for example, in the case of O.N. *ok*

<sup>1</sup> In the translation of Orosius, ed. Sweet, 16, 18; 48, 14, 19; 276, 4, 14, 21; 288, 19; 290, 19, 25, 32; 292, 12; 294, 17; 296, 7, 10; 298, 3; translation of Boethius, ed. Sedgfield, 3, 1; 7, 1; (metra 1) 151, 5, 9; 152, 23, 38. The same form also occurs in the translation of Beda ascribed to Alfred, ed. Schipper, 30, line 591, and in Bishop Werferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, 10, 24; 14, 15; 66, 6, 15; 185, 26; 187, 13; 194, 16.

<sup>2</sup> Sievers, in Paul, Braune, and Sievers' *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, xviii. 411.

<sup>3</sup> It was pointed out as early as 1848 by Munch, *Samlede Afhandlinger*, Christiania, 1873, i. 433, that the O.N. form *fōtar* (*fōtar*) might descend from an original \**Iut-* (i. e. \**Euti-*) or \**Jiut-* (i. e. \**Jeuti-*), but not from a \**Jut-*, and that, if from the second, the initial *j* would be preserved in O.E. as *g*. It is probable that Beda would have so represented it, for he writes *Giudi urbs*, *Hist. Eccl.* i. 12 (cf. the *Judan-*



from an older *juk*, from a Germanic *jugom*, cognate with Greek ζυγόν, Latin *iugum*, O.E. *geoc*, New English *yoke*. The evidence, however, points to \**Euti-z* as the true form. A letter of Theodebert to Justinian, written between 534 and 547, mentions the *Saxonibus Euciis* amongst the people subject to his rule<sup>1</sup>, and it is a fair conclusion that this represents *Eutii*, and that it is a continental reference, the only one known, to Beda's *Iuti*, *Iutae*. The O.N. name of the people of Jutland, *Iōtar*, might be connected with either form<sup>2</sup>, but the Danish form of their name, *Jyder*, points to *Jenti*<sup>3</sup>. In the Anglian dialects the name *Iuti* would yield regularly *Iote*, *Eote*. The latter form occurs in the O.E. version of Beda, iv. 16, in the compound *Eota-land*, but this may be merely a modernization of Beda's form. In West-Saxon the *iu* would be according to rule smoothed to *ie*, and therefore *Iete* would have been the form of Alfred's time. By the end of the tenth century the West-Saxon *ie* had become *y*, and we may therefore recognize this people in the *Ytum*, dat. pl., in the lay of Widsith, line 26, and also in the *Ytene*, which Florence of Worcester records as the name of the New Forest<sup>4</sup>. That this was equivalent to 'provincia Iutarum' may be inferred from his using this latter term (the *Iutae* of which must have been copied from Beda) in another passage that also relates to the death of William Rufus<sup>5</sup>. One MS. of the translation of Beda really renders Beda's *Iutarum* by *Ytena*<sup>6</sup>, of which the nom. pl. would be \**Yte*. This should clinch the matter, unless this form can be regarded as due to an erroneous identification of the district of Ytene (i. e. *Ytena*, gen. pl.) with the ethnic name.

*byrig* of Chron. D, an. 952), and *Giuli* (*De Temporum Ratione*, c. xv), Gothic *jiuleis*, our *Yule*, where the text preserves an eighth-century Northumbrian form.

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 'Epistolae Merowingici et Karolini Aevi,' i. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Ten Brink, *Beowulf*, 204. This was previously recognized by Munch, l. c.

<sup>3</sup> According to a communication of Professor Möller, cited by Kossina, *Indogermanische Forschungen*, vii. 293.

<sup>4</sup> An. 1100 (ed. Thorpe, ii. 45): 'in Nova Foresta, quae lingua Anglorum Ytene nuncupatur.'

<sup>5</sup> Appendix (ed. Thorpe, i. 276): 'in provincia Iutarum, in Nova Foresta.' Concerning this Appendix see above, p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> The Corpus MS., book iv. 16 (ed. Schipper, 426, line 2, 146).



This does not seem very probable. Finally, these Iuti seem to be referred to in their continental home as *Eotena*, gen. pl., *Eotenum*, dat. pl., in *Beowulf*<sup>1</sup>, a variant form of the name that probably corresponds to the *Euthiones* represented in the fifth century by the nom. sing. *Euthio* of Venantius Fortunatus<sup>2</sup>.

It has been the misfortune of this obscure German race to bear a name that was liable to confusion with that of other tribes. Confusion with the name of the Goths might be produced in the early stages of O.E. through the pronunciation, which seems to have obtained, of the O.E. *g* when followed by a guttural vowel as a voiced spirant (as in Dutch), and not, as in later times, as a stop (as in our *God*). The date of the change to the latter is not known, and we cannot therefore be certain as to the pronunciation in the ninth century. The fact that Jutland is called Gotland in Alfred's account of Ohthere's voyage<sup>3</sup>, is an apparent justification of the confusion of the names of the Iuti and Goths by the author of the present work. But this is weakened by the fact that this portion is missing in the contemporary Lauderdale MS.<sup>4</sup>, and by the possibility that Jutland was at that time known to the Norsemen as Gotland, or rather \**Hreið-Gota-land*<sup>5</sup>. Confusion of the Iuti of Beda with the

<sup>1</sup> Lines 903, 1,073, 1,089, 1,142, 1,146. Their king Fin is described as king of the Frisians in *Widsith*, line 27, and his people are called by this name in *Beowulf*. The *Geotena* of *Beowulf*, 445, is usually regarded as an error for *Gæatena*, but it may represent *Eotena*, as Munch, l. c., has suggested.

<sup>2</sup> Just as the Frisians are called both *Frisii* and *Frisiones* by Latin writers, and the Saxons are in O.E. both *Seaxe* (*i*-stem) and *Seaxan* (an *on*-stem).

<sup>3</sup> Translation of *Orosius*, 19, 28. 20.

<sup>4</sup> Munch, p. 434, suggests that the king or the scribe has erred, for in the account of Wulfstan's voyage in *Orosius*, 20, 3, the island of Gutland, off the coast of Sweden, is also called 'Gotland.'

<sup>5</sup> *Reiðgotaland* is given by Snorre and the *Hervarar Saga* as the old name of Jutland, and is also said to have been the old name of Denmark. The name occurs in the dat. pl. *Hraipkutum* on the famous early tenth-century runic inscription at Rök, in East Götland, and Bugge, *Antiquarisk Tidsskrift for Sverige*, part v, p. 35, interprets the name as referring to the inhabitants of Götland (in O.N. the *Gautar*). Heinzel has maintained that the uncertainty as to the position of the Hreiðgotar (the *Hreðgotan* of *Beowulf*) arises from confused recollections of the East Gothic kingdom of Eormanric, and claims that the memory of the latter

Jutes of Jutland, when the Danish settlements in England made the English acquainted with the latter folk, was facilitated by the development in some O.E. dialects of a semi-vowel before an initial *eo*, so that *Eotas* became *Geotas*<sup>1</sup>. This seems to be the origin of Æthelweard's identification of the Danish Jutes, whom he calls *Gioti*, with the earlier settlers in England<sup>2</sup>, for his information was clearly derived from a Danish source. There was another northern people with whom the name of the *Iuti* was confused in England at this time. This was the *Favroi* of Procopius<sup>3</sup>, O.N. *Gautar*, whose name is recorded in the Swedish province of Götland and in the name of Götterborg (Gothenburg). This name, by the action of well-known phonological laws, became in O.E. *Gēatas*<sup>4</sup>. The Iuti of Beda are called by this name in the O.E. translation<sup>5</sup>. A great Scandinavian scholar has, indeed, tried, but unsuccessfully, to identify the Iuti with the Gautar, and has confused the latter with still another northern folk<sup>6</sup>, whose name is preserved in the isle of Gutland, and who were really, at all events in name, Goths (O.N. *Gotnar*, sing. *Goti* = O.E. \**Gota*).

2, 6 *Stuf et Wihthgar*. This is derived from the entries

is enshrined in the Czech name for Austria, *Rakusy*, derived through \**Hradagoza* from Goth. \**Hraþgulans* (*Ueber die Ostgotische Heldensage*, in the *Sitzungsberichte d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch., Phil.-Histor. Klasse*, cxix. iii. 15 sqq., Vienna, 1889). The forms and meaning of *Hreðgotan*, &c., have been dealt with by Bugge, in Paul, Braune, and Sievers' *Beiträge*, xxiv. 445.

<sup>1</sup> Sievers, *Angels. Grammatik*, ed. 3, 21, anm. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 502 D.

<sup>3</sup> *De Bello Gotico*, ii. c. 15 (ed. Comparetti, ii. 101).

<sup>4</sup> The Appendix to Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, i. 270, calls them *Gouti*, but this must be derived from a Scandinavian source, O.N. *au* being usually represented by *ou* in O.E. This is another proof of the Danish influence in Florence, to which attention has been called in the *Crawford Charters*, p. 144.

<sup>5</sup> Book i. 15, ed. Schipper, p. 41.

<sup>6</sup> Bugge, in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, xii. 1 sqq. The passage cited at p. 6 note, from the Laws of Edward the Confessor, that the 'Guti et Saxones Germanie, cum veniunt, debent protegi sicut coniurati fratres at cives regni,' is really a later antiquarian interpolation, and refers, not to the Jutes of Jutland, but to the inhabitants of the island of Gutland, a great centre of trade with England. Cf. Liebermann, *Über die Leges Anglorum saeculo XIII ineunte Londoniis collectae*, Halle, 1894, pp. 26, 52.

in the Chron. under 530, 'Her Cerdic ond Cynric genamon Wihte ealond, ond ofslogon fea(la) men on Wihtgara byrig' ('in this year Cerdic and Cynric captured the Isle of Wight, and slew many men in Wihtgara-burh') and 534, 'hie <Cerdic and Cynric> saldon hiera tuæm nefum Stufe ond Wihtgare Wiht ealand' ('they delivered the Isle of Wight to Stuf and Wihtgar, their two *nefan*'). The final clause about the previous slaying or flight of the other inhabitants of the isle has, no doubt, been added by the author, and is based merely upon the necessity of accounting for the conquest of the island when only a few of its inhabitants had been killed. The MS. of the Chron. used by the author agreed with MSS. B and C in reading *fea*, 'few,' instead of *feala*, 'many,' as in A and its derivative E. It is difficult to say which was the reading of the archetype, for there are irregularities about both forms<sup>1</sup>. The *nefan* of the second passage has been carelessly rendered 'nephews' by modern translators of the Chron., and has hence drawn suspicions upon this annal that are philologically unjustified. It is difficult to conceive a forger so stupid as to say that Stuf and Wihtgar were 'nephews' of Cerdic and Cynric, who are described immediately before as father and son. The author of the present work calls Cerdic the *avunculus* and Cynric the *consobrinus* of Stuf and Wihtgar. That Stuf and Wihtgar were grandsons of Cerdic and sons of a sister of Cynric is probably what this annal intended to convey, and would convey, to an Englishman of the ninth century. O.E. was rich in collective names of relationship that have no representatives in modern English, such as *āpum-swerian*, 'father-in-law and son-in-law,' *suhter-gefædera*, 'paternal uncle and nephew,' and *nefan* is used in a somewhat similar way in the annal of 534. *Nefa* is the O.E. representative of a widely diffused Indo-Germanic word, Sanskrit *nāpāt*-, Greek *ἀνεψιός* from

<sup>1</sup> *Fēa*, a contraction of *fēawe*, is poetical and non-West Saxon; Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, ii. p. 62; Sievers, *Angelsächsische Grammatik*, ed. 3, § 301, an. 1. The latter thinks this form may occur in early West Saxon, an opinion probably based upon the present instance. The *feala* of this passage is the only example of the spelling in early West Saxon noted by Cosijn, i. p. 38, the normal form being *fēla*. Mr. H. C. Chadwick, *Studies in Old English*, p. 136, holds that *fēa* is correct, and that it represents the neuter plural. See Sievers, *Angelsächs. Grammatik*, ed. 3, § 301, 1.

\*ἀ-νεπιγός<sup>1</sup> (and, probably, νέποδες), Latin *nepos*, &c.<sup>2</sup>, that has, like many others of these relationship names, meanings that vary widely. The original meaning of this word was, apparently, 'descendant,' which was specialized as 'grandson.' But it could also be applied to collateral descendants from a common ancestor, and hence obtained the meaning of 'nephew,' especially a sister's son. Both meanings, 'grandson' and 'nephew,' are recorded in Germanic and in O.E. Thus in *Beowulf* it signifies 'grandson' and 'sister's son'<sup>3</sup>. The latter is the prevailing meaning when applied to nephews, and, if we assign this sense to it in the annal of 533, we are at once reminded of an ancient German family custom that attracted the attention of Tacitus—the intimate, almost fatherly, connexion between a man and his sister's son<sup>4</sup>. But although there is a savour of antiquity about this participation of a sister's sons, we cannot use it as a decisive argument in favour of the antiquity of the annal, for it may be an accidental coincidence. Professor Gummere has shown how widely this relationship between a man and his sister's son is recorded in the later English ballads, and notices that it was going out of use at the time of the composition of *Beowulf*, which, however, preserves distinct traces of the custom<sup>5</sup>.

2, 11 Guuhtgaraburhg. The spelling *-burhg* is probably to be ascribed to the modernizing tendencies of Parker's transcriber. In the Chron. the dat. sing. *byrig* is used. The *gw* for *w* is a Welsh spelling; see note

<sup>1</sup> See Delbrück, *Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen*, in *Abhandlungen der philol.-hist. Classe der k. sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1889, xi. p. 509, who cites the Gothic *nipjis*, *συγγενής*, sb. = Indogerm. \**neptios*, p. 496.

<sup>2</sup> For further examples see Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. 2, i. 508; O. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, Strassburg, 1901, p. 182, s. v. 'Enkel.'

<sup>3</sup> In 882 *Fitela* is *nefa* to his *eam*. 'maternal uncle,' a sense still preserved in some of the Dialects (see Professor Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary*, s. vv. 'eam,' 'neam').

<sup>4</sup> *Germania*, 20, 4: 'Sororum filiis idem apud avunculum qui apud patrem honor.' See upon this passage Müllenhoff's exhaustive note in *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, iv. 318 sqq., Berlin, 1900; H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. 82.

<sup>5</sup> See his article on 'the Sister's Son' in *An English Miscellany, presented to Dr. Furnivall*, Oxford, 1901, pp. 133 sqq.



to c. 1, 18. The personal name *Wiht-gār*, from which this compound is derived, is, however, spelt in the English fashion. It is noticeable that the version of the Chron. before the author had the form *Wihtgara-*, the archaic gen. sing. of *gār*<sup>1</sup>, which had already fallen into desuetude by the time of the writing of the Parker MS. of the Chron., for the scribe substitutes *Wihtgaras* for *Wihtgares*, the later gen. sing., under 530, preserving the correct *Wihtgara* under 544. The MS. of the Chron. used by Florence had, like Chron. B, C, the correct *Wihtgara* under both dates. Under the latter date Florence explains the name as meaning 'civitas Wihtgari<sup>2</sup>,' which is possibly derived from some older source, for in his time the name could not be explained in this way without violence to grammar. *Wihtgara-burh*, which has been erroneously regarded as meaning 'the fortress of the men of Wight,' the *Wiht-ware* or *Wiht-waran*<sup>3</sup>, has been identified since the time of Camden with Carisbrooke. But it is not easy to derive the latter name from *Wihtgara-burh* or *Wihtgares-burh*, for such a derivation assumes the loss of the chief-stressed first member of the compound and the survival of the weak-stressed second member. In other cases of names

<sup>1</sup> That is, as was first pointed out by Professor Cosijn, in *Taalkundige Bijdrage*, Haarlem, 1878, ii. 272, *gāra* is the gen. sing. of an old *u*-stem, and *gāru*, 'spear,' is recorded in the Erfurt Glossary, in the compound *aet-garu* = later *at-gār* (ed. Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, 440). See Professor Sievers, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, ix. 273; and the present writer in the *English Historical Review*, xiv. 37. The Epinal and Corpus glossaries, however, read *aetgaeru*, 440. See upon these forms Chadwick, *Studies in Old English*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> From Florence, the twelfth-century author of the St. Albans compilation embodied by Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, i. 284, and Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. 380, have borrowed this gloss and inserted it in their reproduction of the present chapter. Hence it obtained a wide circulation in the thirteenth and following centuries.

<sup>3</sup> No such change of *g* to *w* is known in O.E., which either retains the *w* at the beginning of the second member of a compound, or, in rare cases, omits it owing to its absorption, through weakness of stress, in the following vowel. It is always retained in the rather numerous instances of the composition of *-waru*, *-ware*, &c., and in the fem. personal names compounded with *-waru*. On the *Wihtgara* of the Tribal Hidage (*Cart. Sax.* i. 414) see the writer's note in the *English Historical Review*, xiv. 37, note 19.



compounded with *Wiht*, the first member has, according to rule, survived, although sometimes found shortened owing to the length of the composition<sup>1</sup>. In the case of White Lackington, co. Somerset, from \* *Wihtlācing-tun* ('Wihtlāc's town')<sup>2</sup>, the *wight* resulting from *wiht* has, owing to the preservation of the original strong stress, been identified with the adjective 'white,' and accordingly released from the compound within a century or so of the present time. But if a similar process had occurred in the case of *Wihtgara-burh*, we should still be faced by the difficulty that the *g* of the resultant *Gara-burh* or *Gares-burh* has become irregularly *c*, and, what presents much greater difficulty, that the *burh* or *byrig* has changed into *brook*. Carisbrooke is not mentioned by name in Domesday, but we have forms of the name about the same date that show beyond doubt that the name is a compound of *brook* and not of *burh*<sup>3</sup>. A confusion of the two words is out of question at so early a date, and we must therefore relegate *Wihtgara-burh* to the category of unidentified places in early O.E. history. Nothing is known of the British stronghold to which this name is proleptically applied in the Chron. under 530, and there is now no village in the Isle of Wight with the suffix *-borough* or *-bury*. The name *Newport* is obviously contrasted with some older 'port' or town, the memory of which has died. But this need not be *Wihtgara-burh*, which is never mentioned after the record of Wihtgar's burial in it. Whether the mention of his burial at this place in the Chron. is founded upon a local name then

<sup>1</sup> e.g. *Wiht-lac(h)es-ford*, now Wixford, co. Warwick (*Cart. Sax.* iii. 321), *Wihtlaxford*, 1286-7, *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, i. 94 b; *Wihtrices-hamme* (*Cod. Dip.* iv. 37), now Wittersham, co. Kent; \**Wihtheringas*, *Wihtringes* (*Cart. Sax.* i. 99, spurious), now Wittering, co. Sussex.

<sup>2</sup> *Domesday Book*, i. 94 b, col. 1, *Wislageton*, for \**Wistlageton* (*st* being the Norman representation of O.E. *ht*, with which it probably agreed in pronunciation), *Wyslagentona*, *Exon Domesday*, 412; 1316 *Whightlakinton*, *Nomina Villarum*, p. 378 a.

<sup>3</sup> 1070-2 *Gallia Christiana*, xi. Instrum. p. 125, *Caresbroc*; 1132-3, *Caresbroc*, *Monasticon*, v. 317 a, by *Inspeximus* of Richard II; *Karesbroc*, *temp.* Hen. II; ib. 319 a; 1154-5 *Caresbroch*, vi. 1092 (= Round, *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, p. 135); 1225, 1226 *Car(r)ebroc*, *Rot. Litt. Clausarum*, pp. 35 b, 50 b, 100 b.

in existence, or whether *Wihthgara-burh* was merely derived from tradition or song, it is impossible to decide.

3. This chapter is derived from the Chron., with the addition that Ceorl was *Domnaniae comes*, a natural deduction from the entry in the Chronicle, the description of the site of the Isle of Sheppey and the mention of the monastery in it. MS. A of the Chron. inserts after the account of the fight at Wicganbeorg the passage represented by c. 6, which here occupies the position that it has in MSS. B, C, D, E. The author of the present work has substituted by mistake the name of Sheppey for that of Thanet, as in B, C, D, E; the name is omitted in A and F. The word *ærest*, here rendered correctly *primum*, is found only in A, B and C. In consequence of this substitution of Sheppey for Thanet the author has been compelled to omit the equivalent adverb in c. 10, where the Chron. has it. The form *Sceap-ieg* preserves the Old West-Saxon form *ieg* in use in Alfred's time, and is older than the forms in the Chron. It would, however, be hazardous to found any argument as to the antiquity of the present work upon this form, for it may have been copied from a lost MS. of the Chron. that preserved the old orthography. See Introduction, § 54, p. lxxxv.

3, 2 Ceorl. This is clearly the *Ceorlus princeps* who attests a contemporary charter of King Æthelwulf at Dorchester, co. Dorset, in 848<sup>1</sup>.

3, 4 Uioġanbeorg, 'Wicga's Hill' or 'tumulus.' This is usually identified with the coast village of Wembury, co. Devon, in consequence of a suggestion of Bishop Gibson<sup>2</sup>. But the philological objections to this identification are fatal. *Wicgan-* could not develop into *Wem-*, and *-beorg* could not become *-bury*. Although *beorge*, the dat. sing. of *beorh*, *beorg*, frequently produces *-borough* in composition in modern forms, through the Middle English *ber(e)we*, it is not permissible to reverse this and say that the dat. sing. *byrig* of *burh*, 'borough, fort,' can become *-borough*. As a matter of fact Wembury appears as early

<sup>1</sup> British Mus. Facs. ii. pl. 30, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 35, 7.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicum Anglosaxonicum*, Oxford, 1692, 'Nominum locorum explicatio,' p. 49.

as the twelfth century as *Wenbiria*<sup>1</sup>, and therefore cannot possibly be derived from *Wigan-beorg*. The regular descendant of the latter would be *Wigborough*, or, in Devonshire, *Wiggaborough* (cf. *Wiggaton*, parish of Ottery St. Mary). There is a *Wigborough*, in the parish of South Petherton, co. Somerset, some five miles from the boundary of Devonshire<sup>2</sup>, and it is possible that this is the place referred to in this annal, although it is not in Devon, for the *fyrð* is occasionally found fighting outside its county. Mr. J. B. Davidson identified *Wigan-beorg* with *Weekaborough* or *Wickaborough*, in the parish of Berry Pomeroy, co. Devon<sup>3</sup>, but the modern forms suggest a derivation from O.E. *wic*, which frequently appears as *week* in local names in the west country, Hants, &c.

3, 10 **monasterium**. This is Minster in Sheppey, founded by St. Sexburh in the seventh century<sup>4</sup>. This monastery disappeared during the Danish ravages, but the fact that the present work speaks of it as still existing affords us no criterion as to the age of the compilation, for the date of the destruction is unknown. The writer of the Kentish saints' lives, which were composed shortly before 1000, speaks of the monastery as being still in existence, possibly through copying an early original<sup>5</sup>. The

<sup>1</sup> It is copied as *Weybiria* in an Inspeximus of a charter of Henry I, 1133-1139, probably from an original *Wenbiria* (*Rot. Chart.* 2 Edw. III, mem. 13, no. 46, where the *y* is slurred; *Monasticon*, vi. 53a), and as *Wenbiria* in a charter of Henry II in the same Inspeximus, which is assigned to 1158 by Eyton, *Court, Household, and Itinerary of Henry II*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> It occurs in 1225 as *Wiggeberg* (Somerset Pleas, ed. Chadwyck-Healey, Somersetshire Record Society, p. 49); c. 1230 as *Wigberghe*, *Wigeberhe* (*Inquisit. post Mortem*, Hen. III, temp. Incerto, no. 123); in 1242-3 as *Wyggebergh* (Som. Pleas, p. 320); in 1270 as *Wiggeber*, *Wyggeberghe* (*Inq. post Mortem*, 55 Hen. III, no. 12) and in 1327 as *Wygebeare*, *Wigebere* (*Inq. post Mortem*, 1 Edw. III, no. 35, second numbers), and as *Wigeberga*, *Wigebergh* in the *Testa de Nevill*, pp. 162 b, 170 b. Eyton identifies the *Winche-berie* of the *Domesday Survey*, i. 98 b, col. 1, *Winchin-beria* of the *Exon Domesday*, p. 442, with *Wigborough*. As the identification seems to be correct, the forms must be corruptly copied for *Wichenberge* or *Wighinberge*.

<sup>3</sup> See Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii. 77.

<sup>4</sup> See the Kentish Saints' Lives (ed. Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, Hannover, 1889, i. 18) and the foundation legend printed in Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, iii. 430, from an early eleventh-century MS.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Liebermann, l. c. p. viii.

Danes were in Sheppey in 1016 (Chron.), and the destruction of the monastery may have occurred about that time. That in Thanet was destroyed in 988, according to a much later Canterbury authority, which records the capture of its abbess in 1011 and the removal of St. Mildred's body thence to Canterbury in 1030<sup>1</sup>.

4. This chapter is derived from the Chron., to which the author has added the description of the site of London and the explanation that Dorubernia is 'Cantwariorum civitas,' which is necessitated by his use of the Latin name of Canterbury instead of the *Cantwaraburh* of the Chron. It is noteworthy that he retains the *w* of the English spelling in his *Cantwariorum*. He has also added 'qui ad proeliandum contra illos venerat' in line 10, which is a sufficiently obvious deduction from the words of the Chron. The Cottonian MS. clearly agreed with MSS. D, E, F of the Chron. in omitting the mention of the capture of London, but the name of this city occurs in Florence and the Annals of St. Neots. It may, however, have been added in both cases from the Chron.

4, 4 **Lundoniam . . . pertinet.** This seems to be based upon Beda, *H. E.* c. ii. 3 'provincia Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamense fluvio dirimuntur a Cantia . . . quorum metropolis Lundonia civitas est, super ripam praefati fluminis posita.'

4, 8 **depopulati sunt.** A somewhat free rendering of the *bræcon* of the Chron., which has the sense of 'captured, took by storm.'

5. This chapter is based upon the Chron., to which the author has added the description of the situation of Surrey, the explanation of the names of Aclea, and the description of the obstinate nature of the fighting, the latter of which may be merely the product of his rhetoric. The passage, 'maxima pars paganae multitudinis funditus deleta et occisa est, ita qualiter nunquam in aliqua regione in una die, ante nec post, ex eis occisam esse audivimus,' curiously mistranslates the Chron., which has 'þær þæt mæste wæl geslogon on hæpnum herige þe we secgan hierdon oþ þisne andweardan dæg' = 'they inflicted the greatest slaughter upon the heathen army that we have heard tell of up to the present day'<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Thorne, in Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, coll. 1780, 1781, 1783.

<sup>2</sup> Gregory of Tours, ix. 25, copied by Paul the Deacon, iii. 29, uses

5, 6 *Aclea*. The author has taken over from the Chron. the dat. *-lēa*, which he uses as a nom. instead of *lēah*. The place is usually identified with Ockley, co. Surrey, but numerous mediaeval forms of the latter are written *Ockelee*, *Okkele*<sup>1</sup>, which, with the modern form, point to an O.E. \**Occan-lēah*. It seems to be the *Hoclei* of Domesday Book, i. 35 b, col. 2, which can hardly be derived from O.E. *āc*. for the change of O.E. *ā* to *o* had not occurred by the time of the Survey, which accordingly writes *Aclei* for O.E. *Acleage* (dat. sing.) in other counties. Stubbs<sup>2</sup> quotes 'be suðan Wudigan gæte at Aclee on West-Sæxum' from the Durham Ritual, a note written in 970<sup>3</sup>. Mr. Plummer suggests that Newdigate, near Ockley, represents *Wudigan gæt*<sup>4</sup>. Formally, however, it descends from O.E. \**Niwedan-geate*<sup>5</sup>, a form that could not be confused with a name derived from *Wudiga*. The place referred to in the Durham Ritual appears to be Woodyates, co. Dorset, which is on a Roman road. Close by it is a place called Oakley.

5, 13 *loco funeris dominati sunt*. This is a too literal translation of the O.E. 'wælstowe gew(e)ald ahton,'

a curiously similar expression regarding the slaughter of the Franks by the Lombards in 588, 'tantaque ibi fuit strages de Francorum exercitu, ut olim similis non recolatur.'

<sup>1</sup> See *Surrey Fines*, published by the Surrey Archaeological Soc., p. 8 *Ockel(eye)*, 1213-4; pp. 34, 48, 68 *Ockele(ye)*, 1253-4, 1271-2, 1303-4, 1309-10; *Okkele*, *Ockle*, *Testa de Nevill*, 219 a, 220 b. See also British Museum *Index to Charters and Rolls*. The forms *Okele(ge)*, *Okele(ye)*, which occur as early as 1219-20 (*Surrey Fines*, pp. 11, 32, 47), do not connect the name with *oak*, and the modern form does not favour such derivation. Gough, in his edition of Camden, calls the village *Oakley*, and Aubrey spells it *Okeley*. It is noticeable that Æthelweard places the battle in Surrey (*illic*), 'near the wood called *Aclea*.' The Chronicle does not state that the battle was in Surrey.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 439.

<sup>3</sup> Liebermann, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. civ, p. 122.

<sup>4</sup> *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. 78. It may be questioned whether a writer in the tenth century would describe a place in Surrey as lying in Wessex.

<sup>5</sup> The form was well preserved as late as 1317-8, when it is spelt *Nywedegate* (*Inq. post Mortem*, 11 Edw. II, no. 50). It occurs in the Pipe Roll for 1219-20 (4 Hen. III, ro. 3) as *Newwedegat*, and is clearly derived from the past participle of the verb *nīwian*, 'to make new, restore.'



which is thus rendered at c. 18, 15. In the present instance, however, the Chron. has *sige namon*, literally 'took (the) victory,' which may be represented by the 'victoriam honorifice tenuerunt.' The author has, in like manner, substituted a translation of the former for the latter O.E. expression at c. 33, 4. Both phrases are represented in 'victoriam accipientes, loco funeris dominati sunt,' cc. 35, 18; 36, 11; 40, 7, where the Chron. has only 'wælstowe geweld ahton.' Similarly *sige namon* is rendered 'victoriam capientes, loco funeris dominati sunt' at c. 42, 27. It would seem from these additional words that the author felt that there was a doubt about the meaning of the literal version of the O.E. The occurrence of 'loco funeris dominati sunt' is proof conclusive that the annalistic portion of the present work is a translation from an O.E. original, which can only have been the Chron. See Introduction, § 53. It is surprising that a Welshman should have used this literal translation of an O.E. phrase, for, as we are informed by Professor Rhys, no such expression is recorded in Welsh.

6. From the Chron. See note to c. 3, above, as to agreement between the position of this chapter with MSS. B, C, D, E of the Chron. against A. The present work has 'nine' ships with A, D, E, F, whereas B and C have 'eight.' In A, D, E, and G Ealhere is described as *dux*; the *comes* of the present text seems to represent the *ealdorman* recorded in B and C.

7. From the Chron. It is from the fuller account given in MSS. A, B, C, G, not from the abridgement in D and E; in F it is missing. The author has added the description of the position of the 'Mediterranei Britones' (=the *Norb Walas* of the Chron.), the amplification 'qui contra eum immodice reluctabantur,' the mention of Burhred being in Æthelwulf's company, the statements that Æthelwulf devastated the insurgents' country (*gentem*), and that he then returned home. All these are easy deductions from the language of the Chron. In line 9 the author uses *Britannia* for the *Norb Walas* (that is the people, not the land) of the Chron.

7, 8 *segnius*. This seems to have been rather a favourite word with the author. See cc. 30, 12; 37, 6; 37, 12.

8. From the Chron. The author has added the mention

of Alfred's retinue. A letter from the pope to Alfred's father, regarding the ceremony at Rome, has been fortunately preserved for us in a twelfth-century collection of papal letters, now in the British Museum<sup>1</sup>. In it the pope describes Alfred as his *spiritalis filius*, and states that he had invested him with the insignia of a Roman consul. Bishop Stubbs has suggested that this was regarded 'by the English a few years later, and perhaps by Alfred himself, as an anticipation of coronation, and the unction, which might be that of confirmation, as that of royal consecration<sup>2</sup>.' The words used by the author of the present work agree with those of the author of the *Annales Francorum* in describing the ceremony at Rome in 781, when Karloman and Ludwig, the sons of Charles the Great, were *uncti in reges* by the pope<sup>3</sup>. Later writers regarded this as a coronation<sup>4</sup>, and it is recorded that these boys were nominal kings under their father. It is noteworthy that the pope addresses Charles after this ceremony as *spiritalis compater*<sup>5</sup>, which coincides with Leo's description of Alfred as his *spiritalis filius*. It is

<sup>1</sup> Add. MS. 8873, fo. 168, from which it was printed by Paul Ewald in his description of this collection in the *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, v. 389. The letter is as follows: *Edelwulfo, regi Anglorum* (marginal direction for rubricator). '(F)ilium vestrum Erfred, quem hoc in tempore ad Sanctorum Apostolorum limina destinare curastis, benigne suscepimus, et, quasi spiritalem filium consulatus cingulo (cinguli emend. Ewald) honore vestimentisque, ut mos est Romanis consulibus, decoravimus, eo quod in nostris se tradidit manibus.' The letter is printed in the *Epistolae Karolini Aevi*, iii. p. 602.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. xliii.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales Regni Francorum*, an. 781, ed. F. Kurze, Hanover, 1895, p. 56: 'ibi baptizatus est dominus Pippinus (that is Karloman) . . . ab Adriano papa, . . . et duo filii supradicti domni Caroli regis magni uncti sunt in regem (reges v. l.) a supradicto pontifice, hi sunt dominus Pippinus rex in Italiam et dominus Hludowicus rex in Aquitaniam.' Carte, *History of England*, i. 293, suggests that 'this precedent seems to have engaged Ethelwolf to take the like step in regard to Alfred.' But the action of the pope seems to have been spontaneous.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Hludowici Imperatoris* (Peitz, *Scriptores*, ii. 607): 'benedictione regnatura congrua et regali insignitus est diademate per manus Adriani venerandi antistitis.' Similarly the recension of the *Annales* ascribed to Einhart describes the ceremony as a coronation. See Abel, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches unter Karl dem Grossen*, i. 313.

<sup>5</sup> Abel, *Jahrbücher*, l. c.

possible that the confirmation of Alfred at Rome, if confirmation it was, came to be regarded as his hallowing to kingship owing to the influence of the Frankish clerks in his court, who connected it, perhaps not entirely without justification, with the anointing of the sons of Charles. The latter were at the time younger than Alfred. The writer of the present work describes Alfred as an *infans*, a term that is more consonant with his being then in his fourth year than in his eleventh, the obviously corrupt reading of the Cottonian MS. The evidence that Alfred was born in 849 is too strong to be set aside in favour of an earlier date, as Bishop Stubbs suggests<sup>1</sup>.

It is, however, noticeable that the two proceedings referred to in the pope's letter are kept distinct in the entry in the Chron., which tells us that the Pope Leo 'hallowed Alfred to king and took him as bishop's son.' This is duly rendered in the present chapter by 'unxit in regem, et in filium adoptionis sibimet accipiens confirmavit.' It would therefore seem that it was the ceremony of creation as consul that was misunderstood by Alfred or by the writer of this entry in the Chron. as a coronation as king. This entry cannot well have been written until after Alfred's accession to the throne in 871, and it is possible that he regarded his coronation in England as the consummation of the ceremony at Rome. In any case it is difficult to reject the theory that we can detect his influence in this strange entry. Notwithstanding this annal the Chron. records the continuation of his father's reign and the accessions of his three brothers before him. There are no grounds for believing that he became king of any portion of the West Saxon realm in consequence of the ceremony at Rome<sup>2</sup>, for his tender years and the claims of his elder brothers must have precluded such an arrangement. It is therefore clear that the statement that he was hallowed as king by the pope is a misapprehension. Alfred was, no doubt, crowned solemnly upon his accession. What purports to be his coronation oath is preserved in the chartu-

<sup>1</sup> Preface to Malmesbury, l. c. See above, p. 152, note to c. 1, 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Carte, *History of England*, i. 289.

lary of Athelney<sup>1</sup>, a monastery that owed its foundation to him. It is in the usual form of the ancient coronation oath used by Dunstan at the crowning of Æthelred the Unready<sup>2</sup>. The same form was used at that of Edgar<sup>3</sup>, and if the Athelney record may be trusted, we can bridge over much of the distance between Dunstan and the formula in the Pontifical of Archbishop Ecgberht of York<sup>4</sup>. The statements derived from compilations embodying the words of the Life regarding the ceremony at Rome were eagerly seized upon by later monkish writers who were anxious to magnify the power of the papacy. The record was considered too strong for the monks of Westminster, who supported their claim that the kings of England were always crowned in the abbey by a series of the most impudent forgeries<sup>5</sup>, and they were compelled to admit that Alfred was not crowned in the abbey. They, however, pretended that the very crown with which he was crowned at Rome was brought to England by him, and was preserved among the regalia in the abbey. A 'crown of King Alfred' was found among the regalia at the time of the Commonwealth. It was seen by Sir John Spelman shortly before the Parliament melted it down with the remainder of the regalia. He described it as being 'of very ancient work, with flowers adorned with stones of a somewhat plain setting<sup>6</sup>.' There can be little doubt that this was

<sup>1</sup> Published in a translation by the Somersetshire Record Society, 1899, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. 355.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, c. iv, in Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, i. 437.

<sup>4</sup> Printed by Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Anglicana*, ed. 2, ii. 84; Stubbs, *Select Charters*, ed. 3, p. 62. See also his *Constitutional History*, Library ed., i. 173. The name of Maskell may be added to those who have been misled by the interpolations in the Life of Alfred (see Introduction, p. xiii, above). The interpolated chapter, 17 b, is described by him as 'a very important account, by a contemporary, of the coronation of Edmund, king of the East Angles' (ii. xxix), whereas it comes from the Annals of St. Neots.

<sup>5</sup> Such, for instance, as the spurious charter of Edgar, printed in the *Crawford Charters*, no. VI., *Cart. Sax.* iii. 549, wherein it is stated untruly that Westminster 'locus etiam consecrationis regum antiquitus erat.'

<sup>6</sup> *Life of King Ælfred*, p. 201.

the crown of Edward the Confessor of the earlier records, and its ascription to Alfred, who is depicted on his coins as wearing a diadem, not a crown, is subsequent to the attempt made by William de Sudbury, a fourteenth-century monk of Westminster, to prove that the abbey still preserved the regalia brought by Alfred from Rome<sup>1</sup>.

The confusion of the ceremony of creation as consul with that of hallowing as king was probably due to the magnificence of the costume of the consul. There was some resemblance between the two ceremonies, both involving the girding with a sword. This we learn from the pope's letter to Æthelwulf and from the contemporary account of the crowning of the future Emperor Ludwig II as king of Lombardy by Pope Sergius at Rome in 844<sup>2</sup>. There were probably other resemblances, more especially in costume. Stubbs has suggested that the consular 'pretexta' was mistaken by Alfred and his suite for a regal garment<sup>3</sup>, but it is probable that the consular costume had progressed much in splendour under Byzantine influence. Possibly among other changes the purple cloak, which the consuls wore only when celebrating triumphs<sup>4</sup>, had become a more usual portion of the costume, for the dignity being at this time entirely honorary, the state garments would be the ones most likely to survive. We have, unfortunately, no descriptions of the costume of the Roman consuls at this time, the consular diptychs having gone out of use when the office ceased to be a real one<sup>5</sup> (apart from its

<sup>1</sup> See the text reproduced in Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum Historiale*, ii. p. 27 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, ii. 89: 'Tunc almficus pontifex manibus suis ipsum Hlodovicum, Imperatoris filium, oleo sancto perunguens, regali ac pretiosissima coronavit corona, regemque Langobardorum perfectit. Cui regalem tribuens gladium illique subingere iussit.' Prudentius of Troyes, *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz, p. 30: 'Hlodovicum pontifex Romanus unctione in regem consecratum cingulo decoravit.' Cf. Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, i. pp. 250-1.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to Malmesbury. *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xliii, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, i. pp. 332, 346; ii. part 1, p. 83. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, lib. iii. c. 62, § 2, the consuls used also the crown in triumphs, so that they were costumed as kings.

<sup>5</sup> See Ducange, *Dissertatio de Imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum Numismatibus*, at the end of his *Glossarium Latinitatis*; Daremberg and Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, i.



union with the office of emperor). Even the meaning of the honorary office conferred upon Alfred by the pope is doubtful. The pope's letter proves the correctness of Gregorovius's suggestion that the popes assumed the right, after the severance of Rome from the rule of the emperor at Constantinople, of granting the honorary dignity of consul<sup>1</sup>. By Leo's time the title had become a somewhat common one in Rome, being borne by notaries and even merchants<sup>2</sup>. It was not, therefore, a very high dignity that Leo conferred upon Alfred, being little more than a brevet of Roman nobility, unless he had in his mind some recollections of the former importance of the office of consul. A century earlier Pope Gregory III had offered to Charles Martel the dignity of Roman consul in order to induce him to protect him against the Lombards<sup>3</sup>. In this case consul has the older sense, and meant the transference to Charles of the emperor's power over Rome. Alfred in his version of Orosius renders the *consul* of his original correctly by *ealdorman*, so that he cannot have confused the office with that of king, and have concluded that his creation as consul was equivalent to being invested with regal rank. It is somewhat curious that Alfred conferred upon his grandson Æthelstan a scarlet cloak, a gemmed belt, and a Saxon sword with a golden sheath<sup>4</sup>. It would

1474 sqq.; Prof. Westwood, *Gentleman's Magazine*, ccxv. 143. The figures of consuls in the diptychs wear no sword, but are shown with richly embroidered gowns and sceptres. The girding referred to in Leo's letter means, no doubt, girding with a sword, and is therefore a sign of change in the costume of the consuls.

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, ed. 4, Leipzig, 1886-96, ii. 419.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* Cf. however, iii. 346.

<sup>3</sup> Continuator of *Fredegar*, c. 22 (110), ed. Krusch, *Mon. Hist. German.*, 'Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum,' ii. 179. Cf. Theodor Breysig, *Jahrbücher des fränkischen Reiches (Die Zeit Karl Martells)*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 97.

<sup>4</sup> Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 133, vol. i. p. 145, relates, on the authority of an old Latin poem celebrating the deeds of Æthelstan, that Alfred made him a knight prematurely, 'donatum chlamyde coccinea, gemmato baltheo, ense Saxonico cum vagina aurea.' Stubbs (*ibid.* p. 145, note 2; ii. p. lxii.) is doubtful as to the date of the work cited by Malmesbury, but as the latter states that it was composed during Æthelstan's lifetime (c. 132), it must have contained a dedication or apostrophe to that king. The explanation of this ceremony as that of

perhaps be too rash to suggest that these were the very ornaments that Alfred received from the pope, but we may, perhaps, venture upon the suggestion that Alfred was led to confer these things upon the young Æthelstan, who was then about the same age as he himself was when he received the consular vestments from the pope, by pleasant recollections of the ceremony at Rome. The coincidence is at any rate striking.

It is worthy of note that a reference to Alfred's visit to Rome occurs in the O.E. version of St. Augustine's *Soliloquies*, where, in a disquisition on the difference between knowledge gained by seeing a thing or being told of it, he says that it seems to him that he knows who built Rome and that he knows many other things that happened before his time, but, he adds, he does not know who built Rome because he had himself seen it<sup>1</sup>.

Æthelwulf was in communication with Rome some years before this time, for Prudentius of Troyes mentions the presence at the Frankish court of the envoys of the English king, who brought with them an account of a vision of a priest in England, in which he is charged with a threat of punishment to mankind unless they amend their evil ways. They also sought permission for the English king to pass through Frankland on his way to Rome<sup>2</sup>.

9. From the Chron., with the addition of the British

conferring knighthood obviously comes from Malmesbury. Doubts have been expressed as to whether Æthelstan was born before Alfred's death, but as Malmesbury states, evidently on the authority of this poem, that Æthelstan was thirty years old at his accession, it would seem, as this occurred in 924, that he must have been about five years old at the time of Alfred's death.

<sup>1</sup> *King Alfred's Old English Version of St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, ed. H. L. Hargrove, 'Yale Studies in English,' New York, 1902, p. 69, 23: 'Me þincð nu fæt ic wite hwa Romeburh timbrode, and æc feala oðra þinga þe ær urum dagum geweordon wæs, þa ic ne mæg æalla ariman. Nat ic no þi hwa Rome(burh) timbrede þe (= þy) ic self hyt gesawe.'

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Bertiniani*, an. 839: 'Verum post sanctum Pascha imperatori in Francia repedanti rex Anglorum legatos misit, postulans per Franciam pergendi Romam orationis gratia transitum sibi ab imperatore tribui, monens etiam curam subiectorum sibi erga animarum salutem sollicitius impendendam, quoniam visio cuidam apud illos ostensa non minimum animos eorum terrerat. Cuius seriem visionis imperatori mittere studuit.'

name of Thanet, the statement that the marriage of Burhred took place at Chippenham, and a few minor elaborations of the words of the Chron. The statement that the Christians were at first victorious occurs only in MSS. A, B, C, and G, whilst A omits the record of the slaying of the two ealdormen. MSS. D and E omit the date of Burhred's wedding.

9, 4 **Britannico autem sermone Ruim.** This is, no doubt, derived from the *Historia Britonum* (Nennius) 'insulam, quae in lingua eorum (Saxonum) vocatur Tanet, Britannico sermone Ruoihm<sup>1</sup>.' Lappenberg<sup>2</sup> cites Thorne's notice of a charter of 694<sup>3</sup> as proof that this name was still in use at that date, but as it does not occur in the text of the charter that has come down to us<sup>4</sup>, it must be regarded as a borrowing from the present work. Thanet is not an English name, but a British one. It is recorded as Tanatus in Solinus<sup>5</sup>, from whom it has been copied by Isidore of Seville as Thanatos<sup>6</sup>, under the influence of the Greek *θάνατος*, an association that may have given rise to the strange story in Procopius of the ferrying of the dead over from Gaul to Britain.

10. From the Chron. See note to cap. 3 upon treatment of original.

11. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the statements that Alfred accompanied his father to Rome, that his father loved him better than his other sons, and of Judith's name. The latter occurs in the Chronicle under 885.

11, 2 **decimam totius regni partem.** Few things in our early history have led to so much discussion as the famous 'Donation' of Æthelwulf. Selden saw in it the institution of tithes and the grant of glebe lands, a view

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 'Chronica Minora,' iii. 171.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte von England*, i. 66, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Apud Twysden, *Quindecim Scriptores*, col. 2234.

<sup>4</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium*, ed. Mommsen, Berlin, 1864, c. 22, § 8. Solinus was a third- or fourth-century compiler, and the source of his reference to Thanet seems to have been a lost chorography (Mommsen, p. xviii).

<sup>6</sup> *Etymologiarum* lib. xiv. c. 6, § 3.

that was challenged by Carte. The theory that the king made a grant to the Church of tithes was controverted by Kemble<sup>1</sup>, and Bishop Stubbs has truly remarked that Æthelwulf could not have made such a grant because the tithe 'was not his to bestow'<sup>2</sup>. The learned bishop has collected the charters purporting to relate to this grant of Æthelwulf<sup>3</sup>. The majority of them are drawn up in one form, a somewhat obscure one, in which he has recognized presumptive evidence of their genuineness<sup>4</sup>. These uniform texts come from chartularies of the lowest possible character, such as those of Winchester, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, and Hyde, and the formulas are not those of Æthelwulf's authentic charters, including phrases that are used in charters of later times. Of these uniform texts one only is preserved in what purports to be the original form<sup>5</sup>, but it is written by a scribe who was not an Englishman in an imitative hand, which may

<sup>1</sup> *Saxons in England*, ii. 481-90.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 637.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 638 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> This form appears in the copies from Winchester (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 62), Malmesbury (*ibid.* ii. 66), Glastonbury (*ibid.* ii. 68), Abingdon (*ibid.* ii. 67), and in a charter of unknown origin (*ibid.* ii. 64; see below, page 188, note 1). Portions of the same form occur in charters from Malmesbury (*ibid.* ii. 83, and, with the date 844, *ibid.* ii. 26), from Crowland (*ibid.* ii. 85), and from Roger of Wendover in general terms (*ibid.* ii. 85). The two Winchester charters (*ibid.* ii. 73, 75) differ in style and object, but reproduce the dating clause of the preceding form. They also contain the very late story that Æthelwulf was *nutritus* in that monastery (see Introduction, page c, note 2), which is fatal to their authenticity. The dating clause occurs in a fragment of an early tenth-century copy of a charter of Æthelwulf, where the *palatium* of the texts previously cited is more naturally *villa regia* (*Brit. Mus. Facs.* iv. pl. 9; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 82, 3). Another Winchester charter purports to have been made by Æthelwulf, 'quando decimam partem terrarum per omne regnum meum sanctis ecclesiis dare decrevi' (*ibid.* 78, 8), but, from its formulas, it is obviously spurious. The O.E. version of this grant (*ibid.* 79) seems to be founded upon the words of the Chron. in reference to Æthelwulf's donation. The O.E. charter from Winchester referring to this donation (*ibid.* 96) is an obvious forgery. See p. 246, note 3, below. The poems of the uniform texts are derived from late tenth-century formulas, while the mention of the singing of psalms, &c., does not appear to have any connexion with the ordinary 'book' of this time, and indeed is out of place in the context.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 32; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 64.

have been copied from a somewhat older (spurious) original. It appears to date from the eleventh century<sup>1</sup>. Apart from these uniform texts stands one that is preserved in the *Textus Roffensis*, a chartulary of the highest character. It contains ancient Kentish formulas, and seems to be genuine<sup>2</sup>. By it the king grants to a minister of his certain lands 'pro decimatione agrorum, quam, Deo donante, caeteris ministris meis facere decrevi,' with power to bequeath it to whomsoever he wished, but with no expressed exemption from royal dues or services. There is preserved a contemporary charter of Æthelwulf, dated 855, but with an error in the indiction, by which he grants land to a minister of his 'pro expiatione piaculorum meorum et absolutione (<'obsol-' MS.) criniinum meorum,' with like power of disposition, but with exemption 'ab omni servitute regali intus et foris, magnis et modicis, notis et ignotis<sup>3</sup>.' If the date of this is really 855, as it seems to be, it must relate to the 'Donation.' These exemptions from worldly services were peculiar to land given for religious purposes<sup>4</sup>, and the reference to the expiation of the king's sins and the absolution for his crimes can only be explained by the theory that the land was granted with an understood reversion to a house of religion. Very many of the genuine charters are grants to laymen with exemptions from services and with power to bequeath to whomsoever they wished. The 'book' by which the grant was made to the laymen was frequently handed over with the land, sometimes, as in the case of the charter in the *Textus Roffensis*, with an endorsement from the original grantee testifying the grant to the particular monastery. The majority of the early charters made to laymen that have been preserved came into the hands of ecclesiastical or monastic foundations, and a very large proportion of them imply, by their

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Warner, who has kindly examined the original for us, is inclined to date it nearer 1100 than 1000. He remarks that the scribe was evidently puzzled by the O.E.  $\rho$  (=  $r$ ), which in several instances he copied as  $n$ , afterwards lengthening the lower limb. This is not an error that an English copyist would be likely to make.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 86. The reference to the journey to Rome, in the dating clause, is, however, suspicious. See below, page 193, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 31; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 61.

<sup>4</sup> Maitland, *Domesday and Beyond*, p. 271.



reference to the need of almsgiving or of making gifts for the service of God, that they were made with an understood reversion to religious uses. In many cases the land granted to the layman seems to have been at the time of the making of the charter his own property, and the charter is really a dedication of the possessions to religious uses. In a famous case Æthelwulf books, with the consent of the *Witan*, land to himself, free from royal and other services<sup>1</sup>. The exemption from royal services is meaningless if he intended to keep the land in his own possession. That he did not so intend is proved by the proem, in which the duty of almsgiving is inculcated. King Alfred in his will bequeaths to Winchester abbey certain 'bookland' on the conditions that his father had specified in his will<sup>2</sup>, which has not been preserved. The power of bequeathing the land freely was the most essential feature of the book from the legal point of view. Without the grant of such power the land would descend automatically to the kindred, and it is this interference with the ordinary law of descent that caused so much solemnity to be employed in drawing up the 'book,' which is invariably in the form of a gift from the king with the consent, expressed or implied, of the *Witan*. A powerful man might sometimes be able to obtain such a grant for himself, but the cases seem to have been exceedingly rare. The next most essential feature of the 'book,' the exemption of the land conveyed by it from all secular duties except the so-called *trinoda necessitas*, was distinctly a feature of land devoted, or intended to be devoted, to religious uses. Whether any legal object was obtained by interposing one or more lives between the making of the book and the entry of the religious house upon the possession of the land does not appear. But as many grants are made to bishops and abbots for the uses of their houses without the intermediary of any laymen, it would seem that land could be conveyed immediately to religious institutions. It is improbable that in all these cases the land dealt with was the private property of the bishop or abbot, although it clearly was in some instances.

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. *Facs.* ii, pl. 30; *Cart. Sax.* ii, 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii, 178, 4.

It would therefore appear that when the king booked land of his own to a thane or other layman with reversion after the death of the grantee, the object was to reward him and at the same time to devote the land to the service of God.

From the Rochester charter it would seem that this was exactly what Æthelwulf did in that particular instance, and that the whole of the *decimatio* of his lands was made in the first place to his thanes. Such a distribution might be described in the words of the Chronicle, 'gebocude Æþelwulf cyning teoþan dæl his londes ofer eall his rice Gode to lofe and himselfum to ecere hælo' ('King Æthelwulf booked a tenth part of his land throughout his kingdom to the praise of God and for his eternal health'). The author of the Life has overlooked the restriction of the grant to the king's own lands. It is hardly possible to reconcile with the words of the Chronicle Kemble's explanation, which Stubbs hesitatingly accepted<sup>1</sup>, that Æthelwulf 'released from all payments, except the inevitable three, a tenth part of the folklands or unenfranchised lands, whether in the tenancy of the Church or of his thanes,' and that in the tenth so released he 'annihilated the royal rights, *regnum* or *imperium*?' The latter turns upon a highly strained rendering of the *regno* of the Life<sup>3</sup>. This is merely a rendering of the *rice* of the Chron., which was never employed in the artificial sense assumed by Kemble. We now know that folc-land could not be in the possession of the Church. Kemble placed second the grant of a tenth of Æthelwulf's 'private estates' to various thanes or clerical establishments, and thirdly 'the charge upon every ten hides of his own land of a poor man in food and clothing<sup>4</sup>,' which rests upon the evidence of Roger of Wendover and Matthew of Paris. He has not noticed that their information is derived from the Life in its account of Æthelwulf's will (c. 16, 18). Similarly Stubbs quotes William of Malmesbury for this statement<sup>5</sup>, without recognizing its

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. p. 637.

<sup>2</sup> *Saxons in England*, ii. p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> And upon the grant of exemption from royal tribute in the spurious charters in *Cart. Sax.* ii. pp. 83, 84, 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Saxons in England*, pp. 485, 489.

<sup>5</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 646.

source in the present work. This testamentary disposition must be kept distinct from the question of the Donation<sup>1</sup>, for it did not take effect until some three years after the making of the latter. If Æthelwulf had any political purpose in making grants to his thanes on the eve of his departure for Rome, his object was imperfectly obtained if the story of the rebellion of his son and many of his subjects told in the next chapter is true.

11, 3 in *sempiterno graphio*, 'in everlasting alms or inheritance.' It is noticeable, in connexion with the Welsh origin of the author of the Life, that this phrase occurs in the early Welsh Life of St. Carantoc: 'et postulavit rex (Arthurus), ut reciperet Carrum in sempiterno graphyo<sup>2</sup>.' The word *graphium* was adopted into Welsh as *greif*, and occurs in early inscriptions with the meaning of land secured by deed as private inheritance<sup>3</sup>. With it may be compared the 'in sempiterna consecratione' or 'servitude' of the Welsh charters preserved in the *Liber Landavensis*<sup>4</sup>. In the present case it seems to be the author's pedantic rendering of the 'in sempiternam hereditatem' of King Æthelwulf's charters<sup>5</sup>. Possibly the author may have seen some of

<sup>1</sup> It is confused with the Donation in a spurious Hyde charter of 901 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 248, 15), which is influenced by the group of uniform charters relating to the Donation mentioned at page 187, note 4, above. The Donation itself is referred to in a forged Winchester charter (*ibid.* iii. 403, 28).

<sup>2</sup> Rees, *Lives of Cambro-British Saints*, p. 99; *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii tom. iii. p. 586 F.

<sup>3</sup> See Professor Rhys's reading of the inscription at Merthyr Mawr, in Glamorgan, published in the *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1899, p. 156. Cf. also the early Welsh deeds printed by Seebohm, *The Tribal System in Wales*, pp. 211, 212, 217, 219.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Rhys and Evans, pp. 76, 129, 190, 195, 200, 221, 236, 239. Cf. 'in perpetua consecratione,' p. 198.

<sup>5</sup> *Circ.* 840, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 156, 16, a blundered eleventh-century copy; 841, *ibid.* ii. 12, 13 (*Textus Roffensis*); 845, *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 29; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 30, 16 (contemporary); 850, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 47, 4, and xvii. 15 (late copies). The phrase occurs in private charters of Æthelwulf's time, and in royal charters of his predecessors and successors, *Cart. Sax.* i. 517, 7; 530, 38; 552, 6; 586, 8; ii. 29, 11; 113, 27; 115, 14; 129, 10; 132, 21; 133, 18; 158, 17; 201, 30, &c. Elsewhere it is represented by 'in perpetuam hereditatem,' 'in aeternam hereditatem,' 'in perpetuae possessionis hereditatem,' 'in libertatem hereditariam,' and 'in sempiternam elemosinam,' &c.

the genuine deeds connected with the Donatión, or have known that the royal charters usually contained this definition<sup>1</sup> of the estate in the land conveyed by them. Although *γραφείον* was used in early ecclesiastical Greek in the sense of 'scripture,' 'Holy Scripture'<sup>2</sup>, the development in sense of *graphium* from 'writing style' through 'written deed' to 'property held by written deed,' 'an estate in land conferred by written deed,' seems to be due to Celtic Latinity. It is found in what purports to be a grant by a Cornish (?) 'count' in the Athelney chartulary<sup>3</sup> in the time of King Æthelstan, whereby Lanlovern is granted 'in diocesim sempiternam,' an obvious mistake due to the scribe of the chartulary, which has disappeared, or to the eighteenth-century copyist, for 'in graphium sempiternum.' This latter phrase is found in English charters of the middle of the tenth century with the meaning of 'Book of Life'<sup>4</sup>, and in texts of doubtful authenticity with the same meaning as it has in the Life<sup>5</sup>. The words of a grant of 900: 'confirmata est in sempiterno graphio in cruce Christi pro redemptione piaculorum Adēlwlfi regis'<sup>6</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> It is represented by 'in perpetuam libertatem' and 'in perpetuam hereditatem' in the Winchester text (*Cart. Sax.* i. 63, 27), and the late eleventh-century one, at 65, 20, but is absent from the other texts, unless 'in libertatem ponamus' in some of them be a corrupt rendering of it.

<sup>2</sup> E. A. Sophocles, *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*.

<sup>3</sup> Published in a translated form by the Somersetshire Record Society, vol. xiv. p. 156.

<sup>4</sup> A.D. 940, Ordnance Survey *Facsimiles*, ii., Winchester College, pl. 3; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 469, 2 (contemporary); A.D. 947, Brit. Mus. *Facs.* iii. pl. 13; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 586, 11 (contemporary). It also occurs in texts, derived from later chartularies, between 941 and 949 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 500, 10; 504, 11; 531, 38; 535, 17; 586, 12; 590, 26; iii. 191, 28) in one of 1002 (*Cod. Dipl.* vi. 143, 31), and in another of 1019 (*ibid.* iv. 8, 2). These latter, if genuine, must be ascribed to the use of old formulas in the chanceries of Æthelred and Cnut. See above, p. 150.

<sup>5</sup> In the formula 'Hoc (autem) eulogiae fructuosum (vv. ll. futurorum, fructuorum) munusculum in sempiterno graphio cum signaculo sanctae crucis maneat quamdiu,' &c., A.D. 937, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 421, 9, Wilton; A.D. 949, *ibid.* iii. 31, 25, Glastonbury; A.D. 946-951, *ibid.* 46, 25, Abingdon. A spurious Winchester charter of 904 is granted 'perpetualiter in sempiterno graphio in cruce Christi' (*ibid.* ii. 273, 19).

<sup>6</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 238, 23; altered to 'cum superno chirographo' in the spurious text at 239, 28. Cf. also the variant in a Shaftesbury charter

so closely resemble the 'in sempiterno graphio in cruce Christi pro redemptione animae suae' (to wit, Æthelwulf) of the Life that one is tempted to suspect that the author of this charter derived the phrase from the present work. The charter is so obviously spurious that it cannot be adduced as evidence that the Life is older than the date borne by the charter. The fact, however, that 'sempiternum graphium' was employed in the early part of the tenth century in the English royal chancery, which was then strongly influenced by Franco-Celtic Latinity<sup>1</sup>, is one that lends countenance to the view that the Life is at least as old as that period.

**11, 7 Romam perrexit.** This second visit of Alfred to Rome is known only from the present work. Freeman has suggested that Alfred stayed in Rome from 853, the date of his first visit (c. 8), until the arrival of his father in 856<sup>2</sup>. But this is not compatible with the statement of this work or with the evidence of a Rochester charter dated 855, which is witnessed by Alfred. This is preserved in a ninth-century copy, possibly contemporary<sup>3</sup>, and is supported by another Rochester charter in the *Textus Roffensis*, which seems also to be genuine<sup>4</sup>. There is nothing improbable in the statement that Æthelwulf took his youngest son with him, the son whom he had sent

of 935, 'in sempiterno graphio cum signaculo sanctae crucis' (ibid. ii. 414, 23), a fragment of the formula mentioned in the preceding note. This chartulary also contains a grant of King Edmund, in which 'perpetua graphii custodia' and 'graphio' are applied to the protecting deed (ibid. ii. 502, 14, 28). These charters are, however, of a suspicious nature. An Abingdon charter of 944 replaces 'graphio sempiterno' by 'stilo perhenni' (ibid. ii. 556, 18). This charter preserves a reminiscence of the latter phrase in 'cum syngrapho agiae crucis,' p. 557, 3, which also occurs in a Wilton text of 940 (ibid. ii. 482, 24), and in a Winchester one of 943 (ibid. 529, 10).

<sup>1</sup> *Graphia* is used in the sense of 'writing,' 'scripture,' by Mico of St. Richer, an early ninth-century Frankish poet (*Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed Dümmmler, iii. 295, 6; 301, 7; 302, 9).

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, i. 154.

<sup>3</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 31; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 62, 4. There is an error in the indiction, which appears as the first instead of the third, so that the charter may possibly belong to 853.

<sup>4</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 87, 5, dated 855, 'quando ultra mare perrexi' (of Æthelwulf). With the exception of this unusual form of dating, there is nothing suspicious diplomatically about the charter. See p. 188, above,



to the Eternal City two years earlier. The arrival of Æthelwulf at the court of Charles the Bold in 855 on his way to Rome is recorded by Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, who died in 861<sup>1</sup>, and the visit of the West Saxon king to Rome is entered in the contemporary Life of Pope Benedict III, 855–858, in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which contains a list of his rich gifts<sup>2</sup>. The statement in Lappenberg<sup>3</sup> that Æthelwulf restored the Saxon School at Rome, rests upon the authority of William of Malmesbury<sup>4</sup>, who probably invented this statement<sup>5</sup>.

II, 11 Iuthittam. At this time Judith cannot have been more than thirteen years of age<sup>6</sup>. But such early marriages were not uncommon among the Franks. Hildegard, the wife of Charles the Great, was married to him at the age of thirteen, according to her epitaph<sup>7</sup>. Hathui, abbess of Gernrode, was married before 959 at the same age to Sigifrid, son of the Markgraf Gero<sup>8</sup>. By the Lom-

<sup>1</sup> *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz, 1883, p. 45: 'Karlus etiam Edilvulfum, rege(m) Anglorum Saxonum, Romam properantem, honorifice suscipit, omni regio habitu donat, et usque ad regni sui terminos cum obsequiis rege dignis deduci facit.'

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Duchesne, ii. 148: 'Huius temporibus rex Saxorum, . . . nomine, causa orationis veniens, relictis omnibus suis rebus et regnum proprium suum amisit, Roma(m) properans ad limina apostolorum Petri et Pauli cum multitudine populi. Et optulit dona Beato Petro apostolo, corona(m) ex auro purissimo, pens(antem) lib(ras) iiiii.; baucas (= vasa) ex auro purissimo ii, pens. lib.—; spata(m) i. cum auro purissimo ligata(m); item imagines ii. minores ex auro purissimo; gabathe (= candelabra) Saxisce de argento exaurate iiiii.; saraca(m) (= tunicam) de olovero (= holoporphuro) cum chrisoclavo (= auroclavo) i.; camisa(m) alba(m) sigillata(m) olosyrica (= holoserica); vela maiora de fundato (= cloth of gold?) ii. Et ipse rex Saxorum, postulante sanctissimo domno papa, ut facias (sic) roga(m) (= donativum) in ecclesia Beati Petri apostoli publica(m), de pondere aurum vel argentum librarum ad episcopos, presbiteros, diaconos et universo clero et optimatibus Romani(s) tribuit aurum; ad populum vero minutum argentum. Et postmodum, finita causa orationis, reversus est ad proprium regnum suum. Et post paucos dies vitam finivit, et perrexit ad Dominum.'

<sup>3</sup> *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 295, whence it has been adopted in *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, xviii. p. 42.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 109.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 245, below.

<sup>6</sup> Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. 295; Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, i. 416.

<sup>7</sup> Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, i. 58.

<sup>8</sup> Thietmar of Merseburg's *Chronicon*, ed. Kurze, Hanover, 1889,

bard, Swabian, and Frisian laws twelve years of age was defined as the marriageable age for a girl<sup>1</sup>. It has been frequently stated that this marriage was an act of senile folly on the part of Æthelwulf, but there is no evidence that he was more than a middle-aged man at this time. He appears as king of Kent in a Rochester charter dated 823<sup>2</sup>, but the date is clearly wrong. The Chron. records under 823 that he was sent into Kent with Bishop Ealhstan (of Sherborne) and Ealdorman Wulfheard, and that they drove King Bealdred out. As the Chron. hereabouts is two years behind in its chronology<sup>3</sup>, the date must be corrected to 825. Æthelwulf may have been at this time some years under twenty-one, for the public life of a king's son began very early in the ninth century, and he may have been a few years under fifty at the time of his marriage with Judith.

12. This chapter is due to the author. The account of the conspiracy against Æthelwulf during his absence and of his surrendering Wessex to his rebellious son, which rests wholly upon the authority of the Life, has been advanced as an argument against its authenticity<sup>4</sup>. But there are indications in the Chronicle and in the O.E. regnal lists that Æthelbeald was king of Wessex during his father's life for a period closely corresponding to that deducible from the Life. The Chronicle states under 855 that Æthelwulf went to Rome in that year, stayed there twelve months, returned home and died 'two years after he came from the Franks.' His wedding with the daughter of Charles the Bald occurred on October 1, 856<sup>5</sup>. Thus his death is fixed as occurring

viii. c. 3, p. 195. Dümmler, *Kaiser Otto der Grosse*, Leipzig, 1876, p. 5, states that the marriageable age of a girl was considered to be fourteen or fifteen.

<sup>1</sup> Karl Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*, ed. 2, Vienna, 1882, i. p. 294.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 550, 24, from the copy in the *Textus Roffensis*.

<sup>3</sup> Grubitz, *Kritische Untersuchung über die angelsächsischen Annalen*, p. 14; Theopold, *Kritische Untersuchungen über die Quellen zur angelsächsischen Geschichte des achten Jahrhunderts*, p. 54 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, § 86, page cxxi, above. Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. 81, thinks that the account 'sounds very mythical.'

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 200, note 2.

late in 858<sup>1</sup>. His son Æthelbeald died in 860, according to the Chronicle, which nevertheless assigns to him a reign of five years. This would throw back the commencement of his reign to 855, the year in which Æthelwulf left England<sup>2</sup>. The present work states that Æthelbeald reigned two and a half years (c. 17, 7). The Annals of St. Neots, on the basis of this and of the five years assigned to him by the Chronicle, the genealogies, and the regnal table, say that he reigned jointly with his father two and a half years and the like period alone. The Chronicle, however, mentions his accession to the rule of Wessex at his father's death, which probably means that he then became sole or undoubted king. The discrepancy between the five years and the two and a half assigned for his reign over Wessex cannot be explained away by the suggestion that he was an under-king of Kent or some other portion of his father's realm during his father's life, for in no other case is the period spent as under-king reckoned as part of the reign as king of Wessex. The conclusion therefore seems unavoidable that Æthelbeald ruled over Wessex during his father's life and with his father's assent. Some report of this quarrel between Æthelwulf and Æthelbeald seems to have reached Rome, for the author of the account of his visit to Rome in the *Liber Pontificalis*<sup>3</sup> states that Æthelwulf lost his own realm, but does not state that he was deprived altogether of kingly dignity. Upon Æthelwulf's death his son Æthelberht succeeded to the kingdoms of Kent, Surrey, Sussex and Essex, which we may conclude

<sup>1</sup> Florence of Worcester states that he died on January 13, which is cited by Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 85, as from Prudentius of Troyes. One MS. reads *Junii* instead of *Januarii*, which does not agree with the statement of the Chronicle, unless the two years of the latter are used loosely because he returned in 856 and died in 858. Prudentius records his death in the latter year. Florence's date must be received with doubt, in view of his error as to the date of King Æthelred's death (see note to c. 41, 4, p. 240, below).

<sup>2</sup> Æthelwulf left England early in that year, as Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 612, note *e*, has concluded from the position of the entry of his arrival in Prudentius. If he spent twelve months in Rome, as the Chronicle says, he must have reached there before June, 855, for in the July of the following year he was affianced to Judith, according to Prudentius (see below, page 200, note 2).

<sup>3</sup> See above, page 194, note 2.

were the portions of the West Saxon kingdom under Æthelwulf's immediate rule. It is plain that the author of the Life conceived Æthelwulf as still king of Wessex, although the rule of that kingdom had been handed over to Æthelbeald, for the crowning of Judith is regarded as that of a queen of Wessex (c. 13, 8), and Æthelwulf is made to divide his kingdom between his two eldest sons (c. 16, 7) by his will. The compiler of the Chronicle was under the necessity of mentioning Æthelbeald's succession as sole king of Wessex at his father's death, and he seems to have solved the difficulty by the crude method of recording his accession to the throne after his father's death and by assigning to him the full length of his reign, instead of deducting the portion that overlapped that of his father's.

Carte has suggested that the marriage with Judith was the cause of the rebellion of Æthelbeald, who imagined that there was some design of leaving the crown to her children<sup>1</sup>. In this case it must have been the espousal, not the marriage, that drove him into rebellion. From July, 856, the date of the former ceremony, to the end of 858, when Æthelwulf died, is, roughly speaking, two and a half years. Thus the time agrees very closely. It is probable that Æthelbeald was left as regent during his father's lengthy absence from England, and that the taste of power may have tempted him into rebellion independently of the marriage with Judith, or that may have been the deciding consideration that induced him to take the step. Freeman has suggested that the hallowing of Alfred as king at Rome may have contributed<sup>2</sup>. But the ceremony at Rome, which we now know was not a coronation of Alfred as king, occurred two years before Æthelwulf's departure, and three years before Æthelbeald's unfilial act, and the true nature of the pope's action must have been known to the latter long before his outbreak.

**12, 3 in occidentali parte Selwuda.** Note the retention of the O.E. gen. sg. *wuda*. This description of the land constituting Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall seems to be a ninth-century or early tenth-century one. In the

<sup>1</sup> *History of England*, i. 295. So Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. 296.

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionary of National Biography*, i. 154.



Chron. under 709 Aldhelm's bishopric of Sherborne is described in MSS. A, C, D, E, F as 'be westan wuda,' which B represents by 'be westan Selewuda.' It would seem that 'West Wood' was the older name of the belt of woodland forming the eastern boundary line of the diocese, and that, at a later time, Selwood was substituted for it. In 878 in the Chron. Selwood<sup>1</sup> is mentioned as the dividing line, and again in 894. After this date we do not meet with any references to Selwood as forming an important boundary, although Æthelweard tells us that Aldhelm's bishopric was commonly called *Sealuudscir*<sup>2</sup>. The forest of Selwood had shrunk still more by the time of the perambulation of 1298<sup>3</sup>, when it occupied a small portion of the eastern boundary of Somerset about Frome.

**12, 5 Ealhstan.** It is noteworthy that the author speaks in c. 28 of Bishop Ealhstan's 'honourable' discharge of his office, in spite of the blame dealt out to him in the present chapter for his political action<sup>4</sup>. Florence of Worcester has avoided the contradiction by simply following the Chronicle, which does not qualify Ealhstan's tenure of the bishopric.

**12, 6 Eanwulf, Summurtunensis pagae comes.** This is the Ealdorman Eanulf who is recorded in Chron. A, B, C, and G under 845 as the leader of the Somersetshire men at the defeat of the Danes at the mouth of the Parrot, with the aid of Bishop Ealhstan, with whom we find him connected in the present chapter. In Chron. D, E, and F the ealdorman's name appears as Eanulf, but this is plainly a corruption, for an 'Eanulfus prin-

<sup>1</sup> MS. E has *Wealwudu*. Professor Earle regards this as a real name which he connects with *Wealh*, 'Welshman' (*Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, p. 306). But the MS. authority is so late and bad that it is probably to be ascribed to a miscopying of the *Sealwyda* of MS. A, possibly under the influence of *be Westan-wuda*.

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, 507 A.

<sup>3</sup> Heame, *Adam de Domerham*, i. 185; Collinson, *History of Somerset*, iii. 56; Phelps, *Modern Somerset*, i. 45.

<sup>4</sup> This inconsistency, if it is one (see below, p. 227), has been pointed out in the singularly virulent tract entitled *The Impertinence and Imposture of Modern Antiquaries Displayed . . . by Philaethes Rusticus* (William Asplin, M.A., vicar of Banbury), published in 1739 or 1740 in answer to *A Letter to Dr. Mead concerning some Antiquities in Berkshire* (by Francis Wise, B.D.), Oxford, 1738, p. 19.



ceps' (a title applied to the great ealdormen) witnesses the record of the proceedings of the Council of Kingston in 838<sup>1</sup>, in company with King Æthelwulf. This is, no doubt, the ealdorman of Somerset. He appears to be the 'dux Eanwulf' who witnesses charters of King Ecgberht relating to Kent in 833<sup>2</sup> and 838<sup>3</sup>, and of King Æthelwulf relating to the same county<sup>4</sup>. The Glastonbury chartulary contains what purports to be a grant to 'Eanulphus princeps' of land in Somerset in 842<sup>5</sup>. The name of Eanwulf appears, as a *dux*, among the witnesses of several of the dubious texts relating to Æthelwulf's Donation<sup>6</sup>, and in other charters derived from later copies<sup>7</sup>, most of which are of a suspicious nature. According to a dubious Winchester charter he was a benefactor to that abbey, and was the grandfather of Ealdorman Ordlaf<sup>8</sup>. An 'Eanwulf dux' appears in Mercian charters about the same time, but he is probably another person<sup>9</sup>.

**12, 15 audivimus.** The author frequently uses the plural pronoun in reference to himself. In c. 21 he uses

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Facs. i. pl. 17; *Cart. Sax.* i. 590, 11.

<sup>2</sup> Brit. Mus. Facs. i. pl. 16; *Cart. Sax.* i. 574, 28. The charter, which is preserved in a tenth-century imitative copy, is genuine, despite the error in copying the date as 773.

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. Facs. iv. pl. 8; *Cart. Sax.* i. 585, 10, a late tenth-century copy.

<sup>4</sup> A. D. 859, Brit. Mus. Facs. ii. pl. 34; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 102, 20, contemporary; A. D. 860-2, Brit. Mus. Facs. ii. pl. 38; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 108, 22, an eleventh-century copy, with the date 790. He also appears with Æthelwulf among the witnesses to a charter dated 873 (*Ordnance Survey Facs.* iii. pl. 19; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 154, 22). This is in a ninth-century hand, the work of a scribe ignorant of Latin. He seems to have copied twice over the list of witnesses of some charter of King Æthelwulf that served as a model for this. Hence the second 'Eanulf dux' in line 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 13, 20.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 28, 11; 64, 9; 65, 34; 67, 19; 70, 6.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 22, 5; 45, 23; 73, 7; 74, 38; 77, 30; 79, 16; 80, 15; 94, 34.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 234, 35.

<sup>9</sup> A. D. 864, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 120, 26; A. D. 860-865, *ibid.* ii. 123; 20, spurious. He is probably the Eanwulf who witnesses a contemporary charter of 836 (*Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 24; *Cart. Sax.* i. 582, 37) and an Abingdon charter of 852 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 60, 18), perhaps also a Worcester charter of 875 (*ibid.* ii. 161, 24). This is more probably the king's thane to whom a grant was made in 872 by Werferth, bishop of Worcester (*ibid.* ii. 149, 14).

the singular and the plural indiscriminately. Usually, however, he speaks in the singular when relating his own experiences. This use of the 'pluralis urbanitatis,' which became common in later mediaeval writings, is not incompatible with the age of the author. It is used by John Scotus at a slightly earlier date<sup>1</sup>. Einhard speaks in the singular, as does Beda, Aldhelm, Nennius, and Felix of Croyland.

13. This chapter is due solely to the author, with the exception of the mention at the commencement of the joy of Æthelwulf's people at his return, which is derived from the Chron. under 855. The Chron. does not, however, say that they were prepared to eject his son if he had wished.

13, 9 *iuxta se in regali solio*. The statement that the wife of the king of Wessex was not allowed to sit on the throne by her husband's side or to be called queen is known only from this passage in insular sources. But its accuracy is confirmed by the contemporary evidence of Prudentius of Troyes<sup>2</sup>. It was probably a knowledge of this usage that caused Charles the Bald to have his daughter crowned before she left for England<sup>3</sup>. Lappenberg's attempt to bring this custom into connexion with some hypothetical law of the West Saxons resembling the Salic Law<sup>4</sup> is difficult to reconcile with the record of the Chronicle that Sexburh ruled Wessex for a year after her husband's death in 672. The title of *regina* was applied to the wives of the kings of Mercia until the end of that

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, the quotation from him given below, p. 219, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales Bertiniani*, an. 856, ed. Waitz, p. 47: 'Edilvulf, rex Occidentalium Anglorum, Roma rediens, Iudith, filiam Karli regis, mense Iulio desponsatam, kalendis Octobribus in Vermaria (Verberie on the Oise, near Senlis) palatio in matrimonium accipit, et eam, Ingmaro, Durocortori Remorum episcopo, benedicente, imposito capiti eius diademate, reginae nomine insignit, quod sibi suaque genti eatenus fuerat insuetum; patratoque regiis apparatus utrimque atque muneribus matrimonio, cum ea Britanniam, regni sui dicionem, navigio repetit.'

<sup>3</sup> The service used upon this occasion has been printed by Sirmond, from a Liège MS. that has now disappeared, in his edition of Hincmar's works, and thence by Boretius and Krause, *Mon. Hist. Germ.*, 'Capitularia Regum Francorum,' ii. 425. It is entitled 'Benedictio super reginam, quam Edelulfus rex accepit in uxorem.'

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte von England*, i. 330.

kingdom, and Alfred's sister Æthelswith, the widow of Burhred of Mercia, is called *cwēn* in the Chron. under 888. The wives of the kings of Northumbria and of Kent were known as *reginae*. This use of the name in the other English kingdoms is a *prima facie* argument that it was also used in Wessex. Whether it was employed prior to Eadburh's crime we are unable to prove, owing to the lack of early West Saxon records. Eadburh herself witnesses with this title in a Malmesbury<sup>1</sup> and an Abingdon charter<sup>2</sup>, but both are open to grave suspicions. Frithogyth, the wife of King Æthelheard of Wessex, is called *regina* in two charters dated 729 and 737 in the Glastonbury chartulary<sup>3</sup>, but again we can put no trust in the evidence. It is, however, noticeable that she is called *cwēn* in the Chron. under 737. There is no trace of the use of *regina* in ninth-century West Saxon charters after the time of Eadburh<sup>4</sup>, and the author of the Life speaks as if the custom of not calling the king's wife 'queen' still continued despite the coronation of Judith and the fact that Æthelwulf placed her by his side on the throne<sup>5</sup>. The widow of King Edmund

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 387, 5, dated 796.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* i. 391, 18, dated 801.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 213, 25; 214, 24; 228, 10, 16.

<sup>4</sup> The Rochester charter witnessed by 'Elwytha regina' (i.e. Ealhs-with) in 895 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 214, 10) is a clumsy twelfth-century forgery, which has been already condemned on palaeographical grounds by Hickes, *Dissertatio Epistolaris*, p. 66. It is witnessed by a bishop (*minister!*) of Norwich, whereas the East Anglian see was not transferred thither until the time of William the Conqueror, and the forger has made a similar blunder in regard to Chichester. As this charter is not included in the *Textus Roffensis*, it must have been fabricated after the compilation of that chartulary. It relates to a grant in Suffolk, which was not under Alfred's government in 895. It has the 'Volo et praecipio' of the Anglo-Norman writ-charter, and has clearly been made up after the date of the *Textus* by a forger who made use of the Life of Alfred, from which he derives 'Etheldredus, Ganniorum dux' (c. 29, 5), and also his 'Eaddredus comes' (c. 80, 8), without noticing that the latter was a mistake for Æthelred, who also appears as a witness, and that the former is mentioned as dead (c. 29, 11) before the date of the composition of the Life, which was in 893. An unknown *Wulfðryd regina* witnesses a charter of King Æthelred in 868 in the Winchester chartulary (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 135, 38). It comes from a highly suspicious source.

<sup>5</sup> He, however, calls her *regina* in c. 68, 12, which renders the *cwēn* of the Chron.

is called *cwēn* in Chron. D under 946, but this may be a later addition<sup>1</sup>. So far as we can judge by the evidence of the charters, the title did not come into use again until the reign of Edgar, when it is applied to his wife Ælfthryth in several charters<sup>2</sup>. She is, however, frequently described as the 'king's wife' (*coniux, laterana, or conlaterana*)<sup>3</sup>, the title ascribed to the consort of the West Saxon king in line 15. It is probable therefore that Robertson's conclusion that this title was reintroduced by this ambitious and unscrupulous woman is correct<sup>4</sup>. Although later royal consorts are described by this title<sup>5</sup>, and there is a coronation service for the queen dating at least as far back as Æthelred's time<sup>6</sup>, the king's wife continued to be known in English as 'Lady.' The development of O.E. *cwēn* from 'woman' to 'king's wife' is obscure, but it does not seem to have been affected by this curious West Saxon usage.

13, 29 *Theotiscorum*. The use of *Theotisci* as a collective name for the Germanic races is clearly due to Frankish influences. The term arose in the eighth century amongst the Franks, and was applied at first to the Germanic languages to distinguish them from Latin and Romance. Its earliest appearance is in a document relating to England in 786<sup>7</sup>, and in form it is O.E. or Low

<sup>1</sup> She is called simply *matrona* in a grant to her by King Edgar, her stepson (Brit. Mus. *Facs.* iii. pl. 25, contemporary; *Cart. Sax.* iii. 312, 5). See *Crawford Charters*, p. 87, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 624, 27; 629, 15; 637, 7; 646, 38. These are authentic texts. It is also applied to her in charters of doubtful authenticity (ibid. iii. 381, 20; 497, 15; 502, 32; 520, 26; 559, 15; 599, 30; 623, 21; 652, 2; *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii. 324 b; *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 176, 31; 324, 15).

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 464, 14, contemporary (?); 393, 21; 433, 31; 466, 22; 591, 5; 596, 21, all more or less suspicious. She is called 'the king's wife' in the O.E. text at iii. 162, 9, which may be genuine.

<sup>4</sup> *Historical Essays*, p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> For instance, Cnut's wife Ælfgifu in the drawing in the Hyde *Liber Vitae* representing the royal couple.

<sup>6</sup> Maskell, *Monumenta Ritualia Anglicana*, ii. p. 53.

<sup>7</sup> The report of the papal legates George, cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and Theophylactus, bishop of Todi, of their mission to England, printed by Dümmler, *Epistolae Aevi Carolini*, ii. 20, from a Wulfenbüttel tenth-century codex. In the corrupt text derived from the Magdeburg centuriators in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 460, and, in part, *Cart. Sax.* i. 348 (where it is wrongly dated 787), the word is replaced



German<sup>1</sup>, the O.H.G. form corresponding to O.E. *þeodisc* being *diutisk*, whence *Deutsch* has descended. It occurs in 788 in the Lorsch Annals in a passage that Brunner regards as taken from a legal instrument of that year<sup>2</sup>. The transference of the adj. from the language to the speakers of the language was inevitable, and the division of the Carolingian empire between the sons of Ludwig the Pious by the treaty of Verdun in 843 raised it to the dignity of a national name. It was firmly established in consequence of the treaty of Meerssen in 870, which had the result of connecting all the German-speaking people of the empire, with the exception of the Flemish portion of Neustria, with the East Frankish kingdom<sup>3</sup>. Up to the death of Ludwig the Pious the word is used exclusively of the language, and

by *Teutonice*, probably by the centuriators. Professor Dove, *Das älteste Zeugniß für den Namen Deutsch*, in the *Sitzungsberichte d. philologisch-philolog. u. d. historisch. Classe* of the Bavarian Academy, 1895, p. 230, thinks that the word is due to the Frankish abbot Wigbod, who accompanied the legates by order of Charles, and rejects the view that the word is an addition of the tenth-century copyist.

<sup>1</sup> Dove, *Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des deutschen Volksnamens*, in the Bavarian Academy's *Sitzungsberichte*, 1893, i. 237, suggests that the term is due to Boniface (Wynfrith) and his English companions. So also in his 1895 article, p. 234. An English example occurs, apparently, in a contemporary charter of Æthelwulf, dated 843 (*Ordin. Survey Facs.* iii. Stowe, pl. 17; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 18, 16): 'unus (*sic*) singularis silva . . . quem (*sic*) nos Theodoice "snad" nominamus.' This cannot be a personal name, as it is considered to be in the British Museum *Catalogue of the Stowe MSS.* i. 700, where it is emended to the impossible *Theodo[r]ice*. It is, no doubt, intended for *Theodisce*. Although this charter is written in O.E. handwriting, it would seem to have been draughted by a Frank, for the unmistakably Old High German spellings *Alahhere* and *Walahhere* occur amongst the witnesses. These names appear on the attached slip in the O.E. spellings as *Alhhere* and *Wealhhere*. We cannot be far wrong in ascribing this Frankish influence and the use of *Theodisce* to Felix, the Frankish secretary of Æthelwulf, who is referred to at p. 225, below. The form *Walah-here* (evidently from this charter) is cited by Büllbring, *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 447, as containing an O.E. parasitic vowel, and Chadwick, *Studies in Old English*, p. 178, note, similarly explains the *Ualach-* forms of the Namur MS. of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. This was written by continental scribes, and the forms are therefore due to Frankish influence. These appear to be the only instances of *a* as a parasitic vowel in O.E., and its non-occurrence elsewhere supports our explanation of its origin.

<sup>2</sup> *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. 30, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. 2, v. pp. 8, 132; Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. 3, p. 384 sq.



this is the prevailing use for another century after that time. But it was applied to the race early enough for a contemporary of Alfred to have become acquainted with it abroad. Thus Walafrid Strabo, writing about 840, contrasts the *Theodisci* with the *Latini*, and in 843 an Italian record speaks of 'vassi domnici tam Teutisci quam Langobardi'.<sup>1</sup> The Annals of Fulda in 876 substitute for it *Theuthonica* under antiquarian and classical influences, and it was, after a long struggle, superseded by *Teutonicus* in the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> The use of *Theodiscus* would be naturally preferred by a Low German writer, and the more classical *Teutonicus* by one who was not a German. The occurrence of the former in the present work may therefore be considered as an argument in favour of its composition at some date earlier than the date of the Cottonian MS. (circ. 1000).

14. This chapter is due to the author. It contains the earliest record of the great boundary dyke between England and Wales, the relics of which still bear the name of the great Mercian ruler. In Welsh it is known as *Clawdd Offa*, and the English name appears to be a modern translation of this. The O.E. genitive of *Offa* was *Offar*, and a compound of this with *dīc* would have come down to us as *Ofdyke* or *Offingdyke*. If the name was not a compound, we should have had something like *Off's Dyke*, for the final vowel would have disappeared during the Middle English period, unless it was retained by learned influence. The erection of the dyke is ascribed by Giraldus Cambrensis in the twelfth century to Offa.<sup>3</sup> The Germanic peoples were acquainted with such boundary ditches. Tacitus mentions the *latus agger* erected by the Angrivarii to divide their territory from that of the Cherusci.<sup>4</sup> The famous Danne-

<sup>1</sup> Waitz, v. p. 9, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> Waitz, v. 8, note 2; p. 132, note 4; Dove, *Bemerkungen*, p. 202.

<sup>3</sup> *Descriptio Cambriae*, ii. c. 7 (*Opera*, vol. vi, p. 217): 'Sicut et Offa suo in tempore; qui et fossa finali, in longum extensa, Britones ab Anglis exclusit.' It is also mentioned in an insertion in the later *Brut y Tywysogion* (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 8.3; ed. Ab Ithel, p. 8, Rolls Series). This mention does not occur in the older text in the *Red Book of Hergest*, ed. Rhys and Evans, Oxford, 1890. Cf. Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 141.

<sup>4</sup> *Annalium* ii. c. 19: 'Silvas quoque profunda palus ambibat, nisi

virke was a similar boundary erected shortly after Alfred's time to form the southern boundary of Denmark.

**14, 6 Eadburh.** The marriage of Eadburh to Beorhtric, king of Wessex, is recorded in the Chronicle under 787 (= 789<sup>1</sup>). It is an event that would possess a special interest for Alfred, for it meant the subjection of Wessex to the great Mercian ruler, and also the exile of Alfred's grandfather Ecgberht. The statement that Eadburh commenced to live after the tyrannical manner of her father is, as we see from the agreement of the transcripts and the Annals of St. Neots, a part of the Life, and not, as has been suggested<sup>2</sup>, a later interpolation. Heinsch has remarked with justice that such a story in the mouths of the West Saxons would assume a somewhat biased colouring, owing to their dislike of the Mercians<sup>3</sup>.

**14, 15 adolescente quodam.** Lappenberg states that the victim of Eadburh was a young ealdorman named Worr, whose high birth and amiability of character had gained him an influence over Beorhtric that she resented<sup>4</sup>. This is not justified by the evidence at our disposal. The Life does not mention the name of the favourite, but as it calls him *adolescens* and *puer*, it is clear that he cannot be the Ealdorman Worr, whose death is recorded in the same annal as that of Beorhtric in the Chronicle under 800. It is this collocation, which may be accidental, that has caused Lappenberg to identify Worr with the object of Eadburh's hatred. Worr was probably a West Saxon ealdorman, and his name occurs as *princeps* among the witnesses to two

quod latus unum Angrivarii lato aggere extulerant, quo a Cheruscis dirimerentur.' Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, iv. p. 423, identifies the remains of this dyke.

<sup>1</sup> The latter is the date in the Annals of St. Neots (above, p. 128), which has here, as in other cases, preserved the original date of the Chronicle (see above, p. 105).

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Heinsch, *Die Reiche der Angelsachsen zur Zeit Karls des Grossen*, Breslau, 1875, p. 102. His reason is that Florence omits the reference to her father's tyranny, but this is, no doubt, to be explained by the reverence felt for him at Worcester as a great benefactor. Cf. above, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> Heinsch, *loc. laud.*

<sup>4</sup> *Geschichte von England*, i. 268. Heinsch, p. 101, repeats the identification without comment.

charters of Beorhtric<sup>1</sup>. As these, however, come from the Abingdon chartulary, and are otherwise suspicious, we cannot attach much weight to their evidence.

15. This chapter is due entirely to the author. Although it is possible that the story of Eadburh may have been slightly 'improved' in transmission, it is probably true in its main outlines. It has no connexion with the Life of Alfred, and is introduced merely to explain the dislike of the West Saxons for the title of queen. We do not recognize anything in it that would suggest that it is the work of a later forger, and we see no reason for branding it as entirely legendary<sup>2</sup>. Alfred's family might be expected to have an interest in the fate of the daughter of Offa, whose marriage with Beorhtric excluded his grandfather Ecgberht from the throne. The emperor's jest, although somewhat brutal, is mild in comparison with some of those ascribed to him on the later and somewhat dubious authority of the monk of St. Gall. Charles was probably acquainted with Eadburh by name, for she would seem to have been the daughter of Offa whose hand he demanded for his son Charles. The latter was alive at the time to which this story must be referred, and may well have been the son here mentioned. This demand for the hand of Offa's daughter is recorded in the Lives of the Abbots of Fontenelle, which were written between 834 and 845<sup>3</sup>. In it we read that Gervold, who became abbot in 787-8, was a friend of Offa's, that he had been sent to him by Charles on several missions, and was finally dispatched to him in connexion with the quarrel that arose between the two monarchs in consequence of Offa's asking for the hand of Bertha, Charles's daughter, for his son, as a condition for his assent<sup>4</sup>. From the work it does not appear whether this

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 360, 16; 391, 21.

<sup>2</sup> As Heinsch, p. 103, has done.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, ed. Löwenfeld, Hanover, 1886, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* c. 16, p. 46: 'Hic nempe Gervoldus super regni negotia procurator constituitur per multos annos, per diversos portus ac civitates exigens tributa atque vectigalia, maxime in Quentawich (Wicquinghem, at the mouth of the Canche, Pas-de-Calais). Unde Offae, regi Anglorum sive Merciorum potentissimo, in amicitia valde cognoscitur adiunctus. Extant adhuc epistolae ab eo ad illum, id est Gervoldum, directae,

last mission occurred before Gervold became abbot, but it was evidently about the time of his appointment, for Alcuin writes in 790 that he may have to go on an embassy in connexion with the closing of the ports of Charles's dominions to the English<sup>1</sup>, which we know from the Fontenelle book was Charles's reply to Offa's demand. The marriage of Eadburh with Beorhtric is recorded in the Chronicle under 787, which we may correct to 789<sup>2</sup>, as the dates hereabouts are two years in arrear of the real ones. Another daughter of Offa, named Ælfæd, was married to Æthelred of Northumbria in 792<sup>3</sup>, and was therefore presumably younger than Eadburh. Considering the early age at which princesses were then married<sup>4</sup>, it is probable that she was not of marriageable age at the time of Eadburh's union with Beorhtric and of Charles's demand. It was possibly this dispute that caused Charles to receive Ecgberht, a proceeding that would, no doubt, still further embitter the relations between the Frankish monarch and the powerful ruler over the Mercians. Gervold's mission

quibus se amicum ac familiarem illius carissimum fore pronuntiat. Nam multis vicibus ipse per se iussione invictissimi regis Caroli ad præfatum regem Offan legationibus functus est. Novissime vero propter filiam eiusdem regis, quam in coniugium expostulabat Carolus iunior; sed illo hoc non acquiescente, nisi Berta, filia Magni Karoli, eius filio nuptui traderetur, aliquantulum potentissimus rex commotus, præcepit, ut nemo de Britannia insula ac gente Anglorum mercimonii causa litus Oceani maris attingeret in Gallia.'

<sup>1</sup> *Epistolæ Karolini Aevi*, ed. Dümmler, ii. 32; Jaffé, *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, ep. 14, p. 167: 'Sed nescio quid de nobis venturum fiet. Aliquid enim dissensionis, diabolico fomento inflammante, nuper inter regem Karolum et regem Offan exortum est, ita ut utrimque navigatio interdicta negotiantibus cessat. Sunt qui dicunt nos pro pace esse in illas partes mittendos.' Alcuin writes from England in 790 while engaged upon this mission (*ibid.* p. 35; Jaffé, ep. 17, p. 173), which was not immediately crowned with success. Another letter referring to peace has been assigned to 790 by Jaffé, but Dümmler relegates it to the period between 793, the year of Alcuin's return to the continent, whence he writes this letter, and 796, the date of Offa's death (*ibid.* p. 125; Jaffé, ep. 15, p. 169). The negotiations are dealt with by Heinsch, p. 54 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> The Annals of St. Neots have preserved the correct date (see above, page 205, note 1).

<sup>3</sup> The contemporary Northumbrian Chronicle, as preserved in the first part of Simeon of Durham (see above, p. lviii, § 35).

<sup>4</sup> See note to c. 11, II, p. 194, above.

was evidently a failure, for it was necessary to send Alcuin, who succeeded in restoring friendship between the two kings. The Life of Æthelberht, king of East Anglia, who was slain by Offa in 794<sup>1</sup>, states that a daughter of Offa's, named Althrida or Alfrida (i. e. Ælfthryth), was affianced to Æthelberht, and that after his death she retired to Croyland<sup>2</sup>. Nothing, however, is known of her historically<sup>3</sup>, and, if she ever existed, she must, from the date of Æthelberht's death, have been younger than Eadburh and Ælfled. How little credence can be given to this Life of Æthelberht may be seen from the fact that it calls Althrida the sole daughter of Offa.

15, 24 sicut a multis videntibus eam audivimus. This is not impossible, although it is somewhat surprising to find a man writing in 893 thus refer to a woman who was married in 789. Assuming that Eadburh was fifteen at that time, she would be eighty in 854, so that men of

<sup>1</sup> *Annals of St. Neots*, p. 128, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Maii tom. v, pp. 243\* F, 244\* E; *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. Brewer, iii. 419; Richard of Cirencester, ed. Mayor, i. 286.

<sup>3</sup> The Appendix to Florence of Worcester, ed. Thorpe, p. 266, states that Cynethryth bore to Offa two daughters, Eadburh, who married King Beorhtric of Wessex, and Ælfthryth, 'quae virgo permansit,' making no mention of the undoubtedly historic Ælfled. It is evident that this passage is founded upon the Life, c. 14, 5, and upon a Life of St. Æthelberht (see above, p. 110, note 3). The Chertsey chartulary contains what purports to be a confirmation by King Offa of the lands of that monastery, made for himself, his queen Cynethryth, Ecgrith, his son, and his daughters Ethelburga the abbess, Æthelfleda, Edburga, and Æthelwitha, or Æthelsthitha (*Cart. Sax.* i. 349, 31). This is dated 787, and has been suspected by Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 463. We have no proof of the grant of general confirmations until long after this date, and we have little doubt that the charter is a post-Conquest forgery. Ælfled, who witnesses as Æthelfleda, has been clearly derived from the work of Simeon of Durham, and the forger seems to have taken his mention of the synod of Acleah from Richard of Hexham, the continuator of Simeon's work, under 788. See the quotation in Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 464. Eadburh is, of course, derived from the Life of Alfred by means, probably, of Simeon. The date is that of her marriage in the Chronicle. Æthelwitha or Æthelsthitha is clearly the Althrida of the Life of St. Æthelberht, the Ælfthryth of Florence. The Abbess Æthelburh, described in this charter as a daughter of Offa, was really the daughter of an Ælfred (*Cart. Sax.* iii. 305, 14, a genuine charter preserved by Heming), and a kinswoman of Aldred, sub-regulus of the Hwicce (*ibid.* 331, 23).



sixty might well have mentioned their reminiscences to the author between 887 and 893<sup>1</sup>. In 853 Alfred himself had been sent to Rome (c. 8), and young men in his train might have heard the history of Eadburh from older men, have seen her in Pavia or elsewhere on the journey to Rome, and have conveyed the information to the author. But in this case we might have expected him to vouch Alfred, whose attention would, no doubt, have been drawn to the ex-queen of Wessex. It was probably at Alfred's court where the writer met the men who had seen Eadburh, although we cannot exclude the possibility of his meeting men who had looked upon her before he came to Alfred. He may have met these men either in Wales or in Frankland, where the fate of Eadburh would be well known.

**15, 25 in Pavia . . . moreretur.** Pavia was on the road to Rome, and was hence frequented by English pilgrims on their journey to the latter<sup>2</sup>. In the itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric to Rome in 990 its name seems to have been blundered<sup>3</sup>. In the tenth century Bishop Theodred in his will bequeaths a white mass cope that he had bought at Pavia<sup>4</sup>. With this story of Eadburh's begging in that city we may compare the statement of St. Boniface, written about 747, as to the presence of English prostitutes or adulteresses in the cities of Lombardy, Frankland, or Gaul<sup>5</sup>. At the date of this letter the Lombards still spoke their native Germanic tongue, and it is probable that as late as Eadburh's time it was still the predominant speech in Lombardy<sup>6</sup>. It was a tongue whose relationship to Old English would facilitate its acquisition by natives of England.

**16.** This chapter is due to the author, with the exception

<sup>1</sup> The remarks of Stubbs, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, i. p. xviii, upon the length of time that may be covered by the memory of two men are suggestive.

<sup>2</sup> Alfred's sister, Queen Æthelwith, was buried there in 888, according to the Chronicle.

<sup>3</sup> Printed by Stubbs, *Memorials of Dunstan*, p. 391 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 211, 8, from a fourteenth-century copy (see note to c. 33, p. 232, below).

<sup>5</sup> Dümmler, *Epistolæ Karolini Aevi*, i. 355; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. 381.

<sup>6</sup> See W. Bruckner, *Die Sprache der Langobarden*, Strassburg, 1895, p. 12 sqq.

of the statement that Æthelwulf reigned two years after his return from Rome, which is derived from the Chronicle.

16, 5 *hereditariam . . . epistolam*. The following details are clearly taken from Æthelwulf's will. Bishop Stubbs has suggested that the author saw this will<sup>1</sup>, which has not been preserved. That there was such an instrument is proved by Alfred's will<sup>2</sup>, wherein he states that he produced 'Aþulfes cinges yrfe gewrit' ('King Æthelwulf's will,' literally 'writing concerning his inheritance'). The references to it, however, relate only to the disposition of the king's lands among his sons. This agrees with what is said in line 7 of the present chapter.

16, 20 *per omnem . . . terram . . . in decem manentibus unum pauperem*. This provision is referred to in a charter in the Hyde chartulary, dated 901, in which King Edward states that he makes the grant for the food of the monks of Newminster 'ex decimatione, quam avi mei decinaverunt ex eorum propriis terris istius regni ministris suis aliquibus . . . et pascendis pauperibus tradiderunt, ea ratione, ut in multis locis est scriptum<sup>3</sup>.' It is difficult to feel any confidence in the authenticity of this text.

16, 26 *Romae . . . magnam pro anima sua pecuniam*. Nothing is recorded of these gifts of Æthelwulf to Rome in the *Liber Pontificalis*, unless they are referred to in the statement that during the time of Pope Nicholas (858-867) certain Englishmen came to Rome and placed in the chapel of St. Gregory in St. Peter's a *tabula* of silver, the weight of which is not given<sup>4</sup>. It is difficult to reconcile

<sup>1</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 177, 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 248, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ed. Duchesne, ii. 161, 32: 'Huius igitur tempore, cum multi ad sanctitatis eius nomen accurrerent, quidam de Anglorum gente Romam venerunt, qui in oratorio Beati Gregorii Papae et Confessoris Christi, infra sacram principis Apostolorum edem constructo, unam tabulam argenteam posuerunt, habentem lib. . . .' The absence of any reference to Æthelwulf's bequest in this work may be due to the change of style in the compilation. After the commencement of the account of Nicholas, a new writer appears, who pays little attention to recording gifts, but is more interested in political events. Father Duchesne would identify him with the librarian Anastasius, to whom the authorship of the early part of the *Liber Pontificalis* used to be assigned (ii. pp. v, vi).

this with the statements in the Life. Such bequests to Rome as are described in the Life would be quite in accordance with Æthelwulf's religious character. On his visit to Rome he bestowed very rich gifts<sup>1</sup>. He could hardly charge his heirs for ever with payment of three hundred mancusses yearly, as the Life seems to state, for his interest in the estates of his family was only a life one<sup>2</sup>.

16, 30. This gift of Æthelwulf's to St. Peter's, Rome, is mentioned in a Rochester charter of Alfred, bearing date 895, but this is a fabrication based, directly or indirectly, upon the present work<sup>3</sup>.

16, 37 *universali papae*. The use of this title came in about the end of the seventh century<sup>4</sup>. It was in common use in the ninth century<sup>5</sup>, but as it was employed in the

<sup>1</sup> See above, page 194, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 109, ascribes to Æthelwulf the grant of the *tributum* to St. Peter that the English still paid in his time to the pope, referring to Peter's Pence (*Rom-feoh, Rom-pening, Heorð-pening*), evidently identifying the present passage with that mysterious impost. A similar attempt has been made by Paul Fabre, *Étude sur le Liber Censuum*, Paris, 1892, p. 132, who connects with it the mention in the Chron. of the dispatch to Rome of the alms of the king and of the West Saxons in the time of Alfred and Edward the Elder. Dr. Jensen, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, xv, pp. 180, 182, brings Æthelwulf's alms into relationship with Peter's Pence, which in later times amounted to 299 marks yearly, by substituting tacitly 'mark' for 'mancus' in the present passage, thus multiplying the sum by four. It is noteworthy that Offa is alleged to have promised to send 365 mancusses yearly to Rome for the maintenance of the poor and of lights. This appears from a letter of Leo III to Offa's successor Cenwulf, written about 787 (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. p. 525; Jaffé, *Monumenta Alcuiniana*, p. 363; Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, no. 2494). Dr. Liebermann accepts the origin of Peter's Pence in this grant of Offa, and also describes Malmesbury's reference to Æthelwulf as a confirmation of the grant by the latter king (*Ueber die Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, Halle, 1896, p. 55). Pope Alexander II (1066-73) writes to William the Conqueror that the English used to send a yearly pension to Rome, part of which went to the pope and part to the Schola Anglorum (Jaffé-Wattenbach, no. 4757).

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 212, 24. See above, page 201, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Friedrich, *Die Constantinische Schenkung*, Nördlingen, 1889, p. 108 sqq.; *Registrum Gregorii Magni*, ed. Ewald and Hartmann, i. 321.

<sup>5</sup> It is occasionally used in the *Liber Pontificalis* in the ninth century, but as the lives in the following century are not by contemporary writers,

Imperial chancery after that time, we cannot claim that its appearance in the Life limits the compilation of the latter to the ninth century. We have, however, been unable to find an English instance later than the present one.

17. This chapter is due to the author. The marriage of Æthelbeald to his father's widow, which is known only in English sources from the Life or from its derivatives, is recorded by Prudentius of Troyes, a contemporary Frankish chronicler<sup>1</sup>. This confirmation is an important argument in favour of the authenticity of the present work. It is noticeable that the author assigns two and a half years as the duration of Æthelbeald's reign over Wessex, whereas the Chronicle, the regnal tables, and royal genealogies ascribe to him a reign of five years. It is evident that half of the latter term must have been during the time of Æthelwulf<sup>2</sup>, as stated in the Annals of St. Neots, no doubt on the authority of the present chapter. The statement that Æthelbeald was compelled to separate from Judith, although accepted by some writers<sup>3</sup>, is unsupported by any competent testimony<sup>4</sup>, and does not harmonize with the

no definite conclusion can be drawn from their evidence. In 963 Otto the Great addresses John XII as 'summus pontifex et universalis papa' (Liudprand, *Historia Ottonis*, ed. Pertz, p. 172) and the Emperor Henry I applies the same titles to Benedict VIII (Hardouin, *Concilia*, vi. col. 799). For another imperial use of the title, see the emperor's advocate's argument calling the pope 'universalis pontifex' in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 'Libelli de Lite Imperatorum et Pontificum saeculis xi. et xii. conscripti,' i. 78, 36 (cf. ii. 672, 2).

<sup>1</sup> *Annales Bertiniani*, an. 858, p. 49: 'Edilwulf, Rex Occidentalium Saxonum, moritur; relictam eius, Iudit reginam, Adalboldus, filius eius, uxorem ducit.'

<sup>2</sup> See note to c. 12, page 195, above.

<sup>3</sup> Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 297, who has misled Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, ii. p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> The authorities are the twelfth-century St. Albans compilation (in Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, i. p. 295; Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. p. 387; *Flores Historiarum*, i. p. 427), where it is entered under 859, and the work of Thomas Rudborne, *Annales Ecclesiae Wintoniensis* (in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, i. p. 204), a fifteenth-century compilation of no value for early times. Rudborne, who is sometimes critical (see the present writer in the *English Historical Review*, xvii. p. 630), seems to have derived this information from the unknown work of Gerard of Cornwall, *De Gestis Regum Westsaxonum*, a late writer who embodied many figments in his work (see *English Historical Review*, xvii. p. 630, note 17). This story makes the separation proceed



contemporary Frankish account of her leaving England upon Æthelbeald's death, wherein she is described as his relict<sup>1</sup>.

17, 2. The statement in the Annals of St. Neots that King Æthelwulf was buried at Steyning is otherwise unknown. The Cottonian MS. of the Life contained no mention of the place of his sepulture, and Florence of Worcester has clearly derived his 'apud Wintoniam' from the Chron. As the Annals of St. Neots elsewhere transcribes the Life so carefully, it is probable that this reading is derived from the MS. of that work used by the compiler of the Annals. In that case we should have to conclude that the Cottonian MS. was not the one from which the compiler derived his extracts from the Life. There are other grounds for this view<sup>2</sup>. Steyning was the property of King Alfred, who bequeathed it to his nephew Æthelwold<sup>3</sup>. It seems to have come into royal hands again after Æthelwold's unsuccessful rebellion against Edward the Elder, and was granted by Edward the Confessor to the abbey of Fécamp<sup>4</sup>, and hence became an alien priory. In the list of the burial-places of English saints, which dates in its present form from the early part of the eleventh century, it is stated that St. Cuthmann is buried at Steyning<sup>5</sup>. Of him nothing is really known, although a life of him exists<sup>6</sup>. It

from the gentle remonstrances of St. Swithun, which is no doubt a Winchester invention. Cf. Introduction, p. c, note 2, above.

<sup>1</sup> Hincmar, *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz, p. 56: 'filia eius (scil. Karoli) Iudith, relictæ scilicet Ædelboldi, Regis Anglorum, quæ, possessionibus venditis, quas in Anglorum regno optinuerat, ad patrem rediit et in Silvanectis civitatem debito reginæ honore . . . servabatur.' This is entered under 862, the date of her elopement with Baldwin of Flanders.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, § 34, p. lvii, above.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 178, 20.

<sup>4</sup> *Cod. Dipl.* iv. p. 229, from the *Cartæ Antiquæ*, EE. no. 1, in the Public Record Office, a late twelfth- or very early thirteenth-century copy.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. Liebermann, ii. 48, p. 19; *Liber Vitæ* of Hyde, 94, 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Februarii tom. ii. pp. 197-9. The suggestion at p. 197 B that he lived at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century rests upon the erroneous suppositions that Steyning was granted by the English to Fécamp after the Norman Conquest, that it was in Normandy, and that consequently St. Cuthmann must have migrated from England to Normandy. This migration could not be placed before the conversion of the Normans to Christianity. It is to be



is evidently of late date and has been written to order, and the author had no materials. We may even doubt whether he had any legendary evidence before him. If some sort of religious establishment existed at Steyning in Æthelwulf's time, it is not improbable that he should be buried there. The Chron., however, records his burial at Winchester, so that, if he was originally interred at Steyning, his body must have been transferred by Alfred to Winchester, after 893, the date of the composition of the Life. Alfred's body was in like manner transferred from Old Minster, Winchester, to New Minster by Edward, his son<sup>1</sup>, and afterwards to Hyde, when the New Minster was removed thither.

17, 5 *thorum patris sui ascendens*. According to Beda King Eadbald of Kent married his father's widow, a proceeding that the historian describes as 'fornicatione . . . qualem nec inter gentes auditam apostolus testatur.'<sup>2</sup> Possibly the author of the Life was acquainted with this passage, but whether he drew his description of such a marriage as unknown among pagans from Beda or from the text referred to by him, it is certainly wrong. The step taken by the Kentish king was part of the reaction against Christianity that marked his accession. The prohibition of such marriages was one of the restrictions introduced among the Germans by Christian influence<sup>3</sup>. The legality of marriage with a step-mother was one of the questions submitted to Gregory by Augustine as a result of his experience in England<sup>4</sup>. The question had arisen some years before the accession of Eadbald. It is difficult to believe that this heathen institution of marriage with a step-mother can have been the cause of Æthelbeald's marriage with Judith, as Weinhold suggests<sup>5</sup>. The custom existed in

regretted that this suggestion has been reproduced in the uncritical notice of this saint in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i. 731.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Vitae* of Hyde, 5, 19; 6, 17.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Eccl.* ii. c. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Edgar Loening, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechtes*, Strassburg, 1878, ii. p. 562; Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen im Mittelalter*, i. 359 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* i. c. 27, question 5; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. p. 20. Hartmann, in the *Registrum Gregorii Magni*, ii. p. 332, decides in favour of the authenticity of these questions and answers.

<sup>5</sup> *Die deutschen Frauen*, i. p. 360. If it was, as he suggests, a

Scotland until the twelfth century, when Queen Margaret is said to have procured its suppression<sup>1</sup>. There is an instance of it in Wales as late as the ninth century<sup>2</sup>. Procopius records that Hermigisl, king of the Warni, on his death-bed commanded his son to espouse his step-mother<sup>3</sup>. The custom was also known among the Lithuanians<sup>4</sup>, and, indeed, seems to have widely spread among pagans.

17b, 7 *Burua*. This is an error of Parker or his printer for *Burna*, as in the Annals of St. Neots, whence this interpolation was taken. In the mythical *Liber de Infantia Sancti Eadmundi* by Geoffrey de Fontibus, written between 1148-1156, the coronation of Edmund is fixed at 'villa Burum,' which is described as lying on the boundary of Essex and Suffolk on the river Stour<sup>5</sup>. This is the modern Bures St. Mary, co. Suffolk, which appears in Domesday as *Bure*<sup>6</sup>. The variations in form represent obviously the gradual supersession of the O.E. dative plural by the nominative plural. The Domesday form, if it may be trusted, represents the dative singular. The form in the Annals of St. Neots must therefore be miswritten for *Buran*, a form of the dative plural. There are several agreements as to events between these annals and the work of Geoffrey, but the borrowing seems to have been on the part of the latter, who professes to have compiled his work from matter that had been told to him and from materials that he had met with in reading<sup>7</sup>.

18. From the Chronicle. The author of the Life has, however, made a curious confusion in stating that, upon Æthelbeald's death, Æthelberht joined to his realm Kent,

political institution, it must have gone out of use before Bede's time, to judge by his language. Robertson, *Historical Essays*, p. lxxvii, attempts to explain the custom as arising from 'the desire of preventing the joint property from passing beyond the limits of the mæg.'

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, ii. p. 158, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, p. 189.

<sup>3</sup> *De Bello Gothico*, iv. c. 20. This was for political reasons.

<sup>4</sup> Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 910.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, i. 101. One MS. reads 'villa de Bures.'

<sup>6</sup> Vol. ii. p. 392.

<sup>7</sup> *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, i. 93, 'quaedam ab aliis mihi tradita, quaedam viva lectione cognita.'

Surrey, and Sussex, for, according to the Chron., he succeeded to these kingdoms and to that of Essex upon his father's death, and the author of the Life states that Æthelbeald was king of Wessex until his death (c. 17). He should have stated that Æthelberht added Wessex to his dominions upon Æthelbeald's death, or, as the Chronicle puts it, succeeded 'to all the kingdom.' The author's error has probably arisen from the passage at the end of the annal for 855 in the Chronicle, which is separated from that of 860 by nothing but the numerals of the years 856, 859. This annal for 855 states that Æthelbeald succeeded to Wessex, and Æthelberht to Kent, Essex, Surrey, and Sussex. Chron. C omits from this list the name of Essex, just as the author of the Life does in the present chapter, but this seems to be a mere coincidence of no importance, since Essex occurs in the other MSS., and was, therefore, no doubt present in the archetype and in the copy before the author.

18, 10 **Osric, Hamtunensium comes.** The name of the ealdorman is so given in Chron. A, D, E and G, but appears as Wulfheard in B and C. An Ealdorman Wulfheard is recorded as fighting the Danes at Southampton in the Chron. under 837, which records his death in the same year. The reading 'Osric' appears to be the correct one in the annal for 860, for an 'Osric princeps' witnesses a contemporary charter of King Æthelwulf in 847<sup>1</sup>. He also witnesses several of the suspicious charters relating to that king's Donation<sup>2</sup>, and some other doubtful texts<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus. Facs. ii. pl. 30; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 34, 41. He is, no doubt, the *Oric dux* of a Rochester charter of 860-2, wrongly dated 790 by the copyist (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 108, 23), since *Oric*, an impossible O.E. name, must be miswritten for *Osric* or *Ordric*. In another Rochester charter of 850 his name is miscopied *Orric*, owing to the frequent misreading of the O.E. *s* as *r* (*ibid.* ii. 48, 27). He also occurs with other witnesses of about this date in the strange eleventh-century charter dated 874 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 157, 14).

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 28, 10; 65, 35; 67, 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 71, 18; 99, 31, both from the Winchester chartulary. The latter in the invocation, movent clause, and anathema shows influence of the deeds relating to the Donation, whilst the former uses the same formulas as the spurious charter of King Ine in the same chartulary (*Cart. Sax.* i. 148), including an immunity clause derived from King

It is worthy of note that this Hampshire ealdorman bears a name beginning with the stem *Os-*, which occurs in the name of Alfred's mother *Os-burh* and of her father *Os-lac*<sup>1</sup>.

18, 14 *muliebriter* is an addition of the author. It is possibly a reminiscence of Nennius<sup>2</sup>.

19. Based upon the Chronicle under 860. The description of Æthelbeald as reigning 'pacifice et amabiliter atque honorabiliter' is a translation of the words of the Chronicle: 'he hit heold on godre gepuærnesse ond on micelre sibsumnesse.' One is tempted to believe that this characterization of the reign is due to the kind remembrances in Alfred's mind.

20. From the Chronicle, with expansions. It appears under 865 in Chron. A, B, D, E, but under 866 in C. It is probable that the Cottonian MS. of the Life had 865, for these events are mentioned after the death of Æthelberht, who is assigned a five years' reign and whose accession is placed in 860. The date 864 is probably due to Parker's transcriber. A scribe in the eleventh century would have represented the numeral by *iiii*, not by *iv*. The compiler of the Annals of St. Neots refers this chapter to 864 also.

20, 4 *servato*. As this reading occurs in all the texts except Florence of Worcester and SD 2, which transcribes him, it is evident that his *servando*, although a preferable reading, is an emendation of his own.

21. The first part is derived from the Chronicle, omitting the mention of the making of peace between the Danes and the East Saxons, and adding that the former came 'de Danubia.'

21, 5 *Danubia*. If this reading existed in the original work, it must be explained as arising from an erroneous connexion of the names of the Danes with the Danube. The Danes were in possession of the mouths of the Rhine some few years before this date<sup>3</sup>, but it is improbable that

Edgar's chancery. The Shaftesbury charter witnessed by *Osric dux* in 860 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 106, 24) is a suspicious text.

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 163, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Historia Britonum*, ed. Mommsen, p. 188: 'et barbari victi sunt, et ille victor fuit, et ipsi in fugam versi usque ad ciulas suas mersi sunt in eas muliebriter intrantes.'

<sup>3</sup> See Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, ii. p. 48; Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, ii. p. 177.

the author has confused the names of the two great rivers. The Danes probably came to England from the mouths of the Rhine on this occasion<sup>1</sup>.

21, 9 *ut more navigantium loquar*. The comparison of the author's work and its object to a ship making for port occurs again in c. 73, 2, '*ne diuturna enavigatione portum optatae quietis omittere cogar*.' Cf. also c. 91, 30. With c. 73, 2 may be compared the words of Cicero, '*nam et quum prospero flatu eius (scil. fortunae) utimur, ad exitus pervehimur optatos*'<sup>2</sup>. The allegory is used by St. Jerome, '*ad portum explanationum . . . pervenire poterimus*'<sup>3</sup>; and, again, '*si me ad optatos portus aestus attulerit, gubernator putabar infirmior*'<sup>4</sup>. The figure was a common classical one. Quintilian, who gives it as an example of allegory<sup>5</sup>, employs it himself in his epistle dedicatory<sup>6</sup>. It was equally popular with the writers of the early Middle Ages. The eighth-century Felix of Croyland makes use of it<sup>7</sup>, and it occurs in the same century in the poems of Fortunatus<sup>8</sup>. An instance almost contemporary with Asser may be quoted from John Scotus<sup>9</sup>. It is, therefore, evident that the argu-

<sup>1</sup> Steenstrup, ii. p. 178, who refers to the peace enjoyed for a few years after 864 by the lands about the Rhine mouth. It is impossible to attach much weight to his other argument, which is the occurrence about this time of *Scaldingi* in England as a name for the Danes, and the connexion of this name, with Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 212, with the name of the river Scheldt, *Scaldis*. This denomination occurs only in the late tenth century *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, and relates to much earlier events (Simeon of Durham's works, ed. Arnold, i. pp. 200, 202). It is much more probably a somewhat corrupted form of *Skiptdungar*, the *Scyldingas* of Beowulf, the name of the royal race of the Danes and, by extension, of the Danes themselves.

<sup>2</sup> *De Officiis*, 2, 6, 19.

<sup>3</sup> *Commentariorum* lib. xiv, prolog.

<sup>4</sup> Epistola xvii, *ad Innocentium* (Benedictine edition of his works, iv. 2, col. 23). Cf. also Ep. i, *ad Rufinum* (ibid. iv. 2, col. 2); Ep. v, *ad Heliodorum* (ibid. iv. 2, col. 11); *Comment. in Abdiam prophetam*, c. 1, praef. (ibid. iii. p. 1455); *Comment. in Zachariam* (ibid. iii. p. 1706).

<sup>5</sup> *Institutiones Oratoriae*, lib. viii. c. 6, § 44.

<sup>6</sup> '*Permittamus vela ventis et oram solventibus bene precemur*.'

<sup>7</sup> *Vita S. Guthlaci*, ed. Birch, Wisbech, 1881, p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Polycarp Leyser, *Historia Poetarum et Poematum Medii Aevi*, Halae, Magdeburgi, 1721, p. 165, lxiii. § 4.

<sup>9</sup> *De Praedestinatione*, praef.: '*nos vero e diverso inter undosum vellivolunquae pelagus imperii senioris nostri, Domini videlicet gloriosissimi*



ment that the author of the Life derived the allegory from the late tenth century Æthelweard<sup>1</sup>, and that the Life is later in date than his work<sup>2</sup>, has no validity<sup>3</sup>.

21, 15 **quantum meae cognitioni innotuit.** Cf. c. 73, 3. Suggested by a phrase of Einhard in the passage quoted in the note to the latter chapter.

22, 4 **curto**, 'court.' The use of this word in reference to the king's palace is one of the proofs of Frankish influence discernible in the Life<sup>4</sup>. The form is somewhat unusual<sup>5</sup>, but the reading given in the text is supported by Florence of Worcester, and the *curto* of c. 75, 22 is also reproduced by him. It is clear that this was the reading of the Cottonian MS. of the Life. Florence agrees with the Corpus transcript in reading *cultu* (for *curto*) in c. 100, 5, 11, 21, the reading in the last instance being noted by Wise as that of the Cottonian MS. This curious form, which seems to be due to an error on the part of the scribe of the Cottonian MS., is another proof that Florence used that MS. The author of the first part of the chronicle bearing the name of Simeon of Durham substitutes *curia* for *curto* in c. 75, 22, and the word does not appear in his extracts from the other

Caroli, quasi quaedam navicula diversis fluctibus agitati, quandoque tamen in portu serenitatis eius stabilitanda occupati, vix aliquando ad vestigia sapientiae intuenda brevissimo temporis sinimur intervallo' (ap. Migne, *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, cxxii, col. 355).

<sup>1</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 514 A: 'veluti advecta navis per gurgites undarum longinqua spatia, tenet iam portum, quae diligenti tramite explorarat, ita et nos, quasi more nautarum, ingredimur.'

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. cxvii, above.

<sup>3</sup> Other examples of the use of this figure may be found in the eleventh-century Life of St. John of Beverley, in Raine's *Historians of the Church of York*, i. p. 240, and Heming's preface to the Worcester chartulary, written at the end of that century, ed. Hearne, p. 258. It is unnecessary to cite more instances, but reference may be made to Dante's use of the simile in *Purgatorio*, i. 2; *Paradiso*, ii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, § 58, p. xciv, above. Numerous Frankish examples of its use in this sense may be found in Ducange's *Glossarium Mediæ et Infimæ Latinitatis* under 'Cortis.'

<sup>5</sup> It seems to occur in a Worcester charter of 816 in 'duobus in curtis' (*Cart. Sax.* i. 498, 2), unless this is due to confusion between the ablative plural terminations of the second and third declensions, of which there are several instances in Mercian charters of this period. The original of this charter, which is clearly genuine, was in existence in Hicke's time, who printed it (*Thesaurus*, i. 173).

chapters<sup>1</sup>. None of the passages occur in the Annals of St. Neots, so that we have no evidence as to the reading in the MS. used by the compiler of that work.

The more usual form *curtis* was used, in the sense of 'enclosure,' 'estate,' before the date of the present work, by English writers. The occurrence of this form in Beda's *Chronica*<sup>2</sup> is due to his excerpting the Roman *Liber Pontificalis*. It occurs in a charter of King Swæbhard of Kent, dated 676, in the chartulary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury<sup>3</sup>, which, from the formulas, seems to be genuine, and in another Kentish charter a little later in date from the same chartulary<sup>4</sup>, which also seems to be genuine. It is also found in a Wiltshire charter of 778, which is preserved in an early, if not contemporary, copy<sup>5</sup>, and it is used in a ninth-century text bearing the name of Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury<sup>6</sup>, who died in 832. There are other instances in charters of later date<sup>7</sup>. Abbo of Fleury explains the name O.E. of Bury St. Edmunds, 'Beodrices-woeorð,' as meaning 'Bedrici curtis'<sup>8</sup>.

22, 10 *parentum et nutritorum incuria*. This sharing of the blame for the neglect of Alfred's education prior to his twelfth year between his *parentes* and *nutritores* agrees with the view that his mother died before his father's second

<sup>1</sup> The second part of this chronicle, which is founded upon Florence of Worcester (see Introduction, § 35, p. lix, above), abbreviates the passages in which the word occurs so much that it is not represented in the abstracts in any of the instances.

<sup>2</sup> Edited by Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 'Chronica Minora,' iii. p. 317, 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 67, 12. Cf. also p. 70, 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* i. 107, 30, where it is spelt *cortem*.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 3; *Cart. Sax.* i. 314, 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 17; *Cart. Sax.* i. 523, 23.

<sup>7</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 200, 22, 36, a Worcester charter dated 889 relating to London, which may be genuine (see Introduction, p. lxxvi, note 3, and p. 151, note 2, above). In a Wilton charter of 988 it renders O.E. *haga* a 'haw' or enclosed dwelling in a town (*Cod. Dipl.* iii. 239, 29), and it has this meaning in the Worcester text just cited and in a dubious Chertsey charter relating to London (*ibid.* iii. 354, 17, 21, 27) between 1006 and 1012, and in a Worcester grant made between 1046 and 1060 (*ibid.* iv. 138, 19). The form *curta* occurs, in the same sense, in a Worcester demise made between 972 and 992 (*ibid.* iii. 258, 21).

<sup>8</sup> *Passio Sancti Edmundi*, c. 14, ed. Arnold, *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, i. 19.

marriage in 856<sup>1</sup>. His father died in 858, in Alfred's ninth or tenth year.

23. This famous chapter, which is due entirely to the author, has been one of the main causes for the doubts thrown upon the authenticity or veracity of the Life. It has been frequently interpreted as saying that Alfred read the book<sup>2</sup>, a view for which there is some warrant in line 14. But it is obvious that the verb *legit* must either refer to the master<sup>3</sup>, or must have some other meaning than 'read'<sup>4</sup>. This conclusion holds good whether the work be genuine or spurious, for we cannot conceive a forger so stupid as to tell us that an unlettered boy could take a book from his mother, go out of the room to a master, and return forthwith able to read it<sup>5</sup>. This is clearly not what the author intended to convey. He tells us that the mother promised to give the book to the son who should learn it the most speedily, and that Alfred hereupon inquired whether she would really give it to him who should most quickly understand it and recite it before her. The author was therefore obviously referring to learning the contents of the book by rote<sup>6</sup>. By taking the passage in this sense we avoid any contradiction

<sup>1</sup> See note to next chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 311; Stubbs, in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, ii. pp. xli-xliii; Freeman, *Dict. of National Biography*, i. p. 154.

<sup>3</sup> Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 100, states without qualification that Alfred 'sought a master who repeated it (the book) to him till the boy's memory enabled him to recite its poems by heart.' This is a somewhat free rendering of the 'adiit et legit' of this chapter. It is possible that the *et* in this sentence may be a misreading by the copyist of a compendium for *qui*, for a similar substitution of *et* for *quae* seems to occur in c. 29, 11. See above, p. xlvi, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> It is not until 887 that the author records that Alfred began 'legere et interpretari simul' (c. 87, 2). Cf. c. 89, 1. Previously the author read aloud (*recitare*) to him (cc. 81, 11, 15; 88, 4), and others performed the like office for him (cc. 76, 9, 27; 77, 22). Cf. the use of *recitare* in c. 106, 54. The *legebantur* of c. 75, 17, if it is faithfully reproduced from the original, seems to refer to reading aloud by the teacher.

<sup>5</sup> The author tells us that Alfred was unable to understand a book by himself until after the arrival of Plegmund, Werfrith, and the other Mercian scholars at his court, 'non enim adhuc aliquid legere inceperat' (c. 77, 26). This was before he began 'legere et interpretari simul' in 887. See preceding note.

<sup>6</sup> So Pauli has rightly concluded (*König Ælfred*, p. 68).

of the author's statement a few lines previously that Alfred remained ignorant of letters until and after his twelfth year (c. 22, 11). Unfortunately this latter passage has been taken as defining the time when the incident related in this chapter occurred<sup>1</sup>. This is largely an outcome of the view that the present chapter means that Alfred read the book. This ascription of the incident to his twelfth year or later leads to very grave difficulties. It is most natural to refer the term *mater* to Alfred's mother Osburh, not to his step-mother Judith. Alfred would complete his twelfth year in 861 or 862, and as he is said to have remained illiterate until after his twelfth year, this episode cannot, if it be brought into connexion with c. 22, 11, be placed earlier than 862. The author records the marriage of Æthelwulf, Alfred's father, with Judith in 856 (cc. 11, 10; 13, 8). He can hardly have been so thoughtless as to tell the story of the book of poems a few pages later under the impression that Alfred was still under the kindly care of Osburh in 862. Indeed, in c. 22, 11 Alfred is under the care of *nutritores*, not his parents, before this date. In order to fit the story into Alfred's twelfth or thirteenth year, Lappenberg has taken the violent course of describing Osburh as the cast-off wife of Æthelwulf, and he has found several supporters<sup>2</sup>. There is not the slightest evidence that Æthelwulf treated her in this brutal way, and his well-known religious character renders the supposition that he did so a very unlikely one. The alternative view that *mater* must refer to Judith, does not mend matters.

<sup>1</sup> Lappenberg, i. p. 311; Stubbs, *loc. laud.*; Freeman, *Dict. of National Biography*, i. 154, who says unreservedly that the story is placed in Alfred's twelfth year by Asser.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte von England*, i. pp. 294, 311. Dr. Giles, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great*, London, 1848, p. 82, suggested that Osburh was then living in retirement, like the Empress Josephine. Cf. also Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, London, 1842, i. p. 385. As a result of placing this story in Alfred's twelfth year and of his own theory that Alfred remained in Rome from 853 to 856 (see above, p. 193), Freeman was 'driven, however unwillingly, to suppose that Osburh, the mother of Æthelwulf's children, was put away to make room for Judith, and that she survived her husband (*Dict. of National Biography*, i. p. 154). There is no evidence for this view. See below, p. 224, note 3. Mr. Hunt also ascribes the story of the book to Osburh, and consequently adopts the view that she was cast aside by Æthelwulf (*Dict. of National Biography*, xviii. p. 42; xlii. p. 305).



Bishop Stubbs has laid stress upon the improbability of this light Frankish princess interesting herself in Old English poems<sup>1</sup>. In addition to the difficulty raised by her marriage with Æthelbeald, Alfred's brother, between the death of his father in 858 and Æthelbeald's death in 860, it is extremely doubtful whether she was in England in Alfred's twelfth or thirteenth year. She is recorded to have returned to France upon the death of Æthelbeald<sup>2</sup>. In 862 she eloped from Senlis, where she had been living some little time, with Baldwin of Flanders<sup>3</sup>. So serious are the difficulties raised by the view that the events in this chapter relate to Alfred's twelfth or thirteenth year, that Stubbs proposed to obviate them by assigning Alfred's birth to an earlier date than 849, the year given in the *Life*, because the Cottonian MS. of the latter described 853 as the eleventh year of his life (c. 7, 2)<sup>4</sup>. But this is one of several blunders in the numbering of his years, and it is disproved by the more general reckoning of his age from 849<sup>5</sup>. The statement that he was born in that year is supported by the evidence of the West Saxon royal genealogies, two copies of which go back to Alfred's time<sup>6</sup>. Another objection to placing the story of the book in Alfred's thirteenth year is that his brothers were then grown up<sup>7</sup>. Bishop Clifford attempts to explain the statement that Alfred remained illiterate until his twelfth year,

<sup>1</sup> Preface to William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xlii.

<sup>2</sup> Hincmar, *Annales Bertiniani*, ed. Waitz, p. 56. The *Genealogia Comitum Flandrensiū*, in Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, Paris, 1717, col. 379, cited by Stubbs, in Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xliii, note 4, is a mere echo of Hincmar's words, with the exception of the statement that Æthelbeald died in the same year in which he was married to Judith. The only charter witnessed by Judith is one of Æthelbeald's in 860 in the Shaftesbury chartulary (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 106, 24). It is a very doubtful text.

<sup>3</sup> Hincmar, *loc. laud.* Baldwin was banned for this on November 3, 862, at the meeting of Charles the Bald, Ludwig, and Lothaire at Savonnière (Boretius and Kruse, *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. p. 160, § 5).

<sup>4</sup> Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. pp. xli-xlii.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, § 27, p. I, above.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 152, note to c. 1, 1.

<sup>7</sup> Giles, *Life of Alfred the Great*, p. 83, accepted by Howorth, *Athenaeum*, May 27, 1876, p. 728; Freeman, *Dict. Nat. Biography*, i. p. 154.



as meaning that, although he could read Saxon books, he was unable to read Latin MSS., which, he wrongly alleges, were written in a different hand to the Saxon one, and abounded in contractions<sup>1</sup>.

These various difficulties have arisen from hastily reading the Life, and are due to the author's bad arrangement of his material and to his obscurity of style. As the author tells us explicitly that he is turning aside from the chronological order so that he may relate something of Alfred's life as an infant and as a boy (c. 21, 12), there is no justification for referring the events related in this chapter to 866, the last date mentioned by the author (c. 21) before deserting the chronological sequence. The mention of Alfred's infancy cannot be reconciled with either the year 862 or 866. The author then tells us that Alfred remained ignorant of letters until his twelfth year and after (c. 22, 10), but that he had learned many Saxon poems from the recital of others (c. 22, 13). It is evident that the present chapter should follow this last statement, for it is clearly given as an example of his powers of memory in learning the poems of his race. Unfortunately the author has interposed an account of Alfred's skill as a huntsman, which he considered as part of his education<sup>2</sup>, at the end of c. 22. There is no reason why the story related in the present chapter should not be assigned to some time earlier than Alfred's departure for Rome with his father in 855 (c. 11), when Alfred would be in his sixth or seventh year<sup>3</sup>. The date of Osburh's death is not recorded<sup>4</sup>, and she may have

<sup>1</sup> *Athenaeum*, June 24, 1876, p. 859. His arguments are of a most fanciful nature. He attempts to explain the *duodecimum* of c. 22, 11 as a wrong extension of *duodevimum*, an abbreviation that he supposes may have represented *duodevicesimum*, because 866, Alfred's eighteenth year, is the latest preceding date (c. 21, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. c. 75, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Freeman's assertion that 'in no case could we put the story before the return of Æthelwulf in 856' (*Dict. of National Biography*, i. p. 154) has no basis beyond his theory that Alfred stayed in Rome from 853 until the arrival and return of his father in 856. This view conflicts with the statement in the Life, c. 11, 8, and seems to be quite baseless. See p. 193, and p. 222, note 2, above.

<sup>4</sup> The statement in Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 121 (vol. i. p. 125), *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 130 (p. 269) that Alfred's mother was with him when St. Cuthbert is alleged to have appeared to him in Athelney (in

been alive at the time when her husband set out upon this journey. There is nothing improbable in the statement that a clever boy, whose keen intellect cannot but have been sharpened by his visit to Rome in 853, learned by heart a book of poems in his fifth or sixth year<sup>1</sup>.

24, 3 in uno libro congregatos. This book is again described, in almost the same terms, in c. 88, 6.

24, 9 lectores boni in toto regno . . . non erant. This lack of teachers is supported by Alfred's statement, in the preface to the translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, that at his accession he could not think of a single scholar south of the Thames. He states that learning had so gone out of use in England that there were (apparently at the time of his accession) very few south of the Humber who could understand in English their (Latin) service-books or who could translate a Latin letter into English, and he expresses his belief that there were not many beyond the Humber possessed of these powers<sup>2</sup>. His father Æthelwulf, however, had a Frankish secretary of the name of Felix, who is described by Lupus of Ferrières, in a letter to Æthelwulf, as one 'qui epistolarum uestrarum officio fungebatur<sup>3</sup>.' The date of this letter is unknown, but it is later than 847 and probably prior to Æthelwulf's marriage with Judith in 856<sup>4</sup>. There are traces of Frankish influence in this king's charters<sup>5</sup>, which may be due to Felix.

878, not 872, as stated by Stubbs, in the introduction to the *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xlii) is, as Stubbs has recognized, worthless as evidence. It is derived from one of the stories that claimed the merit of the king's victories as due to the interposition of a particular saint.

<sup>1</sup> Pauli, *König Ælfred*, p. 67, would ascribe the incident of the book to 853, and suggests the presence of Alfred's sister, who was married to Burhred of Mercia in that year, which was also the year of Alfred's visit to Rome. The *Life*, however, makes no mention of her presence, and its silence is an argument in its favour.

<sup>2</sup> 'Swæ clæne hio wæs oðfeallenu on Angelcynne ðæt swiðe feawa wæron behionan Humbre ðe hiora ðeninga cuðen understondan on Englisc oððe furðum an ærendgewrit of Lædene on Englisc areccean; ond ic wene ðætte noht monige begiordan Humbre næren. Swæ feawa hiora wæron ðæt ic furðum anne anlepne ne mæg geþencan be sudan Temese, ða ða ic to rice feng.'

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Dümmler, *Epistolae Aevi Karolini*, iv. p. 22. It is reprinted from Baluze's text by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. p. 648.

<sup>4</sup> So Dümmler concludes, p. 22, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 203, note 1.

Nothing whatever is known of Felix beyond this reference of Lupus to him and a letter from Lupus addressed to him begging him to use his influence in obtaining from Æthelwulf the lead for which Lupus had written to him<sup>1</sup>. Felix seems to have left Æthelwulf's service before these letters were written, and may have returned to the continent before Alfred's birth. In any case the presence of this educated Frank at Æthelwulf's court is no argument against the truth of the statement in the Life that there were no good teachers in Wessex, more especially when that assertion is supported by the testimony of Alfred himself.

25, 8 *incognitis infirmitatibus*. Cf. c. 74, 4.

26. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the reference to the situation of York north of the Humber, but omitting the statement in the Chronicle that the Danish army 'for . . . ofer Humbre muþan to Eoforwic ceastre' ('went over the mouth of the Humber to York').

27. From the Chron. with a few unimportant expansions.

27, 4 *ut diximus*. This seems to relate to *eo tempore*, not to the Northumbrians, for there is no previous mention of them.

27, 17 *Non enim tunc adhuc . . . firmos . . . muros . . . habebat*. This is the only addition of any importance to the Chron. It is introduced to explain the ease with which the Northumbrians breached the walls ('þa ceastre bræcon,' 'they stormed the caſter,' are the words of the Chron.). If the author had seen the remains of the Roman fortifications at York, he could hardly have penned this sentence without some qualification. From his language it might be thought that he was writing at a time when York had strong walls, but his *tunc*, *adhuc*, and *illis temporibus* are as loosely employed as they are pleonastic<sup>2</sup>. This sentence does not suggest that he had seen York, which was under Danish government the whole of the time of Asser's sojourn at Alfred's court.

<sup>1</sup> *Epp. Aevi Karolini*, iv. p. 23; Haddan and Stubbs, iii. p. 649. In this letter Lupus states that he became acquainted with Felix in the monastery of Faremoutiers-en-Brie (Seine-et-Marne, France) some years earlier.

<sup>2</sup> Or have we here traces of the retention by the copyist of readings in the author's draught that were intended to be cancelled? Cf. Introduction, p. cxxxi.

28. From the Chronicle, which, however, has nothing corresponding to the adverb *honorabiliter*, which conflicts somewhat with the account of the bishop's plotting against Æthelwulf given in c. 12. May we not recognize in this addition the hand of a successor of Ealhstan, perhaps grateful to this strong politician for his government of the see? Bishop Stubbs has suggested that the record of the length of Ealhstan's episcopate, which also appears in the Chronicle, may have come originally from Asser, and that writing from memory he may have made a mistake of ten years<sup>1</sup>. The latter suggestion is induced by the mention of an 'Alfstanus, electus in episcopum Scireburnenis' in a charter of Ecgberht's in the Winchester chartulary dated 924, an error for 824, and in the twenty-third year of Ecgberht's reign<sup>2</sup>. The charter comes from a chartulary of the most untrustworthy character, which contains several spurious grants from this king, and it is impossible to feel much confidence in its testimony.

29. The information contained in this chapter is known only from the present work.

29, 3 *secundarii tunc ordine fretus*. The title of *secundarius* is applied to Alfred in cc. 38, 8; 42, 2. It is otherwise unknown in English sources. Freeman has suggested that it means *subregulus*<sup>3</sup>, but it seems rather to mean viceroy or almost joint-king<sup>4</sup>. It agrees with the prominent part that Alfred plays in the Chronicle during his brother's reign.

29, 5 *Æthelredi, Gainorum comitis, qui cognominabatur Mucill*. From the use of the imperfect tense we may conclude that Æthelred died before the compilation of the Life. Hence we may safely reject the Rochester charter of 895, which is witnessed by 'Ætheldredus, Ganiorum comes'<sup>5</sup>. It is a clumsy twelfth-century forgery, based upon the information contained in the Life<sup>6</sup>. Apart from this we have no mention of the district or people

<sup>1</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii., p. 595.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. p. 516, 10.

<sup>3</sup> *Dict. of National Biography*, i. p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> So Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 309.

<sup>5</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. p. 214, 9.

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 201, note 4.

under Æthelred's rule. The name has been long connected with Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, but this is one of the unscientific identifications that modern historians such as Lappenberg, Freeman, and Kemble have accepted from the older writers. As there was no genitive plural in -s in Old English, it is certain that Gainsborough cannot be derived from the Gaini, and that town was not in Mercia, but in Lindsey<sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to explain *Gaini* as an O.E. form, and it is probable that the name is corrupt. The district ruled over by Æthelred was probably, like the districts of the later Mercian ealdormen, an older kingdom that had become merged in that of Mercia. Unfortunately we do not know all the Mercian divisions ruled over by ealdormen before the introduction of the shire system. In the latter part of the tenth century and in the early part of the eleventh we have records of ealdormen of the Hwicce (an old kingdom corresponding to Gloucestershire and Worcestershire and, apparently, a part of Oxfordshire) and of the Magesætan (older form Magonsætan), in Herefordshire. In the Appendix to Florence of Worcester the list of the bishops of Hereford is headed 'Hecana,' with a subtitle 'Nomina praesulum Magesetensium sive Herefordensium<sup>2</sup>.' The only other record of the former name (which seems to be a weak genitive plural, representing a nominative plural \**Hecan*) is the statement in the same work that Mereweald, the son of King Penda, was king of the

<sup>1</sup> See letters of Henry Bradley in the *Academy*, June 2, 1894, p. 457, and of the writer, June 30, 1894, p. 536.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Thorpe, i. p. 238. This list corresponds to the early ninth-century list, so far as that extends, in the Cottonian MS. Vespasian B vi., printed in Sweet, *Oldest English Texts*, p. 169. Unfortunately the heading of this list is partly illegible, so that we can read only 'Nomina episcoporum Uest . . . ' (where the *r* may belong to *westor*, an old form of *west* that occurs in early compounds). A later copy of this list with continuation is printed from Cott. MS. Tiberius B v. by Wright, *Reliquiae Antiquae*, ii. p. 170, with the additional name of Bishop Eadwulf (circ. 825-827). In the lists of other bishops in this MS. names appear that are lacking in the Vespasian text, so that it cannot have been copied from that MS. It must, however, have been transcribed from a very early MS. The name of the see of 'Hecana' is left blank by the copyist, either because he could not read the MS. before him, or because he did not understand the name. The name of the see is also lacking in other copies of the list (*Monumenta Hist. Brit.* p. 621).



Westan Hecani<sup>1</sup>. The Hecani would thus seem to be another name for the Magesætan, a fact that may explain the statement in the Appendix that Worcester was the ancient metropolis of the Hwiccii or Magesetenses<sup>2</sup>. Of all the Mercian divisions known to us, that of the Hecani is the only one that has any similarity in name to Gaini<sup>3</sup>.

But although we may not be able to identify the district ruled over by Æthelred, we have some confirmation of his existence in the appearance of a 'Mucel dux' as a witness to Mercian charters between 814 and 866 or 868<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Thorpe, i. p. 265. The interlined 'Hecana quae nunc Hereford dicitur' in the dubious foundation charter of Winchcombe Abbey (*Cart. Sax.* i. 473, 1) has, like most of the other interlineations of the names of episcopal sees, been taken from the Appendix to Florence of Worcester, i. p. 238.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the unrecorded East Hecani occupied land that formed part of the diocese of Worcester. The statement that the Hwicce and the Magesetan were identical conflicts with what we know of their history.

<sup>3</sup> The presence of the form Westan Hecani in the Appendix precludes a suggestion that might otherwise have seemed plausible, viz. that the *He* of *Hecana* has arisen from some conflation with the initial of Hereford.

<sup>4</sup> He occurs in contemporary charters of 815 (Ordnance Survey *Facs.* iii. pl. 12; *Cart. Sax.* i. 492, 21); 823 (Brit. Mus. *Facs.* ii. pl. 16; *Cart. Sax.* i. 512, 13); 824 (Ordn. Survey *Facs.* iii. pl. 14; *Cart. Sax.* i. 518, 28, written *Mucael*); 825 (Brit. Mus. *Facs.* ii. pl. 18; Ordn. Survey *Facs.* iii. pl. 15; *Cart. Sax.* i. 532, 6); 836 (Brit. Mus. *Facs.* ii. pl. 24; *Cart. Sax.* i. 582, 31, written *Mucoel*); 840 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 3, 26); *circ.* 848 (Ordn. Survey *Facs.* i. pl. 8; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 35, 24). He occurs in a charter of 814, written in a somewhat later hand (Brit. Mus. *Facs.* ii. pl. 14; *Cart. Sax.* i. 481, 10), and in the following texts derived from chartularies, most of which are free from doubt: 814 (*Cart. Sax.* i. 489, 3); 816 (*ibid.* i. 495, 29; 498, 24); 824 (*ibid.* i. 521, 4); 825 (*ibid.* i. 537, 2); *circ.* 840 (*ibid.* ii. 2, 19); 840 (*ibid.* ii. 5, 19); 841 (*ibid.* 7, 21; 12, 3); 843-4 (*ibid.* ii. 20, 29); 845 (*ibid.* ii. 33, 6); 855 (*ibid.* ii. 89, 11; 90, 22; 91, 31); 857 (*ibid.* ii. 95, 30); 864 (*ibid.* ii. 120, 25); 866 (*ibid.* ii. 126, 35), and he witnesses the following Mercian charters, which are of doubtful authenticity: 848 (*ibid.* 37, 7; 39, 25, called *princeps*); 852 (*ibid.* ii. 58, 24; 60, 15, called *p(r)inceps*); 868 (*ibid.* ii. 140, 9). A second 'Mucel dux' witnesses the charters of 836 (*ibid.* i. 582, 39); 840 (*ibid.* ii. 5, 21); 845 (*ibid.* ii. 33, 12); *circ.* 848 (*ibid.* ii. 35, 27); 848 (*ibid.* ii. 39, 32). 'Mucel dux' witnesses a West Saxon charter of 868, which comes from the Winchester chartulary and is open to suspicion (*ibid.* ii. 136, 2). He also witnesses a charter of King Æthelred of Wessex about this time, which has been ascribed to King Edgar (*ibid.* iii. 488, 31). It is a blundered St. Paul's charter that seems to have derived some of the

and of a second *dux* of the same name between 836 and 848. The appearance of two names is probably due to the presence of father and son, in which case we may conclude that the signatures between 848 and 868 belong to the son. He may well have been Alfred's father-in-law. That he should witness under his second name is not unlikely, for we find a Mercian *princeps* called Brorda and Hildegils, according to the contemporary Northumbrian Annals<sup>1</sup>, who witnesses Offa's charters as *Brorda*. The name *Mucel* has been frequently explained erroneously as meaning 'big,' on the strength of the interpolation of Parker's marginal gloss to that effect in Camden's text of the Life, which gloss was founded upon one in the first part of Simeon of Durham, into which it must have been obtruded late in the twelfth century. An 'Æthelred dux' witnesses West Saxon charters of 862 and 863<sup>2</sup> in addition to Æthelred, the son of King Æthelwulf, but whether he was the future father-in-law of Alfred is doubtful.

29, 6 *subarravit*, formed from *sub* and *arrha*<sup>3</sup>, represents literally the English verb *wed*, which refers to the giving of security upon the engagement of marriage. *Subarrare*, which is used by Aldhelm in the same sense, is glossed by *beweddian* in Napier's *Old English Glosses*.

30. From the Chronicle, with the explanation of the name of Nottingham and of its British and Latin interpretation, and a few expansions. MS. A of the Chron. omits the reference to the siege through overlooking the sentence 'ond hie hine inne besæton' ('and they besieged them therein').

30, 3 *Snotengaham . . . quod Britannice 'Tigguocobauc' interpretatur, Latine autem 'speluncarum domus.'* There is either a corruption or an obscurity in

witnesses from a genuine charter of about 868 (see the present writer's letter in the *Academy*, June 30, 1894, pp. 536-7).

<sup>1</sup> As preserved in Simeon of Durham, part I, under 799 (ed. Arnold, ii. p. 62).

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 108, 29; 114, 35; 116, 28. Of these texts the two latter are preserved in contemporary writings, while the former exists in an eleventh-century copy, and is clearly genuine, despite the error in date, which appears as 790.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Latin glossary in Mai, *Classicorum Auctorum . . . tom. VIII*, p. 19. This verb is also used in c. 106, 8.

expression here, for *Snotengaham* does not mean 'house of caves,' no such word as *snoting* or *snoteng*, 'cave,' being known in Old English. Moreover, the suffixes *-ing*, *-ung*, *-eng*<sup>1</sup> are not found in any of the Germanic dialects with any function corresponding to such a formation. The name is a patronymic or possessive from a personal name \**Snot*<sup>2</sup>, probably connected with the adj. *snotor*, 'wise.' The Old Welsh *Tigguocobauc* does, however, mean 'dwelling of caves' (literally 'cavy house'), being a compound of *tig* (Modern Welsh *tŷ*), 'house,' and *guocobauc* (Modern Welsh *gogofawg*), an adjective derived from *gogof*, 'cave.' Whatever was the source from which the author derived the name, it is certainly applicable to Nottingham, which has long been famous for the houses excavated out of the soft sandstone upon which it stands. Possibly his information about the cave-dwellings there came from Alfred. There is no record in Welsh of any town bearing the name of *Tigguocobauc*, and *tŷ* is not applied to towns or villages.

31. From the Chronicle.

32. From the Chronicle.

33. From the Chron. The *winter* of the original is correctly rendered *eodem anno*. It is noticeable that there is no reference to Edmund as a saint and martyr by reason of his death while fighting against the heathen Danes. This is, we think, an argument in favour of the authenticity of the Life. If it had been composed at the latter end of the tenth century, the author could hardly have failed to know of Edmund as something beyond an East Anglian ruler. The cult was of rapid growth, for East Anglian coins inscribed 'Sc. Eadmund' are in existence that were struck by the men who acted as moneyers for Guthrum-Athelstan, the Danish king of East Anglia, whose death is recorded in the Chron. under 891. Many of these coins come from

<sup>1</sup> The form *-eng* occurs in ninth- and early tenth-century writings. As *Snotengaham* is the form in MS. A of the Chron., and evidently of the archetype, it was, no doubt, copied from the version of the Chron. used by the author. It cannot therefore be safely adduced as a proof that the Life was composed in Alfred's time.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, ed. 2, vol. i. col. 1352. A survival of the O.E. personal name \**Snotta* occurs as a surname in the case of Peter *Snotte* in 1279 (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, p. 570).

the great Cuerdale find<sup>1</sup>, which is dated 905 at the latest. The monastery of St. Edmunds is referred to in the will of Bishop Theodred of London, 926-951, which is preserved in later copies proceeding from the monastery at Bury<sup>2</sup>. It seems, however, to be genuine. Owing, no doubt, largely to the monastic revival, the fame of Edmund so increased shortly after Theodred's time that the monks of Bury were able to induce Abbo of Fleury to write a life of him<sup>3</sup>. This was between 985 and 988<sup>4</sup>. Apart from the doubtful and, in some cases, incredible, traditions preserved by Abbo, nothing is known of this king beyond the brief entry in the Chron. that records his defeat and death at the hands of the Danes in 870. Ælfric rendered into English the work of Abbo within a few years of its publication, and it appears in his *Lives of Saints* under November 20. By the eleventh century Edmund had become one of the most popular of English saints. Florence of Worcester felt it necessary to supply more information regarding him, and accordingly replaces the passage in the present work by information taken from Abbo's work, while the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots transcribes Abbo at considerable length. In the passage substituted by Florence that writer has, in accordance with his usual practice, calculated the day of the week upon which the calendar day fell. These calculations are of no more value than if they had been made at the present day, and they cannot be cited to prove that the year is correctly given because they agree with it. The day of Edmund's death was, no doubt, taken by Florence from a calendar<sup>5</sup>. It is

<sup>1</sup> See British Museum *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, i. p. xxix.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 210, 21.

<sup>3</sup> It is printed in the *Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. by Thomas Arnold, in the Rolls Series, i. p. 1 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> See Abbo's letter to Dunstan, printed by Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. 378. This agrees with the information given by Ælfric, *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, ii. p. 314.

<sup>5</sup> It is entered, for example, under November 20 in the eleventh-century calendars in Cott. MS. Vitellius A xviii, printed in Hampson, *Medii Aevi Calendarium*, i. p. 432, and Titus D xxvii, Ælfsin's Winchester calendar, printed by Hampson, i. p. 445. Upon the latter see Birch, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 1878, p. 495, reproduced in the Hyde *Liber Vitae*, p. 269 sqq. Probably Florence's source was the Worcester calendar preserved in the Bodleian Library



curious that he should have calculated the day for 869, while recording the event under 870.

34. From the Chronicle, with the addition that Archbishop Ceolnoth was buried at Canterbury. Chronicle D has, by a curious blunder, subjoined the words *to Rome* to the *gefōr* of the other MSS., thus converting the entry of Ceolnoth's death into a record of a journey to Rome. The statement of the Life that Ceolnoth was buried at Canterbury is supported by the evidence of Gervase of Canterbury in his treatise on the burning and rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral, written about 1185, in which he describes the site of the archbishop's tomb<sup>1</sup>.

35. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the description of Reading as a *villa regia* and its situation, and the statement that part of the Danish army constructed a *vallum* between the Thames and the Kennet at Reading, the explanation of the name Englafeld, and a few expansions. The version of the Chronicle agreed with B, C, D and E in recording the death of the second Danish *eorl* (whose name is given in them). The scribe of A has omitted this passage.

35, 9 in *praedam* *equitaverunt*. This renders the *ridon upp* of the Chron., and would therefore seem to be the meaning of this phrase in O.E. From the Chron. it appears that it was these raiding earls whom Æthelwulf defeated at Englefield, and this is probably what the author intended to convey, the other detachments of the Danes remaining at Reading to construct the entrenchment.

35, 10 *dextrali parte*, 'on the southern side.' This is a latinization of the Old Welsh *i parth dehau* (Modern Welsh *deheu*), where *deheu*, Irish *dess* (from an Indo-Germanic \**deksuo-*, Gothic *taihswa*, cognate with Greek  $\delta\epsilon\grave{\xi}\iota(\phi)\acute{o}\varsigma$ ,

(Hatton MS. 113, formerly Junius 99; Piper, *Die Kalendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen*, Berlin, 1862, p. 69), which contains an entry 'Sci. Eadmundi regis et mart' under Nov. 20. This MS. was at Worcester in the time of Florence's patron Bishop Wulfstan (see above, p. 107, note 1), and contains notes concerning the bishop and his parents.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Stubbs, *Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, Rolls Series, i. 11. So also his 'Actus Pontificum Cantuariensis Ecclesiae,' ib. ii. 349.



Latin *dexter*)<sup>1</sup>, means both 'right hand' and 'south.' It occurs again in c. 79, 4. In like manner *sinistralis* is used for 'north' in cc. 52, 4; 79, 11. It is a translation of the Old Welsh *i parth cled*, or *i parth guocled* (Modern Welsh *gledd*, *gogledd*, Irish *clé*, *fochla*), which means both 'north' and 'left hand'<sup>2</sup>; and is cognate with the Gothic *hleiduma*<sup>3</sup>, 'left hand,' from the root *klei-*, 'lean' (Greek κλίω, Latin *acclinare*, &c.). This usage of speaking of the south as the 'right hand' and the north as the 'left hand' is of Indo-Germanic origin<sup>4</sup>, but there are no traces of it in the Germanic dialects. The use of it in the present work must therefore be ascribed to the Celtic author. In like manner *parth deheu* is represented by *pars dextralis*, *pars dextera* in the early Welsh charters in the *Liber Landavensis*<sup>5</sup>, meaning Deheubarth or South Wales.

36. From the Chronicle. The mention of the Danish fort and the description of the fighting round it are additions to the account given by the Chronicle.

37. From the Chron., with the addition of the explanation of the name of *Æscesdun*, the story of *Æthelred's* piety, and a few minor details. The Chron. states that the Danes were in two bodies, one commanded by the two kings, whose names are given, and the other by the earls, and that *Æthelred* fought the former, *Alfred* the latter. This is represented by the commencement of the next chapter. The *mediam* of line 8 of the present chapter is probably a scribal error for *unam* or *primam*, for it is difficult to understand it as it stands, and it does not correspond with what is stated in the Chron.

37, 3 *Æscesdun*, quod Latine 'mons fraxini' interpretatur. This interpretation of *Æscesdun* is erroneous. It is not a mistake that an Englishman in the ninth century would be likely to make. Although *Æsces* is the

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, *Urkeltischer Sprachschatz*, p. 145, in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Zeuss-Ebel, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 617; Stokes, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> C. C. Uhlenbeck, *Kurzgefasstes etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, Amsterdam, 1896, p. 75.

<sup>4</sup> Zeuss-Ebel, p. 57, note \*; Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 370.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Rhys and Evans, 69, 4; 71, 16; 161, 1; 162, 4; 165, 15; 169, 23; 192, 20; 212, 12; 223, 21; 230, 13, 24; 237, 25.

genitive singular of *æsc*, 'ash-tree,' it is not true that *Æsces-dun* means the 'ash-tree-down,' for in O.E. such compounds were primary ones, that is, they were compounded with the stem and not an inflected form of the stem. The use of the genitive was restricted to compounds of which the first member was a personal name, as it must be in the present case, or in some cases the name of an animal or bird. A compound of the tree-name and down must have been *Æsc-dun*, and the genitive singular would be as unusual as in such modern compounds as 'ash-wood.'

Many attempts have been made to identify the site of this battle<sup>1</sup>, but it is impossible to do more than connect it with *Æsces-dun* in Berkshire. The name still exists in Ashdown Park, in the manor of Ashbury, at the western end of the Berkshire Downs<sup>2</sup>, and this has been advanced as the site of the battle. But it is evident that *Æscesdun* was also applied to the Downs at Compton Beauchamp to the east of this<sup>3</sup>, and also to the Downs east of *Cwichelmes-*

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Kennet's endeavour to connect it with Ashendon, co. Bucks (*Parochial Antiquities*, Oxford, 1695, p. 35), which finds some support in the blundered form *Æscendun* in c. 39, 16, is open to the objection, in addition to others, that Buckinghamshire was not in Wessex, but in Mercia. Bishop Gibson identified *Æscesdun* with Aston, near Wallingford, a more suitable site, but not bearing a corresponding name, since it represents an O.E. \**Ēast-tun*, as has been pointed out by Francis Wise (*A Letter to Dr. Mead concerning some antiquities in Berkshire*, Oxford, 1738, p. 20).

<sup>2</sup> This Ashdown was formerly the property of Glastonbury Abbey. The chartulary of that monastery has two charters relating to it. One is a grant by Æthelwulf of Wessex in 840, the formulas of which agree with genuine charters of this king. In this the name has been modernized by the scribe of the chartulary to *Aisshedoune*, a form that could not well occur before the thirteenth century (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 6, 7). The other purports to be a grant by King Eadred in 947 to an Ealdorman Edrigus (a misreading of *Edsigus* for *Eadsige*) of land at *Aysshedoune* (*ibid.* ii. 593, 15). A note in the chartulary states that the manor 'nunc vocatur Aysshebury.' Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 103, seems to regard this Ashdown as the site of the battle. A camp near Ashdown Park has acquired the name of 'Alfred's Castle,' under which it appears in the old Ordnance Survey. The name is an obvious antiquarian figment.

<sup>3</sup> A charter in the Abingdon chartulary dated 955 contains a grant of land 'in loco, qui dicitur æt Cumtune, iuxta montem, qui dicitur *Æsces Dune*' (*Cart. Sax.* iii. 69, 22). As it mentions 'Welandes smiddæ,' the

*hlæw*. This appears from the Chron. under 1006, which records that the Danes from Cholsey proceeded 'andlang Æscesdune' ('along Æsces-dun') to *Cwichelmes-hlæw*. Under 648 we read in the Chron. that King Cenwealh of Wessex granted to Cuthred, the son of Cwihelm, 'three thousands<sup>1</sup> of land 'be Æscesdune,' that is 'by or along Æscesdun.' Taken in connexion with this grant it is natural to suppose that it was Cuthred's father whose name is preserved in *Cwichelmes-hlæw*<sup>2</sup>. But as his baptism is recorded in the Chron. under 636, it is unlikely that he would be buried in heathen fashion under a barrow. It is more probably the pagan King Cwihelm of Wessex whose death is entered in the Chron. under 593, who is meant<sup>3</sup>. This barrow is still in existence<sup>4</sup>; it is situate on the edge of the Downs in the parish of East Hendred, and its name has become corrupted to Scutchamfly Barrow<sup>5</sup>, under

well-known Wayland Smith's Cave, this charter cannot relate to Compton, near Ilsley, as it has been said to do. The spurious will of Hean, alleged to have been the first abbot of Abingdon, in the same chartulary, contains a gift of land 'in Escesdune,' but no details of its position appear (*Cart. Sax.* i. 49, 12).

<sup>1</sup> Concerning this expression, see above, p. 154, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> Wise, *loc. laud.* p. 20; Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 1806, i. p. 161; Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> The St. Albans compilation (in Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, i. p. 126; Matthew of Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. p. 274) adds, under 626, to the matter derived from Beda, *H. E.* ii. c. 9, that Edwin of Northumbria, 'Quichelmum vero in loco, qui lingua Anglorum "Quichelmeshlawe" usque hodie dicitur, interemit, et in testimonium victoriae nomen loco dedit, et sic cum triumpho ad patriam remeavit.' The source of this is unknown, and it is probably an invention of the compiler.

<sup>4</sup> A shire-moot is recorded as meeting at *Cwicelmes-hlæw* in a contemporary O.E. document, which may be dated between 990 and 994 (*British Mus. Facs.* iii. pl. 37; *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 292, 26), and it is mentioned in an Abingdon charter of 995 in the boundaries of a place called 'Eardulfes Leah' (*ibid.* vi. 129, 21), possibly another form of the name of Ardington.

<sup>5</sup> It appears on Saxton's map in 1579 as Cuckhamsley Hill. Wise, *Letter to Dr. Mead*, p. 19, says, 'it is called by the neighbouring people *Cuchinslow*, and *Scuchamere*,' to which he adds in *Further Observations upon the White Horse and other Antiquities in Berkshire*, Oxford, 1742, p. 9, the form *Scuchinslow*. The latter is the source of the modern form. In Nichols's *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, 1790, iv. p. 26, a writer in 1759 with local knowledge describes it as 'Cuckhamsley Hill, commonly called Scutchamore Hill.' It appears under the former name in Lysons's map in 1806.

which it appears on the old Ordnance map. The land granted to Cuthred, or at any rate some of it, came into the possession of Alfred, and we have ventured to connect that fact with this grant to Cuthred<sup>1</sup>. In 661 the Chron. records that King Cenwealh of Wessex 'harried' Wulfhere of Mercia 'as far as Æscesdun<sup>2</sup>.' Here, again, the name can hardly be used of a solitary hill, but must apply to a range, as it clearly does in the case of the grant of 648. Francis Wise, writing in 1738, states that the shepherds still called the Downs 'Ashdown<sup>3</sup>,' and he rightly concluded that Æscesdun was 'a district or country rather than a town<sup>4</sup>.' But he endeavoured to restrict the name to 'that ridge of hills from Letcombe, and thereabouts, going to Wiltshire,' a proceeding that led him to reject the identification of Cwichelmes-hlæw, and to imagine that it was 'some town in North Wiltshire or Gloucestershire.' This restriction of Æscesdun was the result of his theory that the battle was fought under the White Horse under Uffington Castle, an idea that has been widely accepted<sup>5</sup>. He mentions no local traditions in support of the identification, so that it is evident that the suggestion was new. Otherwise there would have been a crop of 'local traditions,' which are almost invariably artificial productions stimulated by the identifications of antiquaries, to support the location of the battle on this site. Previous to Wise's time the White Horse had been connected with Hengist and Horsa, another antiquarian figment based upon the imaginary white-horse ensign or arms of the Jutes.

The charter cited above relating to Compton Beauchamp has been carelessly assigned to Compton, near Ilsley, by Joseph Stevenson, and he has cited it as proving that the battle took place in that parish<sup>6</sup>. This suggestion was

<sup>1</sup> See p. 154, note to c. 1, 3, above.

<sup>2</sup> The reading *op* of MS. A seems to be more correct than the *on* of B and C.

<sup>3</sup> *A Letter to Dr. Mead*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> He thought the White Horse might be a memorial of the victory (*ibid.* p. 23).

<sup>6</sup> *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii. p. 510, note 6, by which Mr. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. p. 87, has been misled.



made by Lysons<sup>1</sup>, who recognized *Æsces-dun* in the Domesday manor of *Assedone*, where it is placed in the Hundred of Nachedorne<sup>2</sup>, which is now included in the Hundred of Compton. Lysons stated that this manor was in or near the parish of Ashampstead. The Domesday name of the Hundred represents an O.E. '\*æt Nacodan þorne' ('at the naked thorn'), and it is tempting to identify this bare or leafless thorn with the 'unica spinosa arbor' of the Life (c. 39, 5). The spelling *Assedone* in Domesday might represent *Æsces-dun*, since in such positions the scribes of the Survey frequently omit the *s* of the genitive. It might equally stand for an O.E. \**Æscan-dun* (from the personal name *Æsca*), since the weak-accented *-an* in such compounds is very commonly given as *-e* in the Survey. We have proof that it is in this case in a contemporary charter written within a very few years of the accession of Henry II in 1154. By this Robert de Bachepuz (whose family name is preserved in Kingston Bagpuize near the Berkshire Downs) grants to his son John his land in *Conton* (Compton) and *Aissendene*<sup>3</sup>. This latter form shows that the second member of the compound was not, as appears from Domesday, *dūn*, but *denu*, 'valley,' so that the O.E. form of the name must have been \**æt Æscan-dene*. It occurs in 1345 as *Assheden*<sup>4</sup>, in 1428 as *Ashedene*<sup>5</sup>, and in 1494 as *Assheden*, *Asshedeyn*<sup>6</sup>. This name can therefore no longer be brought into connexion with *Æsces-dun*.

38. With the exception of the first clause, concerning which see the note to preceding chapter, the matter in this chapter rests solely upon the authority of the author.

38, 5 *sumere debere sciret*. The corruption here has probably arisen from the scribe of the Cottonian MS. copying the original wording as well as the alterations in the author's draught<sup>7</sup>. As the word *sumeret* occurs in line 2, it is likely that the writer would substitute another word for

<sup>1</sup> *Magna Britannia*, i. p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 60, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, Add. Charter 21,172.

<sup>4</sup> *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, 19 Ed. III, no. 32, first number.

<sup>5</sup> *Feudal Aids*, i. p. 66.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of Inquisitions post Mortem and other analogous Documents*, Henry VII, i. pp. 400, 401, no. 934.

<sup>7</sup> See Introduction, p. cxxxi, above.



*sumere* in this line. Possibly he wrote *sumere deberet*, and altered these words to *subiret*, for which purpose he added *iret* and underdotted for deletion *mere de*, and the scribe has overlooked these marks of deletion. It is noteworthy that Alfred of Beverley reads *subiret* in his extract from this chapter<sup>1</sup>, but this is merely an alteration of his own<sup>2</sup>. *Experiretur* might also be suggested, but, although the *sciret* might represent part of this word, it is difficult to account for the corruption of the rest of it into the reading of the Cottonian MS.

39. This chapter is due to the author. The account of the result of the battle and the names of the slain Danes agree with the Chronicle, whence they are, no doubt, derived.

39, 24 *arcem*. This fortress or camp is not mentioned in the Chron. It probably means Reading, for the author of the Life has described the elaborate defences raised there by the Danes (c. 35, 9), and they evidently fled in the direction of Reading, for we next meet with them at Basing (c. 40, 5)<sup>3</sup>. This addition seems therefore to proceed from what the author had heard on the site of the battle of Ashdown. His addition of 'et etiam usque ad diem sequentem,' in line 23 of the present chapter, may be founded upon information gleaned in the locality.

40. From the Chron. It is curious that the text, as it has come down to us, omits all mention of the battle of Meretun, which resulted in a victory for the Danes, although fortune favoured the English for the greater part of the day. The omission of this battle, if due to the author, has probably been caused by his hastily taking the 'ond fæs ymb ii. monaþ gefeagt Æþered cyning wiþ þone here æt Meretune' as the commencement of the entry relating to the battle of Basing, which is in the same words, with the exception of the difference of time and place. The author

<sup>1</sup> *Aluredi Beverlacensis Annales*, ed. Hearne, Oxford, 1716, p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> It is certain that he derived his matter hereabouts not from the Life, but from Florence of Worcester, for he has the clause 'tandem rex . . . certamini dedit' at the end of c. 39, which occurs only in Florence.

<sup>3</sup> The Danes remained at Reading for some time after this, for MSS. B, C, D and E of the Chron. record that the newly arrived Danes joined those at Reading after the battle of Meretun. See note to c. 40.

reproduces in the last clause of this chapter the entry in the Chron. following the account of the battle of Meretun, omitting, however, with Chron. A, the statement that the newly arrived Danes, who he says came from beyond sea, joined the others at Reading, which is recorded in B, C, D and E. M. Kupferschmidt connects this omission of the battle of Meretun with the mention of eight battles in c. 42, 31, against the nine of the Chron.<sup>1</sup> But as the Chron. does not specify the site of two of these battles, or give any other information about them, it is improbable that the difference in number in the Life is due to intentional alteration<sup>2</sup>.

40, 1-2 **Quibus . . . sufficerent.** This strange sentence, which Parker quietly omitted, may best be explained by the theory that the copyist of the Cottonian MS. has reproduced a reading that occurred in the MS. before him, and that it represents a sentence in the author's draught that was intended, owing to change of construction, to be omitted<sup>3</sup>.

41. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the characterization of Æthelred's reign.

41, 4 **viam universitatis adiens.** Florence of Worcester adds the date of the death of Æthelred, 9 kal. May (April 23), and this date has been adopted by historians<sup>4</sup>. But although it agrees with the statement of the Chronicle that the king died after Easter, 871, in which year Easter fell on April 15, we cannot attach much weight to it. It is the date of the death of Æthelred the Unready, as given in the Chronicle under 1016. It would therefore seem that Florence has wrongly referred the day of this king's death, which he probably found in some calendar, to the earlier Æthelred. Æthelred's death is entered, for example, in Ælfsin's eleventh century calendar (Cottonian MS. Titus D xxvii)<sup>5</sup>, a Winchester (Newminster) compilation, and has

<sup>1</sup> *Ueber das HSS.-verhältniss der Winchester Annalen*, in *Englische Studien*, xiii. p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. xlvii, above.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, p. cxxxi, above.

<sup>4</sup> Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. 308; Pauli, *König Ælfréd*, p. 105, note 3; *Dictionary of National Biography*, xviii. 27; Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 104, note; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, i. 244.

<sup>5</sup> Printed by R. T. Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, 1841, i. 438, and by Birch in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*,

been rightly connected with Æthelred the Unready by Ferdinand Piper<sup>1</sup>.

42. This is a paraphrase of the Chronicle, with amplifications. The author is responsible for the statement that Alfred might have been king instead of his brother. In his confused manner he states as the grounds for this assertion that Alfred excelled all his brothers in wisdom, although at the time he is referring to all his brothers except Æthelred were dead.

42, 18 *fluminis Guilou*. This is a Welsh form of the name of the Wiley, which must have come from some Welsh-speaking people in the vicinity of that river<sup>2</sup>. It represents a Welsh development from an older *Wilavia*, the English development from which produced *Wilig*<sup>3</sup>. A Welsh form of the name of another river of like origin appears to be recorded in the 'fluvium, qui *< sic >* dicitur Weluue,' which is mentioned in a grant to the monastery at Wells in 766<sup>4</sup>, and in the *Weluwe-stoc* of a spurious Bath charter, with the impossible date 984<sup>5</sup>. This latter is Wellow, co. Somerset, which probably derived its name from the affluent of the Avon upon which it is situated. There is a 'Pays de *Gwelou*' in the Domnonée (Dumnonia) of Brittany, which Loth has compared with the *Guilou* of the Life<sup>6</sup>. It is called in Latin 'pagus Velaviensis.'

42, 26 *peraudacitatem persequentium decipientes*. The reading of the Annals of St. Neots, 'paucitatem persequentium despicientes,' seems preferable, and probably represents what the original said, for the Chron. tells us that Alfred had with him only a small force, and that he pursued the Danes for a long time. This is duly repro-

xi. p. 497, and in the appendix to the Hyde *Liber Vitae*, Hampshire Record Society, 1892, p. 270.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Kalendarien und Martyrologien der Angelsachsen*, Berlin, 1862, p. 104, note.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 248, note to c. 49, 6.

<sup>3</sup> This form occurs frequently in texts derived from the Wilton, Winchester, and Shaftesbury chartularies. As a non-English name it is almost invariably used as an indeclinable substantive.

<sup>4</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 283, 20, 30, possibly genuine.

<sup>5</sup> *Codex Diplom.* iii. 204, 5.

<sup>6</sup> *L'émigration bretonne en Armorique, par J. Loth*, Rennes, 1883, p. 191.

duced in this chapter (lines 20, 30). This reading of the Annals of St Neots is one of several features that suggest that the compiler of that work used a better text of the Life than the Cottonian MS.<sup>1</sup>

42, 31 octo . . . proeliis. The Chron. mentions nine. See note to c. 40.

42, 36 singuli duces. This represents the 'anlipig aldormon' of MS. A of the Chron., which adjective does not appear in the other MSS. It was plainly in the copy used by the author of the Life, and must have been part of the archetype of the Chron. The reading of the archetype must, however, have been 'anlipige aldormenn,' as the plural of the latter word appears in MSS. B, C, D and E. It is curious that the scribe of MS. A should have changed it to the singular.

43. From the Chronicle, with the addition that the terms of the peace concluded with the Danes were that they should leave Wessex. This seems to be the usual meaning of the phrase 'frip niman' in the Chronicle, for it does not mean abject subjection to the Danes. In the present instance the Danes are recorded under the next year as going from Reading to London, where the Mercians made peace with them, and where they wintered. It is evident that they had quitted Wessex in consequence of the treaty, 'quod et impleverunt,' as the author says<sup>2</sup>.

44. From the Chronicle.

45. From the Chronicle, omitting the mention of Torksey (*Turecesieg*). This, however, occurs in the Annals of St. Neots, which omits Lindsey<sup>3</sup>. The form used in the Life, *Lindesig*, is a later one than the *Lindesse* of the Chronicle, the name having been wrongly connected with O.E. *īeg*, *īg*, 'island.' In Bede it is written *Lindissi*.

46. From the Chronicle, with a few amplifications, of which the principal are that Hreopedun is in Mercia, and that Burhred was king of that realm. Both are obvious deductions from the language of the Chron., and Burhred is described as king of Mercia in cc. 9, 11; 30, 6. Simi-

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. lvii, § 34, and p. 104, above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. c. 49, 10, where, however, the terms were dictated by Alfred.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, p. lviii, § 34, and p. 105, § 6, above.

larly the statement that he did not long survive his arrival at Rome may be inferred from the Chron.

46, 10 *Schola Saxonum*. This was not a school, but the body formed by the English Saxons dwelling in Rome on the lines of the regional *scholae*, that is the later military organization of the Roman militia<sup>1</sup>. The oldest of the *scholae* of foreigners seem to have been those of the Greeks and Jews<sup>2</sup>. In addition to the Saxons, the Frisians, Franks, and Lombards were also formed into *scholae*. Father Duchesne concludes that the Saxon School was, from the early and intimate relations between Rome and the English kings, the oldest of these Germanic bodies<sup>3</sup>. These four *scholae* were formed by residents in the Trastevere district about the Vatican. Their positions are recorded by those of the churches that served them as chapels. That of the Saxon School was the church of St. Mary-in-Saxia, now known as Santo Spirito in Sassia, the latter word still recording the old connexion with the Saxons. As late as 848 the military nature of these *scholae* is evident in the record that the Saxons, Frisians, and the *schola* of the Franks were sent out by Sergius II against the Saracens at Porto<sup>4</sup>. It was possibly in their military capacity that the 'scolae peregrinorum, videlicet Francorum, Frisonorum, Saxonorum, atque Langobardorum,' met, with the rest of the population of Rome, Leo III upon his return from his interview with Charles the Great<sup>5</sup>, in 799.

As the Schola Saxonum was thus a part of the military organization of Rome, the statements in late chronicles that

<sup>1</sup> L. Duchesne, *Les premiers temps de l'État Pontifical*, Paris, 1898, p. 42; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, ed. 4, ii. 409 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, ii. 412.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. p. 36, note 27. Gregorovius, ii. 413, also describes the Saxon School as the oldest, but this is based upon the statement of 'Matthew of Westminster' that it was founded by King Ine of Wessex. See below, p. 244. A bull of John VI or VII, about 705, records that the English clergy at Rome adopted, in an assembly of all the English *proceres*, the Roman clerical dress (Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificum*, ed. 2, no. 2145; Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, iii. p. 264).

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. p. 100, 6; Duchesne, *Les premiers temps*, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 6, 21; Duchesne, p. 85.



ascribe its foundation to King Ine of Wessex<sup>1</sup>, or to King Offa of Mercia<sup>2</sup>, must be dismissed as unworthy of credence. So also must be the story that Peter's Pence was established for the maintenance of this school<sup>3</sup>. These accounts are evidently based upon a misapprehension of the meaning of *schola*. But we cannot accuse the author of the Life of a similar blunder, although he does speak in this passage of 'the church of St. Mary in the Schola Saxonum.' This, in the first place, is merely a Latin rendering of the 'on Sancta Marian ciricean on Angelcynnes scole' ('in St. Mary's church in the Englishmen's school') of the Chronicle, and, in the second place, the *schola* had before this time acquired a local habitation, to which the word *schola* became attached<sup>4</sup>. The building was among the ruins of Nero's circus, then known as the 'Naumachia,' on the Vatican Hill, and of the adjoining buildings and gardens<sup>5</sup>. The *scholae* of the Franks, Frisians, and Lombards had also their buildings there, but either owing to the greater antiquity of the Saxon settlement or to the larger size of their dwellings, nearly the whole of the Vatican Hill and the region from Nero's circus and its crypts, then known as the 'palatium' of Nero, to the bank of the Tiber was called the 'Viculus Saxonum<sup>6</sup>.' To the crypts De Rossi refers an inscription, derived from a later manuscript collection, which contains the lines—

Hic veneranda Dei consistunt membra piorum,  
et clausa recubant operosa sub antra cacorum.

The last word he emends into 'Saxonum,' explaining the

<sup>1</sup> Roger of Wendover, i. 215; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. 331. Heinsch, *Die Reiche der Angelsachsen zur Zeit Karls des Grossen*, p. 43 sqq., ascribes the foundation to Ine.

<sup>2</sup> Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 109, p. 109 (see above, p. 194). Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. 331, ascribes to Offa the restoration of the school (cf. also p. 360). Gregorovius, ii. 414, note 1, adopts the statement in the Life of St. Willegod, which was written after the commencement of the thirteenth century, that Offa bestowed upon the Saxon School the grant of St. Peter's Pence.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 211, note 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 124, 27; 128, 14, both during the pontificate of Leo IV, 847-55.

<sup>5</sup> De Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae Urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, ii. pars 1, p. 278.

<sup>6</sup> Gregorovius, ii. 414.

'operosa antra' as the vast substructures, crypts, and ruins of the Gaian circus and of the gardens of Nero. He, however, regards the inscription as a forgery of the eleventh century<sup>1</sup>. The dwelling inhabited by the Saxons was called by them in their own tongue 'burh,' the 'Burgus Saxonum' of the *Liber Pontificalis*<sup>2</sup>. This appellation still survives in the Borgo, the name of the main street in front of the church and hospital of Santo Spirito, the famous hospital founded by Innocent III in 1204 on the site of the Saxon School. The undefended district of the Vatican inhabited by the four Germanic *scholae* was enclosed with walls by Leo IV between 848 and 852<sup>3</sup>, and in the walls was a 'Porticus Saxonum'<sup>4</sup>. The habitation of the Saxons, 'which they call "burh,"' was destroyed by fire in the time of Pope Paschalis, who occupied the see from 817 to 824<sup>5</sup>. The pope aided the 'peregrini' (which has probably not yet its later meaning of 'pilgrim') in rebuilding their houses (*domicilia*)<sup>6</sup>. This fire is recorded in the Chron. under 816, where the 'burh' is called 'Ongelcynnes scolu,' so that the term *schola* was already applied by the English to the buildings in which the Saxons forming the Schola Saxonum dwelt. The 'Saxorum Vicus' was destroyed again by fire during the pontificate of Leo IV (847-855) when the 'houses' (*domos*) of the Saxons and Lombards and the 'porticus' bearing the name of the former were burnt<sup>7</sup>. The restoration of the Saxon School on this occasion is ascribed by William of Malmesbury to Æthelwulf during his visit to Rome<sup>8</sup>. But as this king did not reach Rome until the latter part of 855, the year of Leo's death,

<sup>1</sup> De Rossi, *loc. laud.*

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Duchesne, ii. 53, 29, under Paschalis, 817-24: 'per quorundam gentis Anglorum desidiam ita est omnis illorum habitatio, quae in eorum lingua "burgus" dicitur, flamma ignis exundante combusta, ut etiam nec vestigia pristinae habitationis in eodem loco inveniri potuisset.'

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 123-4; Duchesne, *Les premiers temps*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 124, 27. Cf. also 54, 11; 111, 5; 331, 8.

<sup>5</sup> See note 2.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 53, 28.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 111, 1.

<sup>8</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 109, p. 109.

and as the fire is described as happening early in the pontificate of Leo, we can hardly place much trust in this statement, more especially as the Schola Saxonum is mentioned as an existing building when Leo prayed upon the completion of his new wall (the 'civitas Leoniana'), in 852, on the postern of the Saxons<sup>1</sup>. We are also told that this pontiff built the church of St. Mary over the Schola Saxonum<sup>2</sup>. The story that Æthelwulf established the English School to serve God night and day for the benefit of his people, which occurs in a spurious Winchester charter<sup>3</sup>, is clearly a post-Conquest figment. Pope Marinus (882-4) is recorded in the Chron. to have 'freed' the School of the English at Rome at the request of Alfred. In this case the author of the Life describes it as 'Schola Saxonum in Roma morantium' (c. 71, 2). In the curious extract from an alleged charter of Æthelstan given by William of Malmesbury Alfred, the enemy of Æthelstan, is made to die in the Schola Anglorum at Rome, after his failure to clear himself of plotting against Æthelstan<sup>4</sup>. In the itinerary of Archbishop Sigeric to Rome in 990<sup>5</sup>, 'Sancta Maria Scola Anglorum' (apparently a merging of the church and dwelling of the Schola) was the second place in Rome visited by him, St. Peter's being the first. In 1053 the right of burial in 'Scola Saxiae' of Englishmen who died therein was reserved by Leo IX in a confirmation of the

<sup>1</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 124, 26; Duchesne, *Les premiers temps*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Pontificalis*, ii. 128, 13: 'Nam et in ecclesia sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae, quam ipse beatissimus pontifex a fundamentis supra schola(m) Saxonum noviter construxit, obtulit,' &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 96, 21, a charter that Kemble has described as bearing 'marks of forgery in every line' (*Saxons in England*, ii. 487).

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 137, p. 153; *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 250, p. 402; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 426, 25. The same account of Alfred's crimes is given in a spurious Bath charter of Æthelstan founded upon one of King Edmund, to whose reign the witnesses belong, not to Æthelstan's (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 352, 25). See *Crawford Charters*, p. 137, note 1. The text in the *Gesta Pontificum* is made up of three several charters in the Malmesbury chartulary (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 355; 423; 425), with the addition of the passage in the *Gesta Regum* about Alfred. It seems to have been prepared and interpolated by Malmesbury, although he ascribes the drawing up of this joint charter to Æthelstan himself (*Gesta Pontificum*, *loc. laud.*).

<sup>5</sup> Printed by Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. 391.

rights of the canons of St. Martin's in Rome<sup>1</sup>. The Saxon School came to an end in 1204, when the hospital of Santo Spirito was founded upon its site<sup>2</sup>, but its memory was still strong enough for the Curia to found a claim for aid for the hospital from the English<sup>3</sup>.

46, 16 Ceolwulf. The name of this puppet king is omitted in Chron. A, but is given in B, C, D and E.

47. From the Chronicle.

47, 4 in duas se divisit turmas. Kupferschmidt suggests that the copy of the Chron. used by the author of the Life had words corresponding to these, such as the 'hie wærun on twæm gefilcum' of 871<sup>4</sup>. But they are an obvious deduction from the information contained in the Chron.

48. From the Chronicle, where all the MSS. give the number of ships as seven, which is also the number given in the Annals of St. Neots. Here again the latter work has a better reading than the Cottonian MS. of the Life, and may have derived it from a more correct text<sup>5</sup>.

49. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the mention of the *castellum* at Wareham (the great earthworks that still

<sup>1</sup> Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificum*, no. 4292. The fragment of the grant of Leo IV in 854 (Jaffé-Wattenbach, no. 2653), of which this is a repetition, does not contain the reference to the Schola Saxonum.

<sup>2</sup> Gregorovius, v. p. 607. Pope Alexander II refers to the school in his letter to William the Conqueror (see p. 211, note 2, above).

<sup>3</sup> On March 25, 1204, John, at the request of Pope Innocent III, granted the church of Writtle (in Essex) 'hospitali, quod idem dominus papa construxit apud ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae in Saxonia, quae Anglorum dicitur et Anglorum fuit hospitio deputata, ante basilicam Beati Petri positam secus stratam' (*Rot. Chartarum*, p. 123 a). This charter was confirmed by Edward III (*Rot. Chart.* 2 Ed. III, no. 9). John granted, on December 10, 1213, permission to the brethren of the hospital of St. Mary 'in Saxia,' lately founded at Rome by the pope, permission to preach and collect alms in England (*Rot. Litterarum Patentium*, p. 106 a). As late as 1290 the pope endeavoured to appropriate a prebend at York and another at Lincoln to the hospital of Santo Spirito, a proceeding that met with vigorous resistance from Edward I (Rymer, *Foedera*, i. p. 740; Prynne, *Records*, iii. pp. 417, 418, 625; *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1290, pp. 134-5; 1295, p. 450).

<sup>4</sup> *Ueber das HSS.-verhältniss der Winchester Annalen*, in *Englische Studien*, xiii. p. 168.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, p. lvii, § 34, above.

exist<sup>1</sup>) and of the monastery there and its situation, the British and Latin name of Exeter, the meaning of the name, and the situation of that city. In the case of Wareham and Exeter the author, no doubt, speaks from his own knowledge of these places. Wareham was in the bishopric of Sherborne, which was Asser's see, and Exeter was under his episcopal charge, according to the *Life* (c. 81, 28). The verb *bestæl* of the *Chron.* is rendered *noctu exiens* in lines 3, 4, probably on the strength of line 19, where the *Chron.* has 'nihtes bestælon' ('they stole away in the night'). The version of the *Chron.* used by the author agreed with MSS. B, C, D and E, in containing a record of the giving of hostages by the Danes, which is missing in MS. A. The scribe of this last MS. has been probably, here as in other cases, deceived by homoeoteleuton, his eye wandering from 'ond him þa gislas' to 'ond him þa apas' in the next clause. The author substituted (probably from what he had learnt in Wessex) a reference to relics for the 'on þam halgan beage' of the *Chron.*, where the arm-rings of the Danes are meant. It was these latter upon which they had refused to swear to any people before this time. They would have had little hesitation about taking an oath upon the king's relics. There is probably an omission here in the Cottonian MS. of the *Life*, for the *Annals* of St. Neots has 'et super armillam, supra quam,' corresponding to the words of the *Chron.*, which is another feature supporting the theory that the compiler of the *Annals* used a superior text of the *Life*. The author of the *Life* could hardly have been so simple as to tell us that the heathen Danes had up to this time steadily declined to take an oath upon Alfred's relics to any people, for continental kings would not have had access to these relics had they wished to extort an oath upon them from the Danes.

49, 6 **Frauu**, the river Froom. This is a Welsh form, which, as Mr. Henry Bradley has discovered, is easily explained by the supposition that the river-name descends

<sup>1</sup> See the plan and description of these earthworks in G. T. Clark's *Mediaeval Military Architecture in England*, ii. p. 513, where it is stated, in agreement with what is said in the *Life*, that the west side is the weak one.



from an early Celtic \**Frāma*. In Welsh Celtic *ā* developed to *au*, Modern Welsh *aw*, and in such a position *m* became eventually *v*, so that by reading the form in the Life as *Fraw* we obtain a Welsh representative of \**Frāma*, O.E. *Frōm*, which is recorded as the name of the Dorsetshire river in the Chron. under 998 and 1015. In Wales this river-name is recorded in *Aberffraw*, in Anglesey, a form that results from the vocalization of the *v* after *u*. As this specifically Celtic or Welsh change of *m* to *v* had not occurred at the time when the English occupied Dorset, as is proved by the form of this river-name, the author of the Life must either have detected the identity of *Frōm* and Welsh *Frau*, or have derived the latter from Welsh-speaking natives of the West of England who were acquainted with this Dorsetshire river. The latter is the more plausible origin. If we may trust the evidence of William of Malmesbury, the city of Exeter was divided between the Welsh and the English as late as the time of Æthelstan<sup>1</sup>. It is, therefore, not improbable that there were Celtic-speaking inhabitants nearer to Wareham than Exeter in 893. It is from them that the author most probably picked up this Celtic equivalent of the English name, for it is not very likely that without knowledge of the existence of this Celtic form he would convert English *Frōm* into this specifically Welsh *Frauu* or *Frawv*, although he might, as a Welshman acquainted with this mutation of *m* into *v*, recognize the identity of the Celtic and the English forms. The presence of Welsh-speaking people in Dorset or near enough to the Froom to know it by its Welsh name is more easily explicable at the end of the ninth century than the end of the tenth, and the existence of this undoubtedly Welsh form, with the equally Welsh *Durngueir* (c. 49, 7), *Guilou* (c. 42, 19), *Uuisc* (c. 49, 24), and *Cairuuisc* (c. 49, 23), is in our opinion an argument of some weight in favour of the authenticity of this work. Both these features fit in too well with the Welsh Asser, the Bishop of Sherborne, which diocese included Dorset, to be readily explained away as due to a later forger using his name.

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 134 (i. p. 148). This may have been derived from the Latin metrical Life of Æthelstan used by this chronicler. See above, p. 184, note 4.

49, 7 *Durngueir*. This form, which is restored for the *Durngueis* of the editions, which has clearly no basis beyond a typographical error in Parker's text caused by the easy confusion of *s* and *r* in O.E. types, is of interest. It is the regular Welsh descendant of the *Durnovaria*, which occurs in the Antonine Itinerary as the name of Dorchester. The changes in form are due to the regular loss of the stem-vowel of *Durno* in the compound, to the Welsh change of *w* to *gu*, and to the Welsh epenthesis and vowel-change, by which changes *waria* should yield regularly *gueir*. These changes had not taken place when *Durnovaria* came into the hands of the West Saxons, for they identified the latter part of the name with their own *ware*, 'inhabitants,' the O.E. name of the city being *Dornwarana-ceaster* or *Dornwara-ceaster*<sup>1</sup>.

49, 8 *Thornsæta*. This form, instead of the usual *Dornsæte*, does not occur elsewhere, and is probably to be ascribed to an error in the MS., produced either by the *D* being read as *Ð*, or by false association of the name with 'thorn.'

49, 20 *omnes equites, quos habebat, occidit, versusque inde*. There is no mention in the Chron. of the slaying by the Danes of their horses, an inconceivable thing to do when on the point of flight. In the Chron. the corresponding passage is 'hie . . . nihtes bestælon þære fierde se gehorsoda here into Escanceastre' ('they, the mounted army, stole away from the *fierd* (the English forces) in the night into Exeter'). Here again the Annals of St. Neots have a reading that agrees with that of the Chron., 'omnes equites, quos habebat, occidentem versus in Domniam ad locum, qui dicitur Anglice Exanceastra,' which Gale has foolishly altered so as to agree with the reading of the Life. Florence of Worcester, who reproduces the erroneous reading of the Cottonian MS. of the Life, has added to the confusion by inserting *rex* after *quos*. This also appears in Gale's text of the Annals, but is not in the

<sup>1</sup> The former, embodying a weak genitive plural, occurs in a contemporary charter of 847 (Brit. Mus. *Facs.* ii. pl. 30; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 34, 8), and the latter in two Winchester charters of 863 and 868 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 119, 7; 135, 34). *Dornwurecestre* occurs in a late Shaftesbury text dated 833 (ibid. i. 573, 16).

MS. It is upon this blundered and interpolated reading that the mention of the slaying of Alfred's cavalry in histories of England is based<sup>1</sup>. The corruption was pointed out by Dr. Steenstrup<sup>2</sup>, who was able to correct it by the reading from the MS. of the Annals of St. Neots given in the *apparatus criticus* of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*.

49, 24 *Uuisc*. This is another Celtic form, and, like the instances given above in the note to line 6, has undergone Celtic sound-development that is later in date than the time when the West Saxon invaders arrived at Exeter. The name of the river Exe is recorded in the Roman name of Exeter as *Isca* (*Dumuniorum*) in the Antonine Itinerary and in the Peutinger map, and it appears in some of the MSS. of Ptolemy as *Ἰσκα*, which is clearly more accurate than *Ἰσκακ*, the reading of most of the MSS. and editions<sup>3</sup>. The initial vowel was evidently Celtic *ē* (*ei*), which developed in Welsh to *ui*, modern *wi*, so that the *Uuisc* of the present passage represents an older *Ēsca*. It was evidently in the latter form that the river-name first reached the English, for the earliest spelling of Exeter is *Escanastre*, which occurs in the middle of the eighth century<sup>4</sup>, and from which *Exanceaster* has arisen by a not uncommon O.E. metathesis. Thus the form *Uuisc* could not have been the English one in the time of King Alfred, and the author must therefore have heard it from Celtic inhabitants of Devon or have recognized the identity of O.E. *Exe* with Welsh *Uuisc*. The latter is more improbable than in the case of the *Frauu*<sup>5</sup>, and we may safely conclude that it was the name by which the river was still known among the Welsh of Devon and Cornwall at this time. The appearance of the river-name in O.E. in the older form is another and important argu-

<sup>1</sup> Lappenberg, *Geschichte von England*, i. p. 315; Pauli, *König Ælfred*, p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> *Normannerne*, ii. p. 70, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> The former is adopted by Müller in his edition of Ptolemy, lib. ii, c. 3, § 3 (Paris, 1883).

<sup>4</sup> Willibrord's Life of St. Boniface, c. 1, ed. Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, p. 433. He states that Boniface was educated in the monastery *Adescanastre*, i. e. *æt Escanceastre*, under Abbot Wulfhard.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 249, above.

ment in favour of the view that Devon was conquered by the West Saxons at an earlier period than is given in our histories<sup>1</sup>. *Cairuisc*, which the author gives as the Welsh name of Exeter, was, no doubt, derived from his local knowledge. In meaning it exactly agrees with the O.E. *Exan-ceaster*.

Florence of Worcester substituted 'eiusdem' (referring to *Exae*) for *Uisc*, and the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots similarly substituted *Exa*. The latter was not a result of comparison with the wording of Florence, but was an alteration made independently. Both were evidently puzzled by *Uisc*. That this name was in the Life is proved, apart from the evidence of Parker and Wise's editions, by the occurrence of the interlinear gloss 'wisc, i<d est> Eaxa' in the copy of Florence that belonged to the monastery of Bury St. Edmunds<sup>2</sup>, where it is written over *ripa* and *fluminis* (line 24). This gloss was, no doubt, taken from the present work, for it is not represented in the Annals of St. Neots.

The words 'Exae, quae' in line 23 are due to Florence, and the Latin explanation of the meaning of the name of Exeter seems also to have been lacking in the copy of the Life used by the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots. The explanation of the name as 'civitas aquae' in both parts of Simeon of Durham<sup>3</sup> is due to late twelfth-century alterations, although no note of this fact is given in the unsatisfactory editions of this work<sup>4</sup>. It seems to have grown out of 'exae quae' of Florence.

50. From the Chronicle. Here occurs a remarkable gap

<sup>1</sup> See *Crawford Charters*, p. 44. The evidence of Willibrord is alone sufficient to establish an English connexion with Exeter before the end of the seventh century, unless we hold that the West Saxon Boniface was educated among the Welsh of Cairuisc in a monastery ruled by an Englishman, and that Willibrord applied the English name to that city proleptically.

<sup>2</sup> Bodley MS. 297. See page 101, above.

<sup>3</sup> The 'aquarum' given in the printed texts of the first part is a misreading of the compendium for 'aquae' in the MS.

<sup>4</sup> The latest edition by Arnold repeats many readings that do not exist in the MS. but are due to blunders in Twysden's edition. An example of this may be found in the treatment of the name of Ethandun in all the printed texts of the Durham compilation. See p. 277, below.

in the Life as it has come down to us, the omission of the events of the year 877, with the exception of the fragment represented by c. 51. Florence has supplied the missing portion from the Chron.<sup>1</sup>, his version differing from that in the Annals of St. Neots, which may possibly represent the reading of the original of the Life. It is, however, impossible to feel any certainty as to this. Parker, noticing the omission, interpolated the passage from the Annals of St. Neots (c. 50 d), and also that relating to these events from the St. Albans compilation (c. 50 c). The omission of the annal of 877 by the scribe of the Cottonian MS. (or by the author of the Life) is, no doubt, due to oversight. Danish hostages are mentioned in the annals for 876 and 877, and the omission of the latter annal in the Life seems to have arisen from confusion between the two. Evidence of conflation exists in the 'quantos ipse solus nominavit' of c. 49, 12, which is not represented in the entry in the Chron. for 876, but renders the 'swa fela swa he habban wolde' of 877. The mention of Exeter and Wareham in both annals adds to the possibility of conflation. It would therefore seem that the scribe, in resuming his transcription (or the author in making his translation), carelessly regarded the passage relating to the hostages and oaths in the annal for 876 as identical with that in 877, and that he consequently altered the words rendering the 'þe on þam here weorðoste wæron' ('who were of the greatest dignity in the army') of 876 into the description of the hostages of 877, and that he then copied (or translated) the end of the annal for that year (c. 50).

**50 b, 1 Eodem anno Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetravit.** This is the only one of the Parkerian interpolations that appears in the work bearing the name of Florence of Worcester, where it occurs in the exact words of the Norman Annals: 'Rollo cum suis Normanniam penetravit, xv. kal. Decembris.' It is in the text of the four earliest existing MSS. of the Worcester work, but from its position at the end of the entry for the year, it would seem to be one of the interpolations made after Florence's time<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See c. 49, 26 in the *apparatus criticus*.

<sup>2</sup> See above, pp. 108, 110. It was evidently in the copy of Florence



This entry appears in a translated form in MS. F of the Chron., where it is a late addition to the text of the Chron. Many difficulties have arisen from the acceptance of this date of the settlement of Rollo in Normandy, which is obviously wrong<sup>1</sup>, although it found a wide acceptance in Normandy<sup>2</sup>. The presence of this entry would have condemned the Life as a later production than the time of Alfred, if we had not such clear proof that it is one of Parker's interpolations.

51. From the Chronicle.

52. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the description of the situation of Chippenham and of the statement that the Danes wintered there.

52, 4 *sinistrali parte*, 'north side.' See note to c. 35, 10.

53. From the Chronicle, with amplifications. The second section (lines 5-9) is due to the author.

53, 3 *fasellis*. A similar spelling occurs in *fasellis*, c. 55, 3. This O.E. spelling with *f* has been obliterated by Parker and the editors substituting *vassali*, which is probably derived from the Annals of St. Neots<sup>3</sup>. *Vasallus*

used by the author of the second part of Simeon of Durham, who reproduces it.

<sup>1</sup> The date appears already in Dudo of St. Quentin's work *De Moribus et Actis Normannorum*, in Duchesne, *Historiae Normannorum Scriptores Antiqui*, p. 75 D. This inaccurate writer is probably responsible for the impossible date, which was copied by Ordericus Vitalis from the Norman Annals in book v, c. 9, § 41 (ed. Le Prevost, ii. p. 360), where he repeats the words of the original, omitting the day. In book viii, c. 2 (iii. p. 268) Rollo's arrival is referred to this erroneous date, and in book iv, c. 8 (ii. p. 230) to about 880.

<sup>2</sup> Munch, *Det Norske Folks Historie*, i. part 1, p. 634, note 3, p. 636, note 1, proposed to correct the date to 897, while Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, ii. p. 282, note 3, prefers 896. The Norman traditions, as preserved by Dudo, make Rollo a friend of King Alstemus, a Christian king of England, meaning evidently Guthrum-Æthelstan, the Danish king of East Anglia, whose death is recorded in the Chron. under 890.

<sup>3</sup> The spelling *vassali* may represent that of the author of the Life, who would hardly be likely to anglicize it to *faselli*, which is more probably due to the copyist of the Cottonian MS. or to some intermediate scribe of English nationality. The Annals have several features that suggest that the author used a better text than the Cottonian MS. of the Life. In the present case we cannot feel any great confidence that he has preserved the original spelling of the Life, for it may be an alteration due to him.

was a Frankish legal expression<sup>1</sup>, but it seems to have been introduced into England shortly after the time of Alfred and to have been used in the Latin of charters<sup>2</sup>. Hence its presence in the present work is a proof of Frankish influence, but it is not, as has been said, a proof that the *Life* is a twelfth-century fabrication<sup>3</sup>, for the use of the word in English writings later than the Norman Conquest is exceedingly rare.

53, 3 *gronnosa*, 'marshy, swampy,' an adj. formed from the sub. *gronna*, c. 97, 25, or *gronna*, pl., c. 92, 9. Although this word seems to be of Celtic origin<sup>4</sup> and its use has been claimed as especially characteristic of Irish latinity<sup>5</sup>, no argument as to the nationality of the writer of the present work can safely be founded upon it, for it was known on the continent<sup>6</sup>. It is used in the ancient poem *De Philomela*, which is based upon a work of Suetonius<sup>7</sup>:—

grus gruit in gronnis, cygni prope flumina drensant,  
accipitres pipant, milvus hiansque lupit.

<sup>1</sup> H. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. p. 234; ii. p. 261; Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 157.

<sup>2</sup> The *vassallus* of the Abingdon charter of 821 (*Cart. Sax.* i. 506, 20) comes from an obvious forgery. *Vasallus* occurs, in the sense of *minister*, in a charter of 941 in the Shaftesbury register (*ibid.* ii. 502, 3), which is condemned by Kemble, but which may be genuine. It is also found in an Abingdon charter of 952 (*ibid.* iii. 55, 29), a Wilton charter of about 956 (*ibid.* iii. 137, 27), and in an Exeter charter of 967, preserved in a late eleventh-century copy (*Ordn. Survey Facs.* ii. pl. 6; *Cart. Sax.* iii. 473, 9). None of these texts is preserved in contemporary copies, and some of them are open to doubt. But the use of the word is so rare in England after the Norman Conquest that it would seem to have been taken in these cases from genuine tenth-century charters. The spelling *fasallus* in an Abingdon charter of 903 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 254, 28) agrees with that of the *Life*, and thus seems to come from the tenth century. In the early part of the eleventh century English scribes begin to use *u* to express *v*, which had been previously represented by *f*, but we cannot affirm that such a spelling as *fasallus* might not occur early in that century.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, § 87, p. cxxiii, above.

<sup>4</sup> Stokes in Fick, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogerman. Sprachen*, ed. 4, ii. 119; Holder, *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*, s. v. *gronna*.

<sup>5</sup> Zimmer, *Nennius Vindicatus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 111.

<sup>6</sup> It is found in Old High German glossaries. See Roediger's note to Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, Berlin, 1890, i. 508.

<sup>7</sup> Aemilius Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores*, v. 303; Reifferscheid, *Suetonii . . . Reliquiae*, Lipsiae, 1860, pp. 247 sqq., 309.

It was introduced into England, probably from Fleury, with other Franco-Celtic Latin words in the tenth century. It is found in dubious charters of the years 854, 973, 1002<sup>1</sup>, and Florence of Worcester renders the 'on fen scēotan' of the Chron. *an.* 1040 by 'in gronnam proicere.'

53 b. This is the most famous of the passages foisted into the Life by Parker. The Annals of St. Neots, from which he derived it, expressly state that it is taken from a 'Vita Sancti Neoti.' The appearance in the Life of the sentence conveying this information (c. 53, 9), which was not earmarked as an interpolation until the appearance of Petrie's text, led to the baseless conclusion that there was a Life of St. Neot in existence before this work was written in 893<sup>2</sup>, and, on the other hand, that the Life of Alfred was forged at the priory of St. Neots<sup>3</sup>. More mischief has been wrought by Parker's interpolation of this long passage than by any of his other falsifications of historic evidence.

The Life of St. Neot from which the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots copied this and the succeeding chapter is not now extant. It is evident from the nature of the extracts that he was, in accordance with his custom<sup>4</sup>, transcribing them, and not reproducing their tenor in his own words. The two verses cited occur in a life of this saint in the Bodleian MS. 535, fo. 44 verso<sup>5</sup>, an early twelfth-

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 77, 1, 3, 18; iii. 613, 18; *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 324, 35.

<sup>2</sup> See *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii tom. vii, pp. 315 B, 316 B, where the editors follow the English Benedictine, Edward Maihew. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain*, i. p. 538, identifies one of the existing lives of St. Neot as 'seemingly that mentioned by Asser in his Life of Alfred,' quoting c. 53, 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, § 62, p. xcvi; § 66, p. ci; § 75, p. cix; § 78, p. cxiv, above.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 98, above.

<sup>5</sup> The text of this life has been printed by John Whitaker, the eccentric historian of Manchester, in *The Life of St. Neot, the oldest of the brothers of King Alfred*, London, 1809, p. 339 sqq. The statement that St. Neot was a brother of King Alfred arises from Whitaker's accepting the authority of the lives of this saint, and identifying him with Æthelstan, who is mentioned as the son of Æthelwulf in Chron. A, B, and C under 836, but who is called Egberht's son in D, E, and F. Portions of the Bodleian life are printed by G. C. Gorham, *The History*

century collection of saints' lives. In this life the story is told differently, although the verses are introduced by the exclamation 'heus homo!' as in the present chapter. Another Life of St. Neot was printed by Mabillon<sup>1</sup> from a twelfth-century MS. then belonging to the monastery of Le Bec Hellouin, in Normandy, of which the priory of St. Neots was a cell. The British Museum contains another copy of this life in the Cottonian MS. Claudius A v, a thirteenth-century text. The life contained in the two latter MSS. is clearly an expanded version of that in the Bodleian MS., with considerable additions and embellishments. Traces of the phraseology of the Bodleian life occur, while its arrangement of matter is closely followed. In this the story of Alfred and the wife of the swineherd (*subulcus*) is told in different words, and the two verses are not quoted. The verses recur in the account of this incident given in the St. Albans compilation<sup>2</sup>, the author of which derived it from a life agreeing with that contained in the Bodleian MS., and partly reproduces its phraseology. There are some abridgements and paraphrases of these lives, which are described in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue*.

The life used by the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots cannot, from the date of the latter, be much later than the end of the eleventh century. So far as we can judge from the fragments preserved in the Annals, it agreed in details closely with the existing lives. Like them, it describes St. Neot as a kinsman of King Alfred<sup>3</sup>; depicts Alfred as given to tyrannical courses in the early part of his reign, for which he is reproved by St. Neot, and connects his misfortunes with a prophecy of the saint; and recounts the appearance of the saint to Alfred in a vision, in which he promises to lead the king's army to victory<sup>4</sup>.

*and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's in Huntingdonshire, and of St. Neot's in the County of Cornwall*, London, 1820, pp. 261, 266. The extract on the former page is reproduced in the *Monasticon*, iii. p. 471.

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, sect. iv, part 2, p. 324. It is printed more fully in the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii tom. vii, p. 319.

<sup>2</sup> Roger of Wendover, ed. Coxe, i. p. 330; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. p. 411.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 137, 20 (= c. 53 c, 20); 138, 17, above.

<sup>4</sup> Above, p. 138.



With the exception of the statement that St. Neot was a kinsman of Alfred, all these features appear in an O.E. homily on St. Neot, which is preserved in the Cottonian MS. Vespasian D xiv, fo. 145 verso<sup>1</sup>. This is a twelfth-century copy of a collection of homilies, most of which are known in older texts. In this homily the story of the cakes appears in a different form, for Alfred really turns the cakes in obedience to the orders of the *swān* or swineherd. Gorham has described this as the oldest existing Life of St. Neot<sup>2</sup>, partly because he has wrongly assigned the MS. to the eleventh century, in which he is followed by Hardy. The assignment of royal descent to St. Neot in the Latin lives, and their treatment of the story of the cakes, are due to literary manipulation of the simple details given in the O.E. homily, which may therefore be regarded as containing an older form of the Life. The homily agrees with the two existing Latin lives in having an historical background that is evidently derived from the Chron., and in another remarkable feature, the statement that St. Neot was ordained at Glastonbury by Ælfheah, who subsequently became bishop of Winchester. There were two bishops of that see bearing this name, viz. Ælfheah the Bald, whose episcopate extended from 934 to 951, and St. Ælfheah, who was bishop from 984 to 1005, when he was translated to Canterbury. He was murdered by the Danes in 1012. The Bodleian life substitutes St. Dunstan for Ælfheah, and the expanded life does not say which Bishop Ælfheah is intended. It is, of course, impossible that either of them could have ordained St. Neot if he died, as the lives and the homily make him do, before 878<sup>3</sup>. The O.E. homily describes the bishop as St. Ælfheah, but this may be due to the scribe of the Cottonian MS., who has taken considerable liberties with the texts of other homilies in his collection<sup>4</sup>. Professor Wülcker has maintained that this

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Gorham, p. 256; in *The Shrine*, ed. Cockayne, London, 1864, p. 12, and by Wülcker, in *Anglia*, iii. p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> P. 250; adopted, with much other matter from this writer, by Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, i. p. 539.

<sup>3</sup> See, however, p. 297 below.

<sup>4</sup> For this information we are indebted to Professor Napier, who has a minute knowledge of the MSS. of the O.E. homilies. He has assigned



homily is the work of Ælfric, but this historical blunder about Bishop Ælfheah is fatal to any such claim. It is impossible that Ælfric could have made either of the bishops of this name ordain a man about the middle of the ninth century, for he records that the earlier one lived in the reign of King Æthelstan and ordained St. Dunstan and St. Æthelwold<sup>1</sup>, with both of whom he was himself acquainted, while he knew St. Ælfheah personally<sup>2</sup>. The O.E. homily adduces the testimony of 'the books,' so that it is obviously founded upon some other work, no doubt a Life of St. Neot. The blunder about Bishop Ælfheah's date could hardly have been made in the century in which he lived, and we may therefore reject the view that this homily was composed at the end of the tenth century<sup>3</sup>. Its general agreement with the Latin lives is proof that it is either based upon the original of the latter, or has been very strongly influenced by it. The two existing Latin lives contain strong presumptive evidence of Norman, or at least non-English, authorship in the translation of English local names into Latin<sup>4</sup>, prefaced by such expressions as 'quod

this MS. to the early part of the twelfth century (*Academy*, Feb. 22, 1890, p. 134).

<sup>1</sup> *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, ed. Stevenson, in *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii. p. 256.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 266. Cf. his Latin grammar, ed. Zupitza, p. 1, 16; 3, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, i. p. 539, identifies the mention of the bad times and of the death of cattle with the murrain of 986, although he cites the record of another murrain in 1086. It is questionable whether there is a specific reference to any particular times of trouble, for such endings are not uncommon in the O.E. homilies. In the present case the author is dilating upon the evil nature of the times in which he lived as a necessary proof that the end of the world was approaching. Hardy advances this mention of the end of the world as proof that the homily was written before 1000, but the view that the end was expected in that year seems to rest upon misapprehension. See Orsi, *Rivista Storica Italiana*, iv. p. 1 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> The widely-spread translation of Æthelunga-ig as 'Clitonus insula' comes from the Bodleian life. This translation occurs in Alfred's spurious charter to Athelney, dated 852 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 164, 28). It is rendered by 'regalis insula' in the expanded life. Bishop Clifford, in his fantastic manner, explained the name as meaning 'isle of the royal children,' because Alfred hid his wife and children in it in 878 (which is a mere guess), or because he permitted his nobles to accompany him thither, according to Asser (*Somerset Archaeological and Nat. Hist. Society's Proceedings*, 1876, part 2, p. 15; 1877, p. 13). The name

apud nos sonat,' 'quod apud nos exprimitur.' It is difficult to believe that an English author of the eleventh century could ascribe tyrannical conduct to King Alfred. These Latin lives by foreign monks were probably composed after the connexion of the priory of St. Neots with Le Bec Hellouin, for before its enrichment by the De Clare family, to whom the connexion with Bec is due, it was a very small establishment. The date when it became a cell of Bec is not known<sup>1</sup>, but it was evidently late in the eleventh century or early in the twelfth. We may assign the expanded life to some period later than the subordination of St. Neots to Bec. If we may trust the authority of the Ely history, Gilbert de Clare (an obvious mistake for his son Richard de Bienfaite or de Clare) expelled the English monks from St. Neots soon after the Norman Conquest and replaced them by monks from Bec<sup>2</sup>, a monastery with which his family was closely connected. St. Neots is mentioned in Domesday without any hint of dependence upon Bec<sup>3</sup>. Richard's widow bestowed upon it about 1113 the manor of Eynesbury<sup>4</sup>. From that time it became an important foundation. The O.E. homily, which was composed in West Saxon, has no direct connexion with the Huntingdonshire monastery or with St. Neot in Cornwall<sup>5</sup>, but was intended to be delivered upon St. Neot's day. He does not appear in the extant O.E. calendars, but he is found in a twelfth-century calendar from Exeter<sup>6</sup>. The insertion of his name in the

from its formation may mean 'isle of the princes,' which is a very unlikely O.E. local name, or, what is more probable, simply the island of some person whose name began with the stem *Æthel*.

<sup>1</sup> The conclusions of Gorham, adopted in the *Monasticon*, are much too definite for the nature of the evidence.

<sup>2</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, pp. 143, 239.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 207, col. 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Monasticon*, iii. p. 473, No. xi.

<sup>5</sup> As assumed by Gorham, p. 250. The site of the saint's burial in Cornwall is referred to and described in a way that would be unnecessary in a homily used in the church covering his burial-place. This description of the position of 'St. Neotes Stoc' agrees closely with those in the Latin versions, and has the appearance of having been translated from a life composed in Latin.

<sup>6</sup> Harl. MS. 863, printed in Hampson, *Medii Aevi Kalendarium*, London, 1841, p. 455, under July 31.

calendar would seem to be due to the vigorous pushing of his claims by the monks of St. Neots. It is probable, therefore, that the O.E. homily was compiled after the Norman Conquest from one of the Latin lives, probably the earliest of a series, much in the same way as Ælfric founded a homily on St. Edmund upon Abbo's Latin Passion of that saint.

If the foregoing conclusions are valid, it follows that we have no evidence of the existence of this story of Alfred and the cakes before the Norman Conquest. Many traditions concerning the O.E. kings were still current in the early part of the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>, and it is not impossible that this anecdote was derived from tradition. It was hardly necessary for the original author of the Life of St. Neot to introduce it to show how low Alfred had fallen. We are unable to suggest any other motive for its insertion than that of emphasizing the depth of Alfred's decline. It is conceivable that, in the form it appears under in the O.E. homily, it is a tradition concerning Alfred that the author of the Life of St. Neot dragged into his compilation when wearied of filling up the gaps of his hero's life from his imagination. But in view of the fraudulent character of all the lives of St. Neot, it is impossible to feel any certainty that the story is not a figment of the author of the earliest Latin life, which has been embellished by the later adaptors of the life.

54. The first clause is from the Chronicle, with the additions that the Danish leader came from Dyfed (South Wales), where the Danes had wintered, their ravages there, the mention of the site of the fight, and the statement that the king's ministers had taken refuge in the fortress. The rest of the chapter is due to the author, and is probably written from information gleaned on the spot, which was in Asser's diocese of Sherborne. The statement that the Danes had wintered in South Wales may also have come from Asser, who would be living in Dyfed at this time and who was a native of that principality.

54, 5 *cum mille et ducentis*. MSS. A, D and E of the Chron. give the number of the Danes slain as eight

<sup>1</sup> As may be seen from Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*.

hundred and forty, B and C as eight hundred and sixty, the disparity arising from a transposition of the Roman numerals xl or lx. The number is given by Æthelweard as eight hundred<sup>1</sup>. The twelve hundred of the Life may perhaps be due to a misreading of D.CCC as M.CC, but this is not a very likely mistake. As the account is so much fuller than that given in the Chron. it is possible that it was drawn up from information gathered in the neighbourhood, and that the Danish losses had been gradually magnified by the inhabitants of the locality during the time that had elapsed between the battle and the time when it was related to the author of the Life.

54, 6 *ante arcem Cynuit*. The fortress is not mentioned in the Chron., but Æthelweard, writing in the latter part of the tenth century, states that the Danes besieged Odda, the ealdorman of Devon, in a castle. His account is noticeable for the statement that the Danes in the end were victorious, although they lost their 'king<sup>2</sup>.' The site of Cynuit is unknown. The name seems to represent an old Welsh form of *Cunētio*, which still exists as a river-name in Wales in the later form *Cynwydd*. *Cunetio* is the older Celtic form of the name of the river Kennet, O.E. *Cynete*, but no river of this name is known in Devon.

Kenwith Castle, an ancient fortification in the parish of Abbotsham, near Bideford, co. Devon, is usually identified with Cynuit. A place known as 'Bloody Corner,' in Northam, is 'traditionally' regarded as the scene of a duel between two of the chieftains in 877<sup>3</sup>, and a monument recording the battle has been erected. We have in this an instructive example of the worthlessness of 'tradition,' which is here, as so frequently happens elsewhere, the out-

<sup>1</sup> *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. 515 E.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 515 D: 'In eodem anno advectus est Healfdene (et) Iguares tyranni frater, cum triginta moneribus, in occidentales Anglorum partes, obseditque Oddan, ducem provinciae Defenum, in quodam castro, incenderuntque Martem intus et foras. Barbarum rex ruit, octoginta quippe cum eo decades. Postremo victoriae obtinent locum etiam Dani.'

<sup>3</sup> Kelly's *Directory of Devonshire*. The Six-Inch Ordnance map of Devon marks Bloody Corner as the 'supposed site of a battle between the Danes and Saxons (A. D. 878).'

come of the dreams of local antiquaries, whose identifications become gradually impressed upon the memory of the inhabitants. The 'tradition' about Bloody Corner has been produced by the suggestion of Mr. R. S. Vidal in 1804. In a paper<sup>1</sup> in which he maintained that Cynuit was, from the nature of the site, a fort formerly known as Henniborough or Henni Castle, he argued that Bloody Corner seemed by its name 'to be expressly pointed out as the place where' the fight took place. He identified 'Hubbaslow' or 'Hubbastow,' the burial-place of Hubba, who is assumed to have been the brother of Inguar and Healfdene here referred to, with a place called 'Whibbelstone,' and he associated this local name with an existing stone, which he brought into connexion with Hubba's tumulus by the inadmissible assumption that the latter was a cairn of stones. As a consequence of this paper, the name Kenwith (an inaccurate form derived from Camden<sup>2</sup>, who took it from the *Flores Historiarum*<sup>3</sup>) has been foisted into the map, the farm or hamlet bearing that name in the new Ordnance map being called Woodtown on the old Ordnance map, which was published in 1809. The location of Cynuit in this neighbourhood is the result of Camden's remark that he had been unable to find any trace of Kenwith Castle about Bideford, where he assumed the Danes must have landed. In 1630 Thomas Westcote writes, under Northam: 'Here may we see some remains of the Castle Hennaburgh as it is said, as also that hereby was Kenith Castle, so famous for that Hubba the Dane was vanquished at the siege thereof and slain, and his ominous banner Refan taken<sup>4</sup>.' He then mentions 'Whibbestow' as the cairn of Hubba, but states that many other places in the county claimed to be the site of the battle<sup>5</sup>. Tristram Risdon

<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Archaeologia*, xv. p. 198 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Britannia*, ed. Gough, i. p. 30.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. i. p. 451. It appears as *Cynwith* in the first part of Simeon of Durham and in Roger of Howden, i. p. 43.

<sup>4</sup> *A View of Devonshire in 1630*, ed. by the Rev. Geo. Oliver, D.D., and Pitman Jones, Exeter, 1845, p. 342.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: 'In remembrance whereof (the Danish defeat) a great heap of stones was there piled up together as a trophy of the victory gotten by the natives, and the place yet remembered by the name Whibbestow; not much exchanged from Asserius his word Hubbastow (a mistake



suggested that the castle of Kenwith was to be found in 'Hennaburgh, a fort not far hence' (from Northam), because of the resemblance (<!) of the names, and because no other fortification was to be found in that quarter<sup>1</sup>. A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1755 believed that Kenwith was 'Henny Castle,' about a mile from Bideford, and states that about two miles down the river from Bideford 'is a place called Hubblestone, from a large stone of the same name, of which they relate "that Hubba came to Appledore, was slain before Kenwith Castle, and buried under this stone, which was in consequence called Hubba's Stone<sup>2</sup>."' Whibblestone, the name of the stone in question in 1797<sup>3</sup>, 1804<sup>4</sup>, and 1829<sup>5</sup>, has now given place to Hubblestone under the influence of these identifications. It is in the parish of Appledore, and has obviously no possible etymological connexion with Ubba. This 'Hubba's Stone' has been brought into the discussion in consequence of Camden's statement that the battle 'was ever since called by our historians Hubbestow<sup>6</sup>.' This form seems to have arisen from an alteration of the *Ubbeslawe* of the fourteenth-century Malmesbury *Eulogium Historiarum*<sup>7</sup>, which is said to be the site of Ubba's burial in Devon. The same assertion is made in the English *Brut*, which calls the place *Hubbeslugh*<sup>8</sup>, and in the fifteenth-century compilation bearing the name of John Brompton, where it is called *Hubbelowe*. They all state that this place was in Devonshire, and

arising through a misunderstanding of Camden). Though the heap of stones be long since swept away by the continual encroaching of the sea. But to tell you truly, I find as many places in this county claim the honour of this victory, as cities in Greece for the birth of Homer.'

<sup>1</sup> *Survey of Devon*, published in London in 1714, p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> P. 446.

<sup>3</sup> Polwhele's *History of Devon*, 1797, p. 198, note\*.

<sup>4</sup> As appears from Vidal's paper.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Devonshire*, by the Rev. Thomas Moore, 1829, i. p. 146, where it is stated that the spot where Hubba was buried 'received the name of Hubbastone,' that all vestiges of the cairn have been swept away by the sea, but that 'the spot is now called Wibblestone.'

<sup>6</sup> Westcote seems to have substituted Whibbestow for Whibbestone in order to agree more nearly with this Hubbestow.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. iii. p. 8, where it is called 'magna strues lapidum.'

<sup>8</sup> Cited by Hearne, in Spelman's *Life of Alfred*, p. 60, note 2.

that the tumulus still existed. But they are all merely repeating Geoffrey Gaimar's account of the burial of Ubbe (who, he says, was slain in 'Pene Wood'), under a great 'how' or tumulus in Devon, which was called *Ubbelawe*<sup>1</sup>. The name of Hubba has been applied to a tumulus near Chippenham, although that is in Wilts, through connecting the death of Ubba with the Danes at Chippenham<sup>2</sup>. There is nothing in the accounts of the battle of Cynuit to prove that it was on the sea-coast. The mention of the Danes escaping to their ships is not incompatible with a long flight by land before they reached them<sup>3</sup>.

54 b, 2 *vexillum, quod Reafan nominant*. It is curious that the copy of the Chron. used by the author did not contain a mention of the capture of the raven-banner of the Danes, if we may judge from his silence regarding it. Its capture is recorded in MSS. B, C, D and E: 'and þær wæs se guðfana genumen, þe hie "Hræfn" heton' ('and there was the war-banner taken that they called "Raven"'). Karl Horst has concluded that its

<sup>1</sup> *L'Estorie des Engles*, 3147 :

Un frere Iware e Haldene  
En fu oscis el bois de Pene ;  
Ubbe out a nun un mal fesant.  
Sur li firent hoge mult grant  
Li Daneis, quant l'ourent trové,  
Ubbelawe l'unt apelé.  
La hoge est en Deveneschire.

<sup>2</sup> Canon J. E. Jackson concluded that the name was imposed by Aubrey (*The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey*, 1659-70, Devizes, 1862, p. 75, Wilts Archaeological and Natural History Society).

<sup>3</sup> Professor Earle's suggestion that Cynuit may be Countesbury (*Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, p. 306) is impossible phonetically and formally, since the latter name occurs in the *Exon Domesday*, p. 374, as *Contesberia* and as *Contesberie* in the *Exchequer Domesday*, i. p. 110 b, col. 1. A compound of *Cynuit* and *burh*, as suggested by Mr. Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles*, ii. p. 93, 'Countesbury, quasi Cynwitesbyrig,' could not have had the gen. sing. *-es*. Bishop Clifford's attempt to prove that Cynuit was Cannington Park, Somerset, is one of the wildest freaks in his astounding paper (*Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, 1877, p. 14). In the proceedings for 1876, part 2, p. 5, note 6, he alters the corrupt late form *Cynwith* into *Cynwich*, explains this is 'king's town' (an unrecorded O.E. \**Cyne-wic*), and identifies it with Combwich!

omission in A is one of the numerous oversights of the copyist of this MS.<sup>1</sup> As the next sentence begins with 'and þæs,' it would seem to be another instance of the scribe's being misled by homoeoteleuton. But the silence of the present work and of Æthelweard regarding this banner renders the conclusion that its capture was recorded in the archetype of the Chron. somewhat uncertain. It is probable, therefore, that it was not in the version of the Chronicle used by the author, and consequently not in the archetype. But we must not lose sight of the possibility that the author omitted it intentionally or inadvertently, having otherwise deviated so widely from the Chronicle in his account of this fight. The ancient copy of the Chron. used by the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots seems to have contained the entry. The source of the compiler's description of this miraculous banner is unknown, and his statement that it was the work of Lothbroc's daughters is peculiar to himself. It is probably of Norse origin. Saxo Grammaticus ascribes two daughters only to Ragnar Lothbroc<sup>2</sup>. The raven was an emblem of Odin<sup>3</sup>, and is figured on the coins of Anlaf, the Danish king of Northumbria<sup>4</sup>, and hence may have been in use in Alfred's time. The story of the miraculous nature of the raven-banner is referred to, in somewhat different terms, in the eleventh-century *Gesta Cnuti*, otherwise known as the *Encomium Emmae*, in connexion with the Danish army of 1016<sup>5</sup>. The raven-banner occurs again in the mythical history of Earl Waltheof's family, in which Earl Siward

<sup>1</sup> *Zur Kritik der altenglischen Annalen*, Darmstadt, 1896, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> See Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, i. p. 114.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 134; Müllenhoff, *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, iv. p. 229, and Cleasby-Vigfússon, *Icelandic Dictionary*, s. v. 'hrafn,' where instances of war-banners with ravens are cited.

<sup>4</sup> *Montague Sale Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, pl. iv, no. 429; *Brit. Mus. Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Coins*, i. pl. xxix, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cap. 9: 'Erat namque eis (scil. Danis) vexillum miri portenti, quod licet credam posse esse incredibile lectori, tamen, quia verum est, verae inseram lectioni: Enimvero dum esset simplissimo candidissimoque intextum serico, nulliusque figuræ in eo inserta esset imago, tempore belli semper in eo videbatur corvus ac si intextus, in victoria suorum quasi hians ore excutiensque alas, instabilisque pedibus; et suis devictis quietissimus totoque corpore demissus.'

receives, when a young man, from an old man a banner 'Ravenlandeye, quod interpretatur "corvus terrae terror"'

55. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the Latin and British names of Selwood and of the statements that Alfred encamped for one night at Ecgbriht's Stone and at Æcglea. The latter are deduced from the Chronicle; see note to line 15.

55, 4 *pagæ*. The omission of this word in the Cottonian MS. seems to be due to confusion with *paganos*, the next word but one. Florence surmounted the difficulty raised by its omission by converting *Summurtunensis* into the abl. plural. Here again the Annals of St. Neots have preserved a better reading than the Cottonian MS.<sup>2</sup>

55, 6 *Petram Ægbryhta*. Florence of Worcester has more correctly *Petram Ecgbrihti*, a latinized genitive corresponding to the *Ecgbryhtes Stan* of the Chron.<sup>3</sup> This place is generally identified with Brixton Deverill, co. Wilts, which was first suggested by Sir John Spelman<sup>4</sup>. The identification assumes the loss of the most strongly accented part of the name, which is improbable. Brixton Deverill is one of the group of Deverills mentioned in Domesday. They derived their name from the river Deverill<sup>5</sup>, and Brixton is therefore a distinguishing addition.

<sup>1</sup> See the early thirteenth-century history by William, a monk of Crowland, printed in Appendix C to Cooper's (unpublished) report on Rymer's *Foedera*, p. 89; Francisque Michel, *Chroniques anglo-normandes*, Rouen, 1836, ii. p. 107; Leland's *Itinerary*, iv. 142; Hearne's appendix, and the somewhat different version in Brompton's *Chronicle*, in Twysden, *Scriptores Quindecim*, col. 945. Upon this work see Hardy's *Catalogue of Materials for British History*, ii. pp. 25, 26. The 'Ravenlandeye' of this story may be based upon acquaintance with the banner of King Harald Hardrada, known as the 'landeyþa' or 'waster of the land.' The references to this banner in the sagas are collected by Kahle in the *Indogermanische Forschungen*, xiv. p. 211. The Old Norse *eyða*, which has no cognate in O.E., has been replaced by O.E. *ege*, 'terror.'

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, §§ 25, 34, pp. xlvii, lvii, above.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, p. xlvi.

<sup>4</sup> *Life of King Ælfred*, p. 64. The wide diffusion of this identification is due to Gibson, in his edition of the Chronicle, 'Nominum Locorum Explicatio,' p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> It occurs as *Defereal* in a charter of Edgar, dated 968, in the early thirteenth-century Wilton chartulary, Harl. MS. 436, fol. 24 b, printed

It is in all probability derived from Brihtric, the alleged lover of Queen Matilda<sup>1</sup>. He held it in the time of Edward the Confessor. The Deverel recorded in Domesday as being held by 'Brictric' is there stated to have been given to the abbey of Le Bec Hellouin in Normandy by Queen Matilda<sup>2</sup>, who received a grant of Brihtric's possessions. This is undoubtedly the *Brihtricheston* of the *Testa de Nevill*<sup>3</sup>, where the donor to the abbey is confused with the Empress Matilda, the daughter of Henry I. The identification with *Ecgbrihtes Stan* must therefore be rejected. The new Ordnance survey marks an 'Ecgbright's Stone' as an antiquity by the side of the railway near Fairwood House, in the parish of Westbury, co. Wilts, on the borders of that county and Somerset<sup>4</sup>. The presence of the name on the map is due to Canon J. E. Jackson's suggestion that this stone was Ecgbriht's Stone<sup>5</sup>. On Adam and Dury's map of Wilts in 1773 it bears the name of 'Redbridge Stone,' and it is difficult to believe that this is a corruption of Ecgbrihtes Stan. Its position is hardly suitable, as the next stage of Alfred's march seems to have been south of Westbury. The O.E. records contain many mentions of stones that were known by men's names, but they have usually faded out of remembrance, except in a few cases where the stone was the meeting-place of a Hundred, when its name has been preserved, although its site has been forgotten. Thus *Wihthbrordes Stan*, where some of the laws of King Edgar were enacted<sup>6</sup>, has perished without bequeathing any

in the *Monasticon*, ii. p. 323. This charter has been overlooked by Kemble and Birch.

<sup>1</sup> See Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, iv. pp. 165, 759 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> Domesday Book, i. p. 68 b, col. 1. It is curious that Hoare, who suggested that Brixton is derived from this Brihtric (*Modern Wilts*, 'Hundred of Heytesbury,' p. 4), states that it is 'undoubtedly' Ecgbrihtes Stan (*ibid.* p. 3, 'Hundred of Warminster,' p. 46).

<sup>3</sup> P. 154 a.

<sup>4</sup> On the Six-Inch map the 'Ecgbright's Stone' of the Twenty-five-Inch map (sheet xlv, 6) is miscopied as 'Erbright's Stone,' and is still further corrupted to 'Cebright's Stone' in the One-Inch map.

<sup>5</sup> *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, xiii. p. 109, note. Cf. also xxv. p. 59.

<sup>6</sup> *Laws of Edgar*, iv. c. 1, § 4 (Schmid, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, p. 194; Liebermann, *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, i. p. 208).



memory of its site, but the Surrey \**Brihtsiges Stan*<sup>1</sup>, being the meeting-place of a Hundred, has left its name to Brixton Hundred and to the suburb of Brixton. In Smith's County Atlas, published in 1804, a 'Bound Stone' is marked in the maps of Somerset and Dorset at the point where the boundaries of these counties meet those of Wilts near Penzelwood<sup>2</sup>. This stone fulfils one requirement for the identification with Ecgbrihtes Stan by being to the east of Selwood or the 'West Wood'<sup>3</sup>, which seems to have formed the western boundary of Wilts. As Ecgbrihtes Stan was Alfred's meeting-place with the *fyrds* of Hants and Wilts, and as the Danes were in the north of the latter county, the stone must have been in the south of the county. It can hardly have been in Dorset, since the Dorset men are not named as coming to the rendezvous. The location of Ecgbrihtes Stan near Penzelwood agrees with the identification of Igleah, Alfred's next stopping-place, with a place in the parish of Warminster<sup>4</sup>.

55, 15-17 *Diluculo sequenti illucescente . . . ibi una nocte castra metatus est.* The Chron. reads "he for ymb ane niht of þam wicum to Iglea, and þas ymb ane to Eþandun," which means that 'he went in the course of one day from the camp to Igleah, and afterwards in the course of a day to Eþandun.' This passage is frequently misunderstood by historians as conveying that Alfred marched by night, but it is merely an instance of the O.E. practice of counting time by the nights instead of by days. Had a night-march been meant, the adverb *nihtes* would have been used. As the author of the Life mentions the encampments for one night, he cannot have intended to convey that the marches were made by night.

<sup>1</sup> Spelt *Bricsistan*, *Brixiestan*, *Brixistan* in Domesday.

<sup>2</sup> W. Phelps, *Modern Somerset*, i. p. 190, states that the 'three-shire stones' were in the middle of a factory pond.

<sup>3</sup> See above, note to c. 12, 4, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> See below, note to c. 55, 17. Bishop Clifford's identification of Ecgbrihtes Stan with White Sheet Castle, between Mere and Stourton, has no other foundation except the fanciful and erroneous idea that this means 'castle of refuge,' which is based upon the assertions that a sheet anchor is a safety anchor and a sheet is in nautical language a safety rope (*Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, 1876, part 2, p. 7; 1877, p. 20.) There are many other equally fantastic arguments in these papers.

55, 17 *Æglea*. This appears as *Iglea* in Chron. A, B and C, but as *Æglea* in D and E. The former also occurs in the Annals of St. Neots, which elsewhere shows signs of the use of a better text of the Life than the Cottonian MS.<sup>1</sup> Florence of Worcester agrees with the Cottonian MS., which seems to have been his immediate source<sup>2</sup>. Many attempts have been made to identify this place. Bishop Gibson suggested Leigh (Westbury Leigh), co. Wilts, under the inadmissible theory that *Æglea* was a mistake for *Æt Lea*<sup>3</sup>. Carte identified it with Oakley, near Basingstoke<sup>4</sup>, but this was merely a violent attempt to find a place that should agree with his other localizations of the names mentioned in the Chron. at this time, and like them it must be rejected. Dr. Milner suggested either Winsley or Leigh (the latter the name of a tithing), both in Bradford-on-Avon, co. Wilts<sup>5</sup>. Nothing can be said for either, except that the identification is convenient for his theory that the Danes were in Chippenham when Alfred arrived upon the scene<sup>6</sup>. Gough thought that Cley Hill, in the parish of Corsley, co. Wilts, 'by the sound might bid fair to be this *Æglea*<sup>7</sup>,' with which it cannot possibly be connected phonetically. This identification was rightly rejected by Sir Richard Hoare, on the ground that Cley Hill is too near Brixton Deverill, which he erroneously held to be Ecgbrihtes Stan<sup>8</sup>. Bishop Clifford placed it at Edgarley, in Glastonbury, holding that King Edgar's name had been substituted at a later time for the first part of the name<sup>9</sup>. This improbable theory is one of many desperate expedients

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 34, p. lvii, above.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, §§ 25, 33, pp. xlvi, lv, above.

<sup>3</sup> In his edition of Camden's *Britannia*, i p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> *History of England*, i. p. 300.

<sup>5</sup> *History of Winchester*, 1798, p. 129, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 274, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> Camden's *Britannia*, i. p. 100. The idea was first suggested by Gibson in *Chron. Anglosaxonicum*, 'Nom. locorum Explicatio,' p. 33, and in his edition of Camden's *Britannia*.

<sup>8</sup> *History of Modern Wilts*, 'Hundred of Heytesbury,' p. 46. He, however, accepted the location of this place near Cley Hill (*ibid.* 'Hundred of Westbury,' p. 41; *Ancient History of South Wilts*, i. pp. 59-64).

<sup>9</sup> *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, 1876, part 2, p. 21; 1877, p. 20.

into which he was driven in his attempt to locate the battle of Ethandun in Somerset. Highleigh Common, in Melksham, which was suggested by Whitaker<sup>1</sup>, has found many adherents, but it seems to be merely one of the very numerous Leighs in this part of the world, distinguished by the adjective 'high.' Dr. Henry Beeke, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, identified Ægleah with the place (the site of which is unknown) from which the Berkshire Hundred of *Eglei* in Domesday derived its name<sup>2</sup>. He supported this by locating Ethandun at Eddington, in Hungerford, which was in this Hundred. The latter place was, however, not Ethandun<sup>3</sup>, and the Hundred appears under the more correct form of *Eg(g)esleahundred* in the twelfth century<sup>4</sup>, and would therefore seem to be descended from an O.E. \**Ecges-lēah*. The spelling in the Cottonian MS. of the Life suggests a form in *Ecg-*, but it is probably miswritten for the *Æglea* of Chron. D and E. From this we should expect a modern *Eiley* or *Ailey*. An Eilly in the Hundred of Kinwardstone, co. Wilts, occurs in 1275<sup>5</sup>, but this is too far to the east to be identified with Alfred's camping-place. It is possible that the form in the Life has been affected by local knowledge of this place or of the Berkshire \**Ecges-lēah* on the part of the scribe. The form *Æglea* may be merely a misreading of \**Īeglēa*, which would be a more regular West Saxon

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of St. Neot*, by the Rev. John Whitaker, B.D., London, 1809, p. 266. This Highleigh is shown on the old Ordnance map, but is not on the new ones. It was in Melksham, near Holbrook Farm. In 1859 it was described as a 'grazing meadow a little above the level of the river Avon called Iley' (*Wilts Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* v. p. 260). Canon Jackson in 1862 spoke of the 'rich land of Iley in Melksham' (*The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey*, 1659-70, Devizes, 1862, p. 295. *Wilts Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Society*). In the modern dialect it would be impossible to distinguish between the descendants of O.E. *Igleah* and High-leigh. Thus the place called *Highsomley* in Westbury by Canon Jackson (*Wilts Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* xxv. p. 36) and *Hisomley* on the new Ordnance map appears as *Isomley* on the old.

<sup>2</sup> Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, 1806, i. p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> See below, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> Pipe Rolls, 17 Henry II, p. 90, *Egesleah(un)dr(ed)*, and 18 Henry II, p. 15, *Eggesleah(un)dr(ed)*. It occurs with an inorganic *h* as *Heggeleah(un)dr(ed)* in the roll for the sixteenth year, p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *Rot. Hundred.* ii. p. 260 b.

spelling for Alfred's time than *Iglea*, if the first part of the compound is derived from *ieg*, later *ig*, 'island, watery land.' The balance of evidence is certainly in favour of the form *Iglea*. This name, or one of identical formation, seems to have been preserved until the seventeenth century in the case of 'Iley Oak' or the 'Hundred Oak' near Southleigh Wood, in the parish of Warminster, co. Wilts<sup>1</sup>. As the courts of the two Hundreds of Warminster and Heytesbury met at a place called Ileg in 1439<sup>2</sup>, it is clear that a place of that name then existed. It is probably an older name of Southleigh Wood or of part of it, and that *lēah* has in this case its older meaning of 'wood'<sup>3</sup>. Southleigh Wood is bounded on one side by the river Deverill<sup>4</sup>, so that the application of *ieg* to it or a portion of it is intelligible. We may accordingly conclude that this Ileg is the *Igleah* of the Chron., that *Æglea* of the Chron. D and E is either a miscopying of an \**Iglea* in a lost early copy of the Chronicle, or arises from an erroneous identification of *Iglea* with some other local name, and that the *Æglea* of the Cottonian MS. of the Life and of Florence is an attempt to rationalize the inexplicable *Æglea* by substituting for the first member of the compound the word *æcg*, a late spelling of *ecg*, 'edge,' 'edge of a cliff.'

56. From the Chronicle, with amplifications and with the additions that the king slew all the men found outside the fort and took the horses and cattle, the motives of the Danes for surrender, and the statement that the

<sup>1</sup> Hoare, *Modern Wilts*, 'Hundred of Warminster,' p. 11; 'Hundred of Heytesbury,' p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Canon Jackson, *Wilts Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* xiii. pp. 107, 114, 115. Writing in 1872, he states that Iley Oak 'was contiguous to the camp called the Buries. A very old man told me that the exact site of the oak (now gone) was close to Lord Heytesbury's Lodge at Sowley Wood (of which wood, Iley forms the eastern part)' (*ibid.* p. 108). This latter name does not appear in the new Ordnance map, which has, however, an Eastleigh Wood adjoining Southleigh Wood on the north-east. Canon Jackson rejected the identification of Iley with *Æglea* (*ibid.* p. 109, note). But it is the legitimate descendant of *Igleah*, and the fifteenth-century form proves that it was not a compound of 'high.'

<sup>3</sup> Recorded in the case of *Andredesleah*, and proved by the continental cognates of *lēah*, and by its Latin cognate *lucus*, older *loukus*.

<sup>4</sup> The meadow by South Leigh is marked on the new Ordnance map as 'liable to flood.'

Danes gave to the king as many hostages as he wished, without receiving any from him, a form of peace that they had never before concluded with any one, and the description of Wedmor as a *villa regia*.

**56, 2 Ethandun.** Camden's location of the site of this battle at Edington, co. Wilts, has been frequently questioned in modern times. Several other sites have been suggested, but none of them satisfy the first requirement, that of having borne the name Ethandun. Edington, on the other hand, is well authenticated. King Alfred bequeathed *Eðandun* to Ealhswith, his wife<sup>1</sup>. In 957 King Eadwig executed a charter, of which the original is still in existence, at *Eðandun*<sup>2</sup>. So far there is nothing to prove the identity of this *Eðandun* with Edington, but as it was a royal possession, and as Edington was granted to the abbey of Romsey by King Edgar in 968<sup>3</sup>, there can be little reason for questioning it. That Edgar's grant related to Edington appears clearly from the evidence of Domesday<sup>4</sup>, the Hundred Rolls<sup>5</sup>, and the chartulary of Romsey. In Domesday the name is written *Edendone*, a Norman spelling for the dative *Eðandune*. It is written *Ethendun* in 1280-1<sup>6</sup>. The position of Edington suits all the requirements of *Eðandun*. On the Downs above it is Bratton Castle, a camp that may be the fortress to which the Danes retreated (c. 56, 7). It is a noteworthy coincidence that there is a White Horse cut on the Downs below Bratton Castle, just as there is under Uffington Castle on the Berkshire Downs, the reputed site of Alfred's other great victory of *Æscesdun*<sup>7</sup>, but there is no evidence to connect these horses with Alfred.

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 178, 24. For the date of his will see Introduction, p. lxvii, note 3, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Crawford Charters*, no. v; *Cart. Sax.* iii. 688, 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 495, from the fifteenth-century chartulary, in which the copyist modernized the name to *Edyndon*.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. p. 68, col. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ii. 277 b.

<sup>6</sup> *Inquisitio post Mortem*, I Edward I, no. 42, an inquisition concerning the abbess's wood at Edington and Ashton.

<sup>7</sup> See hereon p. 237, above. Francis Wise, *Further Observations upon the White Horse*, Oxford, 1742, p. 48, stated that the Bratton White Horse had been made within the memory of people then living, but



In 1877 Bishop Clifford endeavoured to prove that Edington, co. Somerset, was the site of the battle of Eðandun, in a paper in which he described the imaginary plan of Alfred's campaign<sup>1</sup>. The whole article is of a very imaginative and unsatisfactory nature, built upon improbable assumptions, baseless identifications of sites, impossible etymologies, and shows a general lack of critical restraint. As this Somersetshire Edington occurs in the Domesday Survey as *Eduwinetune*<sup>2</sup>, and as the scribes frequently omit the gen. -s in compound local names, it is evident that this name represents an O.E. \**Eadwines-tūn*, and not *Eðan-dūn*. Heddington, co. Wilts, has also been suggested on the strength of the similarity of name<sup>3</sup>. This is the *Edintone* of Domesday<sup>4</sup>, but it is evident from the majority of the mediaeval forms that the name began with an aspirate and was compounded with the suffix *ing*, and probably represents an O.E. \**Hedding-tūn*. The claims of Eddington, in the parish of Hungerford, co. Berks, were advanced by Professor Beeke. He supported this identification by regarding the *Eglea* of the Life as the place from which the Domesday Hundred of *Eglei*, in which Eddington was situate, derived its name, and by deducing Denford in Hungerford from the Danes, and contrasting it with Englewood in the

Gough, in his edition of Camden, i. p. 101, maintains that it is ancient despite Wise's statement. It was, unfortunately, 'new modelled' in 1778 by Mr. Gee, a surveyor (Hoare, *Modern Wilts*, 'Hundred of Heytesbury,' p. 46). This obliterated the ancient horse, and another 'restoration' occurred in 1853. See Rev. W. C. Plenderleath, 'White Horse Jottings,' in the *Wilts Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, xxv. p. 57 sqq.

<sup>1</sup> *Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society Transactions*, 1877, p. 20, part ii, pp. 1-27.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 90, col. 1. It appears as *Edwinetona* in the fuller returns preserved in the Exon Domesday, p. 149. The disappearance of the *w* in the second syllable is phonetically regular. The name is written *Edinton* as early as 1208 (*Rotuli de Finibus*, p. 430).

<sup>3</sup> John Milner, *History of Winchester*, 1798, p. 129, note 3, adopted by Earle, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, p. 307. Milner's identification depends upon the assumption that the Danes were still in Chippenham on the eve of the battle. The words of Æthelweard upon which he lays stress do not mean this, and, if they did, his authority is too late to override that of the Chron.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. i. p. 69, col. 2.

adjoining parish of Kintbury<sup>1</sup>. He ascribes a march of something like forty miles in a day to Alfred in order to surprise the Danes, but it is difficult to believe that the shire levies constituting Alfred's army could have moved with anything like this speed. This Berkshire Eddington is written *Eddevetone* in Domesday<sup>2</sup>, and *Edivetona*, *Edevetona* in the twelfth century<sup>3</sup>. From these forms it is clear that the O.E. form was \**Eadgife-tun*, 'Eadgifu's town.' Joseph Stevenson regarded the *Eperedinge tun* of an Abingdon charter of 961<sup>4</sup> as referring to this Eddington, and the latter as the site of Eðandun<sup>5</sup>. But this clearly represents an O.E. \**Æðeringa-tun*, 'Æðelred's town.' Slaughterford, co. Wilts, was stated to be the site of the battle of Eðandun by Whitaker in 1809<sup>6</sup>. He was led to this conclusion by a statement in Gough's edition of Camden's *Britannia*<sup>7</sup> as to a tradition among the inhabitants that this village was the site of a great slaughter of the Danes, and by connecting the fight more closely

<sup>1</sup> Lysons, *Magna Britannia*, i. 162, published in 1806. See above, p. 271. It is not clear that Denford means 'ford of the Danes,' as it may be a compound of *ford* and *denu*, 'dean, valley.' It occurs in Domesday (i. 61, col. 1) as *Daneford*, and in 1199 as *Deneford* (*Rotuli Chartarum*, p. 14 a). If the name could be proved to mean 'Danes' ford,' it might with more probability be connected with the events of 1006, when the English *fyrð* attempted to defend the passage of the river Kennet against the Danes on their way from the Berkshire Downs to Winchester.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 57 b, col. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Pipe Rolls, 13 Henry II, p. 9; 14 Henry II, p. 202; *Rot. Chart.* p. 23 b, an. 1200. In the *Chartulary of St. Frideswide*, Oxford Historical Society, i. 29; ii. 32, 324-6, it occurs as *Ediveton* (misprinted *Edineton*) in copies of documents dated 1147-58. The *Eduneton* of the *Testa de Nevill*, p. 125, must be miscopied or misprinted for *Ediveton*. The *Edinton* of a fine of 1195 (*Fines sive Pedes Finium*, p. 91; *Pipe Roll Society*, vol. xvii. p. 32), although endorsed Berkshire, relates to Addington, co. Surrey, since the road to Chelsham is mentioned, and William de Edinton, one of the parties, was an inhabitant of Surrey, as may be seen from the printed records of this time.

<sup>4</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 307, 12. The identification, which has been accepted by Birch, seems to have been suggested by the writer of the rubric in the chartulary miscopying the name as *Æpedingetun*. Since no boundaries are given, it is hardly possible to identify this place.

<sup>5</sup> *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii. 516, note 3.

<sup>6</sup> *The Life of St. Neot*, by the Rev. John Whitaker, B.D., p. 269.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i. p. 96.

with Chippenham than the words of the Chronicle or of the Life warrant. Gough's remark was a repetition of one of Gibson's in his edition of Camden<sup>1</sup>, and it was derived by Gibson from the MSS. of John Aubrey, the Wiltshire antiquary<sup>2</sup>. Prior to the civil war of Aubrey's time most reputed battlefields were assigned by the rustic traditions to the Danes, and in this case the tradition was strengthened by the growth about Slaughterford of the plant known as 'Danes' Blood' (the dwarf elder), which is still popularly supposed to grow only on spots that have been the scene of fights with the Danes<sup>3</sup>. Tradition is of too unreliable a nature to have any weight in deciding the question of the sites of early battles, and is too frequently the product of the perfervid ingenuity of the local antiquary. In the present case there can be no doubt that the tradition is aetiological. As the word 'slaughter' is of Scandinavian origin, the corresponding West Saxon form being *slicht*, later *sliht*, it is impossible that this name could, if it means the 'ford of slaughter,' be old enough to be connected with the ninth century. The use of 'slaughter' in such a sense as this is even far more recent, and such a name is entirely unknown in O.E., where *slicht* means the act of slaying, not the result of the slaying. The name of the Wiltshire village was written Slaughterford until the beginning of the nineteenth century, although earlier forms with *r* are known<sup>4</sup>. Both the *r* and the *n* would seem to have been part of the name, which therefore seems to be connected with O.E.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i, p. 103 a.

<sup>2</sup> See the *Topographical Collections of John Aubrey*, p. 110, and the quotation from his *Monumenta Britannica* in the *Wilts Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, iii. 78.

<sup>3</sup> Aubrey, as above, and his *Natural History of Wilts*, published in 1848, p. 50; Wright, *English Dialect Dictionary*, under 'Danes' Blood.'

<sup>4</sup> A. D. 1277, *Shlachtreford*, Close Rolls, p. 380; 1298, *Slaghteneford*, Close Roll, 26 Edward I, memb. 2; 1300, *Slaghtenford*, Patent Rolls, p. 532; 1341, *Sla(u)ghtenford*, *Inqq. Nonarum*, p. 165; 1468, *Slaghtneford*, Patent Rolls, p. 62; 1472, *Slaighteneford*, *ibid.* p. 328; 1385, *Slaughterford*, *ibid.*, p. 24. The Gloucestershire Slaughterford occurs in an original charter of 779 as *Slohtranford* (*Cart. Sax.* i. 321, 19), which dissevers it from the Wilts name and from 'slaughter.' A Sussex *Sloghtreford* occurs in 1276 (*Rot. Hund.* ii. 202 b) and 1316 (Patent Rolls, p. 562), and thus seems to be of the same origin as the Gloucestershire name.

*slāhporn*, 'blackthorn.' Whitaker had the boldness to allege that Yatton Keynell, the adjoining parish, is 'the fair representative of *Ethandun*<sup>1</sup>,' and this impossible equation has found adherents in modern times. It is the only name near Slaughterford that even the ingenuity of local antiquaries could torture into *Eðandun*, and it has been backed up by the illegitimate process of taking Ettone, one of the forms in Domesday, and adding to it 'down,' and then boldly claiming that this imaginary Etton-dun was Eðandun<sup>2</sup>. This Domesday form is one of the numerous cases in which the scribes of the Survey have merged an initial semi-vowel with the following vowel. Such a process could not have occurred in ninth-century O.E., in which the form of this name must have appeared as \**Geat-tun*, as proved by the modern form and by the other and more correct spelling *Getone* in Domesday. Carte's identification of Eðandun with Yattenden, co. Berks<sup>3</sup>, is equally impossible, for that name must have appeared in O.E. as \**Geatinga-denu*<sup>4</sup>. Eðandun could not possibly have developed into either Yatton or Yatingdon<sup>5</sup>.

The absurd form *Edderandun* given by Mr. Arnold for *Eðandun* in both portions of Simeon of Durham in the Rolls Series edition is due to the careless repetition of the reading in Twysden's edition, which is reproduced in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*. The MS. reads *Eððandun*, *Eððandun*. It is obvious that Twysden's transcriber mistook the ð for the compendium for *der*, *dre*, from which it is hardly distinguishable in late twelfth-century MSS. Canon Raine, who prepared the text for the Surtees Society's edition of Simeon, printed *Ederderandun*, by a similar error. The careless collation of Twysden's text is respon-

<sup>1</sup> *Life of St. Neot*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Thurnam and Mr. Scrope in the *Wilts Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, iii. pp. 81, 299. It is stated at p. 300 that Yatton 'is still pronounced Eaton or Etton,' which is even more irrelevant than the Domesday form.

<sup>3</sup> *History of England*, i. p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> It occurs in the *Testa de Nevill*, in the early part of the thirteenth century, as *Yetingeden*, *Yatingeden*, and *Yatingden* (pp. 111, 122, 132).

<sup>5</sup> It is not necessary to discuss the location of the battle of Ethandun at Woeful Danes Bottom, near Minchinhampton, co. Gloucester, which was suggested by J. M. Moffat in the *Graphic Illustrator*, 1834, p. 106. He recognized Ethandun in *-hampton*! See *Wilts Magazine*, iii. p. 81.



sible for the appearance in the first part of Simeon in the editions of *Cuderwine* (from c. 1, 14 of the Life) and *Fridrenwulf* (from c. 1, 21) for *Cudwine* and *Friduwulf*, which are given as *Cutherwine* and *Frithenulf* in the Surtees Society's edition, and of *aquarum* (from c. 49, 23). These blundered forms of Ethandun need not be cited any more in discussions as to the site of this battle.

56, 18 *suatim utens*, 'acting according to his natural disposition,' 'on his own initiative.' This strange expression occurs again at cc. 74, 21, and 106, 22. Florence of Worcester omitted the participle in the present chapter, retaining *suatim*, which the editors have tacitly altered to *suapte*. He omitted both words in the two latter passages. Parker treated the phrase in his usual radical manner. At c. 56, 18 he altered it to *sua ipsius*; c. 74, 21 to *sublevatus est*<sup>1</sup>; c. 106, 22 to *advocatos*, and these alterations are silently reproduced by the later editors. The true reading is recovered from the Corpus transcript and from the Annals of St. Neots. Probably the *suapte* of cc. 80, 8, 13 and 103, 10 is due to Parker, and may represent the same phrase. Both these chapters were omitted by the compiler of the Annals of St. Neots. In c. 56, 18 the reading *suatim utens* is supported by the addition in the margin of the Bury St. Edmunds copy of Florence of Worcester of the participle<sup>2</sup>. In both parts of Simeon of Durham the participle is omitted.

We have been unable to find an instance outside this work of the use of the phrase *suatim utens*. That the latter word is correct is proved by the evidence of the Annals of St. Neots and by the St. Edmunds marginal addition, so that it does not rest solely upon the somewhat uncertain testimony of the Corpus transcript of the Life. The word *suatim* was, however, in somewhat common use before and after the time of King Alfred. It was formed on the analogy of the early Latin *tuatim*, *nostratim*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Possibly this unmeaning phrase may be due to a blunder on the part of his copyist, for it appears in the British Museum transcript.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 101.

<sup>3</sup> See Carl Paucker, *Vorarbeiten zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte* ('Materialien zur lateinischen Wortbildungsgeschichte'), Berlin, 1883, pp. vii, 132, 139.



Aldhelm uses it with the meaning 'after his (or her) manner or nature<sup>1</sup>.' In the same sense it occurs in Odo of Cluny's *Occupatio*, a ninth-century work<sup>2</sup>; in Ælfric's *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*<sup>3</sup>, and in Hincmar of Rheims<sup>4</sup>.

56, 26 *triginta electissimis de exercitu suo viris*. This is a mistranslation of the words of the Chronicle: 'com se cyning to him Godrum þritiga sum þara monna þe in þam here weorþuste wæron' ('the king Godrum came to him one of the thirty of the most important men in the army'), a common O.E. locution which means that Godrum made up the number of thirty, so that he came not with thirty men but with twenty-nine.

56, 33 *beneficia*. The singular reading *aedificia*, which appears in the Annals of St. Neots, Florence and the Cottonian MS., seems also to have existed in the version used by the author of the first part of Simeon of Durham, for he represents the 'multa et optima aedificia' of the Life by 'multa et inedicibilia largita (< sic > est dona,' where the *inedicibilia* seems to have been suggested by the *aedificia* of the original. *Aedificia* occurs again in c. 91, 20, but, from its position, it seems to be used in its proper sense of 'buildings.' In the present passage we have corrected *aedificia* to *beneficia*, following Lappenberg and Pauli<sup>5</sup>. It is, however, noticeable that Dycange contains a quotation from Anjou in which *edificamentum* is used in the sense of 'things acquired,' in reference to buildings and vineyards. But we have failed to find any instance of *aedificia* having the meaning of 'gifts.'

57. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the British name of Cirencester, and of the statement that the march thither was in pursuance of the promise of the Danes to

<sup>1</sup> *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, ed. Giles, c. 17, p. 17, 23; c. 36, p. 47, 7; c. 58, p. 77, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. A. Swoboda, Leipzig, 1900, lib. vi. 385; vii. 625.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Stevenson, *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii. p. 258. This is copied into the *Liber de Hyda*, p. 152, where it was regarded by the editor as a mistake for O.E. *swalum*, 'beer'! The passage, which is 'inebriatis Northanhymbris suatim,' lends some countenance to this.

<sup>4</sup> *Opera*, ed. Sirmond, ii. p. 548.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, § 86, p. cxxii, above.

quit Alfred's kingdom, which is a deduction from the annal of the preceding year.

58. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the statement that the army of pagans came from beyond sea and joined themselves to the army of Guthrum. This, if it means physical union with Guthrum's forces, is contradicted by cc. 60, 61. But the author says that the new army 'nevertheless wintered at Fulham,' so that he probably did not mean to say that the two bodies of Danes united.

59. From the Chron., omitting the statement that the eclipse lasted an hour, but with the addition of the time of day when it occurred. This, as we have said<sup>1</sup>, seems to be a proof that the Life is the work of a man who saw this eclipse, for the time can hardly be the result of a calculation made in the tenth century, and it is unlikely that it is a guess, since there is little motive for the addition of the time if the work is spurious. The indication of the time of day is given in accordance with the custom in use before and after the ninth century of measuring the time by the canonical hours, and not by the hours of the day<sup>2</sup>. The time is indicated as closely as was possible at that date.

If it could be proved that the time of day assigned for the eclipse is accurate, it would be a conclusive proof of the authenticity of the Life. But the question is surrounded with uncertainties, for the author, following the Chron., does not specify the time of the year when the eclipse occurred or his place of observation, and both are necessary before we can ascertain the time of the day indicated by him. The Chron., followed by the author in this passage, places the eclipse in 879, and states in another place, which is also reproduced by the author (c. 68, 8), that the eclipse occurred in the same year as the death of Ludwig the Stammerer. This happened on April 10, 879<sup>3</sup>. In that year there was a partial eclipse of the sun on March 26, but this does not seem to have been

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, §§ 48, 90, pp. lxxviii, cxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> That is, time was said to be an hour after the ninth hour, instead of the tenth hour. See Gustav Bilfinger, *Die antiken Stundenangaben*, Stuttgart, 1888, pp. 45, 62.

<sup>3</sup> Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, iii. p. 113.

visible in Wessex, where the entry in the Chron. was presumably written<sup>1</sup>. According to Pingré's tables<sup>2</sup> this eclipse was visible in the north of Scotland only. He places the time of conjunction at 4 p.m. Paris time, which is equivalent to about 3.50 p.m. Greenwich time. This, in accordance with astronomical practice, represents the time at the centre of the earth of the nearest approach of the centres of the sun and the moon viewed from that point. Owing to the effects of parallax on the moon's place, the time when the eclipse is visible at a given place on the surface of the earth may be a few hours earlier or later than that at the centre of the earth. Pingré's tables are so frequently misunderstood and misapplied by historical writers that it is necessary to make this explanation. The more accurate tables of Professor Oppolzer<sup>3</sup> assign 3 h. 48.1 m. p.m. Greenwich mean time as the time of conjunction. Mr. A. C. D. Crommelin, of the Royal Observatory, Greenwich, has been good enough to construct the eclipse graphically on the basis of Newcomb's tables<sup>4</sup>, and he makes the time of conjunction 3 h. 37 m. 43.68 s. Greenwich mean time, from which must be deducted 4 m. 44 s. for the equation of time. He reaches the conclusion that the eclipse would be visible over the whole of Scotland, the northern half of England and Wales, and about three-quarters of Ireland, the southern line of visibility running approximately from Louth in Lincolnshire to Kilkenny. Oppolzer places the southern limit about 1° 9' farther south, thus bringing it down to Greenwich. According to Mr. Crommelin's calculations the eclipse would be visible at Louth about 5 h. 27 m. p.m. mean time. He remarks that it is 'needless to say that there is an uncertainty of several minutes of arc in the moon's place a thousand years ago, so that

<sup>1</sup> There is always a possibility that a chronicler might record an eclipse, although it was not visible in the monastery wherein he was writing. But, considering the difficulties of intercommunication in the ninth century, it is improbable that an annalist working very far beyond the limit of visibility of an eclipse would hear of it and record it.

<sup>2</sup> In the second and later editions of *L'art de vérifier les dates*.

<sup>3</sup> In his *Canon der Finsternisse*, printed in the *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 'Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Classe,' vol. lii, Vienna, 1887.

<sup>4</sup> Printed in the *Ephemeris Americana*.

there must in any case be a considerable probable error in the south limit.' This eclipse was a very small one in England, and it is impossible that it could have been visible for anything like an hour, while its duration on the limiting line of visibility was exceedingly short. We may therefore conclude, despite the evidence of the Chron. and of the Life, that the partial eclipse of the sun on March 26, 879, is not the one referred to, since it could not possibly be said of it that the sun was obscured for an hour, it could not be described as happening between the hours of None and Vespers, and, finally, it may be doubted whether it would have been sufficiently visible without a telescope to ensure notice. There was no other solar eclipse in this year that was visible in England.

It is incredible that this small eclipse of March 26, 879, should have attracted the notice of the compiler of the Chron., and that he should have ignored the very remarkable total solar eclipse of October 29, 878<sup>1</sup>. The latter

<sup>1</sup> It has been maintained by Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, ii. 74, note 1, adopted by Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. 95, that the Chronicle is a year too late in its dates relating to the Northmen between 878 and 896, but the instances are by no means conclusive. In 878 and 879 there is nothing to support this view beyond the eclipse in question; and the fact that Ludwig's death is referred by the Chron. under 885 to 879, which is the correct year, shows that we cannot correct all these dates by placing them a year back. The passage of the Northmen from England to Ghent, which is given in the *Annals of St. Vaast* under 879, and in the Chron. under 880, does not prove that the latter is wrong, for it mentions that they stayed there for a year, and hence the entry may have been written at the end of that time. Similarly in 882 the Chron. states that they ascended the Meuse into Frankland, where they remained a year. The ascent of the river occurred in November, 881. In 883 the Chron. states that the Danes went to Condé and remained a year. They arrived there in October or November, 882. Again, under 884 they are said to arrive at Amiens and remain a year. The date of their arrival was, apparently, November, 883. In 885 the Chron. says that Charles (meaning Carloman) died in this year before mid-winter. This happened on December 12, 884 (Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, iii. 232). This entry suggests that the year of the Chron. began before December 25, the usual Frankish commencement, and hence some of the other discrepancies between the dates of the Chron. and those of the continental annalists may be due to a difference in the commencement of the year. Possibly also this may explain why the eclipse of October 29, 878, came to be entered under 879.

certainly made a great impression upon the continental chroniclers of the time. From them we learn that the sun was so obscured for half an hour or so that the stars became visible, causing men to think that night had commenced. The contemporary Annals of Fulda place this after the hour of None<sup>1</sup>, while Regino, also a contemporary, states that it was 'about the hour of None<sup>2</sup>.' This is a somewhat remarkable agreement with the assertion in the present chapter that the eclipse occurred 'between None and Vespers, but nearer to None,' and that in the Chron. that the sun was obscured for an hour of the day. Mr. J. R. Hind calculated the time of the eclipse at Fulda, and found that there was 'a total eclipse, totality commencing at 2 h. 9 m. 32 s. local mean time, and continuing 1 m. 41 s., with the sun at an altitude of 19°. The partial phase began at 0 h. 56 m. and ended at 3 h. 24 m. The Fulda annalist has "post horam nonam" for the time of the eclipse, but the times we found cannot be very much in error. The sun rose at Fulda on this day at 7 h. 12 m. apparent time, or at 6 h. 57 m. mean time, so that the ninth hour from sunrise would be 4 p.m.<sup>3</sup>' Here Mr. Hind and Dr. Hartwig of Leipzig, whom he cites, have been led into needless difficulties, through ignorance of the fact that in the ninth century the day was not divided into equal hours. The Greek and Roman system of dividing the time between

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Kurze, p. 92: 'Eclipsis lunae facta est . . . sol quoque in iiii. kal. Novembris post horam nonam ita obscuratus est per dimidiam horam ut stellae in caelo apparent, et omnes sibi noctem imminere putarent.'

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Kurze, p. 113: 'eclipsis lunae facta est mense Octobrio, die xvi. Item eodem mense eclipsis solis accidit, die xxviii. circa horam nonam.' The Prüm Annals, which are hereabouts based upon some lost annals that were used by Regino, have 'eclipsis magna lunae, uno eodemque mense similiter eclipsis solis (h)orribilis' (Pertz, *Scriptores*, xv. part 2, p. 1291). Other references from continental chroniclers have been brought together by F. K. Ginzel, *Astronomische Untersuchungen über Finsternisse*, in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, 'Mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Classe,' vol. lxxxviii, 1884, p. 669. They are mostly based upon the Fulda Annals. His calculations of the eclipse are given at p. 673 and in vol. lxxxix, part 2, p. 514. According to him the southern limit of the zone of totality reached from Camarvonshire to London and thence to Ypres.

<sup>3</sup> *Nature*, March 11, 1875, vol. xi, p. 365. For this reference we are indebted to Mr. A. M. W. Downing, the Superintendent of the *Nautical Almanac*.



sunrise and sunset and that between sunset and sunrise into twelve hours each prevailed until about the fourteenth century<sup>1</sup>. Except at the equinoxes the length of an hour of the day therefore differed from that of an hour of the night connected with it, and the length of the hour of both varied, strictly speaking, from day to day. It is inconceivable, however, that the imperfect time-measurers of the ninth century could have been so regulated as to represent with mathematical accuracy the length of these variable hours (*ὥραι καιρικαί*, 'horae temporales'). Apart from the somewhat primitive system of measuring time by the length of one's shadow<sup>2</sup>, the only time-measurers in use seem to have been sun-dials and water-clocks, the latter being principally intended for measuring the hours of the night in the monasteries<sup>3</sup>. The sun-dials had not reached the perfection of the modern ones<sup>4</sup>, so that minute divisions of the day were impossible. The water-clocks were probably regulated once a month<sup>5</sup>, or at some other regular interval, and the indication of time given by them must have corresponded only roughly to the real time. It is therefore hardly possible to ascertain exactly the hour and minute of the day meant by None and Vespers on a given day in the ninth century, and the difficulties are enhanced by the modern astronomical use of mean time instead of

<sup>1</sup> Gustav Bilfinger, *Die mittelalterlichen Horen und die modernen Stunden*, Stuttgart, 1892, pp. 1 sqq., 141 sqq.; Franz Rühl, *Chronologie des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*, Berlin, 1897, p. 211.

<sup>2</sup> Bilfinger, *Die antiken Stundenangaben*, p. 75 sqq. The length of the shadow, which was measured by the length of the foot of the observer, varied from month to month. The length is occasionally given in the O.E. calendars for each month, as, for example, in the eleventh-century calendar in Cott. MS. Vitellius A xviii, printed in Hampson, *Medii Aevi Calendarium*, 1841, p. 422 sqq., and in Leofric's *Missal*, p. 58, where the length of the third and the ninth hour, which were identical, are given. From these the other hours were reckoned by formula.

<sup>3</sup> Bilfinger, *Die mittelalterlichen Horen*, p. 147 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 143. They had an upright stylus, instead of a gnomon laid in the direction of the axis of the earth, as in the modern dials. Some interesting English dials from the eleventh century are figured in Hübner, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, pp. 65, 66, nos. 179, 180, 181.

<sup>5</sup> As in the ancient customs of the monastery of St. Victor, Paris, cited by Bilfinger, *op. cit.* p. 148.

apparent time, the only one that could have been used in the ninth century. There is also the slight dislocation caused by the use of the Julian calendar. We may, however, approximately ascertain the time intended. If we divide the time between 6 h. 57 m. mean time, the hour of sunrise at Fulda according to Mr. Hind, and 4 h. 30 m., the time of sunset<sup>1</sup>, by twelve, we obtain an hour of 47 m. 45 s. Adding nine of these hours to the time of sunrise, we arrive at 2 h. 6 m. 45 s. as the hour of None. By apparent local time it would be about quarter of an hour earlier. Vespers would be, on this calculation, at 3 h. 42 m. 15 s. local mean time. We thus see that the Fulda Annals and Regino are correct in their specification of time, and that, allowing for the uncertainty of the data and calculations, there is a remarkable agreement with the indication of time given in the present work. When the author tells us that the eclipse occurred between None and Vespers, but nearer to None, he is really limiting it to something less than 47 m. 45 s., which would have been, on the basis of this calculation, exactly halfway between None and Vespers. On the basis of the apparent local time at Fulda, he is telling us that the eclipse was nearer to 1 h. 51 m. 45 s. than to 3 h. 27 m. 15 s., and he seems to be correct<sup>2</sup>.

It is to be regretted that the imperfect evidence at our command precludes our reaching a definite conclusion as to the time meant by the author. But, when all allowances have been made for the uncertainty of the calculations given above, there still remains such a remarkable approximation to what the author states that we can scarcely

<sup>1</sup> As given by Ginzel, *op. cit.* p. 673.

<sup>2</sup> The O.E. calendars frequently give the number of equinoctial hours (*ἡραι ἰσημεριναί*, 'horae aequinoctiales') in the day and in the night. For October they assign ten hours for the day and fourteen for the night, which would make the 'hora temporalis' for the day fifty minutes long. For November eight hours are assigned to the day, so that the 'hora temporalis' of the day would be forty minutes. For December they give only six hours to the day, which is much below the time between sunrise and sunset, which averages about eight hours. It is therefore difficult to use these data for the calculation of time, and we have no evidence to show that the time-measurers were altered to correspond with the change in the length of the 'hora temporalis' on the first day of each month.

doubt that the specification of time given by him is derived from personal observation. In that case, however, we should have to conclude that he was on the continent at no great distance from Fulda at the date of the eclipse. Such a conclusion is rendered plausible by the evidence of acquaintance with the Frankish empire<sup>1</sup>. Writing some fifteen years later in Wessex his memory might well have betrayed him into some slight error, but it does not appear that it has done so. He has, however, if our view be correct, been guilty of the error of assuming that the eclipse was visible in Wessex at the same time as it was in Frankland. But we could hardly expect a scholar of the ninth century to be aware of such an error. In England the time of the eclipse was somewhat earlier. Mr. Hind calculates that the time when totality commenced at St. Paul's, London, was 1 h. 16 m. 20 s. mean time, ending at 1 h. 18 m. 10 s. The eclipse in England was therefore, on any calculation, before the hour of None.

60. From the Chronicle.

61. From the Chronicle, with the addition of *Orientelem* to *Franciam*, a result, probably, of acquaintance with the political affairs of Frankland on the part of the author. Cf. note to c. 70.

62. From the Chronicle. The *superius* of line 3 is a somewhat too literal rendering of the *ufor* of the Chron., which in such constructions means 'farther from a point previously mentioned' (in this case Ghent), and hence with *faran* means 'to go up country,' 'to proceed inland.' Cf. c. 63. In the present case Florence substitutes *saepe-dictus*.

63. From the Chronicle. In line 4 *tanto longe* corresponds to the reading *feor* ('far') of MS. A, for which is substituted *ufor* in B, C, D and E. This latter is rendered *superius* in c. 62, 3.

64. From the Chronicle.

65. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the mention of the nunnery at Condé, which seems to be due to the author's acquaintance with Frankland<sup>1</sup>.

The record of the gift by Pope Marinus to the king of a

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 48, p. lxxviii, above.

part of the cross and of the sending of alms by the latter to Rome and to India, which occurs in MS. B, C, D, E and F of the Chron., is omitted in the Life. As the entire annal for 884 has been overlooked by the author or copyist, the omission of these details may be ascribed to carelessness. The omission of the annal for 884 seems to be due to a clerical error, the eye of the writer having copied the date for that year and then wandered to that for the following one<sup>1</sup>, the entries for which he proceeded to copy without discovering his mistake. The omission of the pope's gift and of the king's mission cannot be explained by any similar error caused by homoeoarcton<sup>2</sup>, and it is unlikely that the author would purposely omit such signal proofs of his hero's piety. It would therefore seem that the very early MS. of the Chron. used by him contained no mention of these things. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the oldest existing MS. A of the Chron. is silent regarding them, and this agreement may be taken as proof that they did not exist in the archetype of the Chron.<sup>3</sup> The pope's gift is referred to in the Chron. under 885, a passage that is reproduced in the Life (c. 71, 7). Hence MSS. B, C, D and E have two entries of the gift of the piece of the cross, which is suspicious. As the oldest of these MSS. was written nearly a century after the date of the composition of the present work, it is difficult to feel any confidence that these details are not later interpolations in the text of the Chron. Florence of Worcester, who occasionally supplies from the Chron. matter omitted in the Life, has nothing corresponding to the passages in question, but his work contains what is clearly a later interpolation

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 27, p. li, above. Both entries begin alike 'her for se here up on,' and end alike 'ond þer sæt an gear,' the only differences between the two being that the river and town are the Scheldt and Condé in the former and the Somme and Amiens in the latter, so that it was easy to confuse one entry with the other.

<sup>2</sup> If the passages in question had followed the annal for 883, the length of the latter would have been four times as great as without it, and this increased length would probably have prevented the confusion of the brief annal of 883 with the equally brief one of 884.

<sup>3</sup> They would also seem to have been absent from the version of the Chron. used by Æthelweard, if we may safely argue from his silence regarding them.

regarding the mission to India taken from William of Malmesbury<sup>1</sup>. The position of this interpolation, however, has been obviously determined by an entry in the Chron. corresponding to that in MSS. B, C, D, E and F. The silence of the Annals of St. Neots concerning this entry may be due to the close manner in which the compiler followed the Life, and can scarcely be adduced as proof that the important and early MS. of the Chron. used by him did not contain this entry.

The fact that Alfred sent a mission to India has been generally accepted on the strength of the passage in question. That his envoys should have penetrated into India appeared marvellous to William of Malmesbury in the twelfth century, and Gibbon evidently had his doubts as to the feasibility of such a mission<sup>2</sup>. The term India in Alfred's time was used in a much looser sense than we assign to it<sup>3</sup>, and it may well be questioned whether it was possible to find the alleged resting-place of St. Bartholomew in the ninth century. Sir William Hunter has come to the con-

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 41, p. lxxix. above.

<sup>2</sup> *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, c. 47 (ed. Bury, v. p. 151), where Gibbon 'almost suspects' that Alfred's envoys 'collected their cargo and legend in Egypt.'

<sup>3</sup> Alcuin is said to employ it to describe Asia (Sophus Ruge, *Geschichte des Zeitalters der Entdeckungen*, Berlin, 1881, p. 5). The *Martyrologium* of Bede (*Opera*, ed. Giles, iv. p. 112) connects Bartholomew with India. This is derived from a notice found in several eighth-century texts of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*. See R. A. Lipsius, *Die apocryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, 1883-90, ii. part 2, p. 63, where the history of the apostle's connexion with 'India,' which began with Eusebius, is given. Ælfric's statement in his homily on St. Bartholomew (*Homilies*, ed. Thorpe, i. p. 454) as to the existence of three Indias, viz. one in Ethiopia, another in Media, and a third reaching to the great ocean and shrouded on one side in darkness, is derived from the Latin version of the *Passio Bartholomei* (see the quotation from the Greek version in Lipsius, p. 64, note 1). Aldhelm, in his poem on the Twelve Apostles (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 125, no. x), also refers to the three Indias ('quam tres in partes librorum scripta sequestrant'), using, no doubt, the same source. The O.E. poem on the Fate of the Apostles, which seems to be a composition of the eighth-century Northumbrian poet Cynewulf, places St. Bartholomew in India, where its Latin source, the *Breviarium Apostolorum*, has *Lyc(a)onia* (see Holthausen, in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, cvi. p. 343 sqq.). Lipsius, however, ascribes to the *Breviarium* the reading 'India' (p. 64).



clusion that Alfred's envoys could not have visited the Coromandel coast, and that the India of his time never meant the Indian peninsula<sup>1</sup>. He thinks that they may have reached the shrine of St. Thomas at Edessa. It is questionable, apart from the doubtful nature of the record, whether this mission to St. Bartholomew and St. Thomas was ever dispatched. The full form of the entry is preserved in MSS. D and E, the entries in B and C being rendered unintelligible through the omission of the sentences here enclosed in square brackets: 'ond þy ilcan gear lædde Sighelm ond Æpelstan þa ælnessan to Rome [þe Ælfred cuning gehet þyder], ond eac on India to Sancte Thome ond to Sancte Bartholomæ, þa hi sæton wið þone here æt Lundenne<sup>2</sup>, ond hie þær, Godes þances, swiðe bentipige wurdan æfter þam gehate' ('and in the same year Sighelm and Æthelstan took the alms to Rome [that King Alfred promised <to send> thither], and also to St. Thomas in India and to St. Bartholomew, at the time when they <evidently meaning the king, Sighelm, and Æthelstan> besieged the <Danish> army at London<sup>2</sup>, and they were very successful, thanks be to God, according to the promise(s)'). This may be understood to convey that the envoys carried the alms to Rome and to St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, but the construction is peculiar, and seems rather to restrict the carrying of alms to Rome only. The freeing of the Saxon School at Rome from tribute (c. 71, 2) seems to have been one of the objects of this mission. Malmesbury states that the jewels and other things brought from India by Sighelm, whom he describes as bishop of Sherborne, were in his time preserved in the church at Sherborne<sup>3</sup>. But it is impossible to attach much belief to this story, for the envoy can hardly have been the Sighelm who became bishop of Sherborne between 918 and

<sup>1</sup> *The Indian Empire*, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> It is one of the difficulties connected with this passage that the Chron. does not record any siege of the Danes in London by Alfred or Sighelm. Under 886 it records that Alfred 'restored' London (cf. c. 83 below). Æthelweard, it is true, mentions a siege of London by Alfred (*Mon. Hist. Brit.* 517 A), but the passage is evidently founded upon this entry in the Chron., and his *obsidetur* has therefore arisen from reading *gesette* as *besette*.

<sup>3</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 122 (p. 130); *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 80 (p. 177).

925-33, whom Malmesbury has boldly moved up three places in the list of bishops in order to bring him into connexion with the alleged mission to India. The entry in the Chron. suggests that Sighelm was an army-leader, and he was, in all probability, the Kentish ealdorman whose death is recorded in fighting against the Danes in the Chron. under 905. He witnesses a Kentish charter of 889<sup>1</sup>. His intimate connexion with Alfred is established by the fact that Eadgifu, his daughter, was the wife of Edward the Elder, as we learn from an interesting deed of hers written about 960<sup>2</sup>. Æthelstan is perhaps the Mercian priest who is mentioned in c. 77, 12 as an assistant of Alfred in his studies, for one of the two envoys to Rome would probably be a cleric.

66. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the statements that one portion of the Danish army went into East Frankland (representing the *ēast* of the Chron.), that the other came to Britain and Kent, with the description of the site of Canterbury, that the Danish fort at Rochester was before the gates of the city, that the horses relinquished by the Danes had been brought by them from Frankland, and the mention of their captives. For the error in the Life assigning these events to 884 instead of 885, which Pauli<sup>3</sup> considered to be due to the damaged condition of the Cottonian MS., see note to previous chapter.

66, 13 *omnibus equis . . . derelictis*. This is a somewhat loose rendering of the 'hie wurdon þær behorsude' of the Chron., which, on the strength of the translation in the Life, is usually rendered: 'and they were there deprived of their horses.' The verb 'behorsian' is known only from this passage, and in it the prefix may have a deprivatory sense, as in the case of 'behēafðian' (to behead).

<sup>1</sup> Ordnance Survey *Facsimiles*, i. pl. 2 (10th cent. ?); *Cart. Sax.* ii. 202, 20. There is a grant to him in 898 (Ord. Sur. *Facs.* i. pl. 12; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 219, 18), written in a very singular and probably un-English hand, which seems to be somewhat later in date. He is probably the 'Sighelm minister' of a genuine charter of 875 relating to Kent (Brit. Mus. *Facs.* ii. pl. 40, in a slightly later hand; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 159, 6), and the 'Sighelm dux' of a genuine Kentish charter of 889 (Ord. Survey *Facs.* i. pl. 11, tenth century copy; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 202, 20).

<sup>2</sup> Ord. Sur. *Facs.* iii. pl. 29, contemporary; *Cart. Sax.* iii. 284.

<sup>3</sup> *König Ælfred*, p. 11. Cf. Goscelin's date 885, p. 309, below.

67. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the statement that Alfred sent the ships to East Anglia for the sake of spoil<sup>1</sup>, and that the fleet that met the English on their return had been gathered by the Danes dwelling in East Anglia.

67, 9 *dormiret*. MSS. A, C and D of the Chron. have here 'hamweard wendon' ('went homewards'), represented by 'hamweard wæron' in B and E in error. It is evident that the reading *dormiret* occurred in the MS. of the Life used by the compiler of the first part of the chronicle bearing the name of Simeon of Durham<sup>2</sup>. It is probably a crasis of *domum rediret* or *domum iret*. Florence substitutes *rediret*, probably by collation with the Chron. This variation in Florence is of so easily explicable a nature that it is unnecessary to assume 'that he did not borrow from Asser as we have it, but (that) both used some common source<sup>3</sup>.' Moreover, it seems clear that the Worcester writer used the Cottonian MS. of the Life<sup>4</sup>.

68. From the Chronicle, adding *Occidentalium* in line 2 (which may be a deduction from the words of the Chron.) and the name of Charles's daughter Judith. From the Chron. it repeats the loose statement that a year had elapsed since the death of Ludwig III, which happened on August 5, 882<sup>5</sup>, while Carloman's death occurred on December 12, 884<sup>6</sup>. It is noticeable that the author gives Carloman's name correctly, as against the erroneous Carl of the Chron. This may have been derived from the version of the Chron. used by him, but may equally well be a correction of his own, founded upon personal acquaintance with

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 86, p. cxxii. above.

<sup>2</sup> The 'dormiebat somno inertī' of the Durham writer is reproduced in the St. Albans compilation (Roger of Wendover, i. p. 340; Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, i. 417). Dr. Luard remarks that this passage might suggest that Asser had been consulted, but he rejects this view, holding that Florence was the only authority. The expression was clearly borrowed from the Durham writer, who used a MS. of the Life (see Introduction, § 35, p. lviii, above), and not from Florence.

<sup>3</sup> Plummer, *Two Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ii. p. 97. See Introduction, p. lxxxiii, note 1, above.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, § 33, p. lvi, above.

<sup>5</sup> Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, iii. p. 205.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* iii. p. 232.

West Frankish history, such as is evinced by his account of the succession of Charles III (c. 70, 5).

68, 3 *singularis*, 'boar.' Great confusion has arisen from taking this Low Latin substantive as an adjective. Florence added *ferus* (cf. Vulgate lxxix. (lxxx.) 13), and Parker inserted in his text the gloss *aper* from the Annals of St. Neots, altering in consequence *singularis* so as to agree with *dente*.

68, 8 *eclipsis solis*. See note to c. 59.

69. From the Chronicle. The author has added that the Danes came 'from Germany' into Old Saxony. This seems to be another proof of his acquaintance with Frankish history of the time, for the Danes wintered in Duisburg, whence they set out about January, 884, and were defeated in Saxony by an army under Henry of Saxony and Bishop Arno of Würzburg<sup>1</sup>. The battle in Friesland, which was about December, 884, was won by Rimbart, archbishop of Bremen, against another Danish force<sup>2</sup>. It is curious that the author should describe Old Saxony as not being in Germany, a mistake that is avoided by Alfred in his version of Orosius.

70. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the description of Charles as 'Alamannorum rex' and of the North Sea. The Chron. speaks of the latter as 'this sea.' The author's description of it as 'illum marinum sinum, qui inter Antiquos Saxones et Gallos adiacet,' may be due to knowledge of the continent. The use of *Galli* for the inhabitants of modern France seems also to be due to acquaintance with the Frankish learned Latinity. The statement that Charles succeeded to the kingdom of the East Franks 'voluntario omnium consensu' is probably due to the author's personal knowledge. It agrees with the facts<sup>3</sup>, and can scarcely have been a mere guess added to the Chron. account by a later forger.

70, 10 *antiqui, qui etiam fuit filius*. Here again the Annals of St. Neots appear to have derived their reading

<sup>1</sup> Dümmler, *Geschichte des ostfränkischen Reiches*, ed. 2, iii. p. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iii. p. 223. Dümmler regards this as a defeat inflicted upon another Danish army, not the one that had wintered in Duisburg.

<sup>3</sup> See *ibid.*, iii. p. 234, note 4.



from a better MS. of the Life than the Cottonian. The latter had 'filius Pippini sive Caroli.' Florence omitted the 'sive Caroli.' The 'antiqui' of the Annals represents the 'aldan' of the Chron. The agreement of the second part of Simeon of Durham with the Annals is somewhat striking, and suggests that this may have been the reading of the MS. of the Life<sup>1</sup> used by the compiler of the first part of the Durham work, which would seem in this case to have been consulted by the compiler of the second part, who usually follows Florence<sup>2</sup>.

71. From the Chronicle. The author has added that the part of the cross sent to Alfred by the pope was 'non parvam,' which may be due to his own knowledge of the fragment or be merely another instance of his tendency to exaggerate<sup>3</sup>. In one of the post-Conquest forgeries of the monks of Westminster, Edward the Confessor is made to say that he has given to the abbey on the day of its consecration 'reliquias, quas Martinus <sic> papa et Leo, qui eum <scil. Ælfredum> consecravit, dederunt Ælfredo regi, . . . quaeque ab ipso ad successorem eius Æthelstanum, deinde ad Eadgarum, ad ultimum ad nos pervenerunt, scilicet duas partes crucis Domini, et partem unius clavi, partemque tunicae eius inconsutilis,' &c.<sup>4</sup> This is evidently derived mainly from the Chron. or the present work, directly or indirectly.

71, 1 **Marinus papa.** The present work is cited by the learned editors of the *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* for the death of Pope Marinus in 884<sup>5</sup>. But as this chapter is taken from the Chron., and the variation from the chronology of the latter is due merely to a clerical error<sup>6</sup>, the accuracy of the date thus given accidentally by the present work cannot be cited in its favour.

72. From the Chronicle, with the addition of the adverb 'opprobriose.'

<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the compiler of the Annals has substituted *magni* for *famosi*.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, § 35, p. lix, above.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, § 92, p. cxxx, above.

<sup>4</sup> *Codex Diplomaticus*, iv. p. 176.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Jaffé-Wattenbach, i. 426.

<sup>6</sup> See note to c. 65, p. 286, above.



73. This chapter is founded upon the preface to Einhard's *Life of Charles the Great*, the author repeating or slightly altering many of the sentences, as may be seen from the following quotation: 'Vitam et conversationem et ex parte non modica res gestas domini et nutritoris mei Karoli, excellentissimi et merito famosissimi regis, postquam scribere animus tulit, quanta potui brevitate complexus sum; operam impendens, ut de his, quae ad meam notitiam pervenire potuerunt, nihil omitterem, neque prolixitate narrandi nova quaeque fastidientium animos offenderem.'

73, 2 portum optatae quietis. See note to c. 21, 9, above.

74. This chapter is supplied entirely by the author, and it is an instructive specimen of his confused arrangement and puzzling phraseology. It has hence given rise to misunderstandings, which have been advanced as arguments against the authenticity of the work<sup>1</sup>. But even when these have been cleared up, there remains much that it is difficult to accept. These features are probably due to the author's Celtic love of exaggeration and rhetoric, coupled with the naïve credulity of his time. He has probably developed or misunderstood what Alfred told him regarding his early life, and has fallen a victim to the temptation besetting all biographers—that of seeing in their hero their ideal of a noble character. In this case the ideal is of a somewhat morbidly religious nature.

The author starts by telling us that Alfred was seized shortly after his prolonged wedding-feast, which is placed in his twentieth year (line 9), as in c. 29, with an illness that was unknown to his physicians<sup>2</sup>. From this he suffered intermittently from his twentieth to his fortieth year and beyond, which is more accurately defined as until his forty-fifth year in line 65 and in c. 91, 4, the year in which the *Life* was written (c. 91, 4). He suffered either from the illness itself or from fear of it daily and hourly (line 65, and c. 91, 6). The author then mentions the suggestions that had been made as to its nature. Some ascribed it to 'favor

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 67, p. ciii, above.

<sup>2</sup> The unknown nature of his 'infirmities' is also mentioned in c. 25, 9.

et fascinati<sup>o</sup> of the surrounding people, which, if the reading be correct, may mean something like the evil eye or perhaps infection. Others thought it was due to the envy of the devil; others to an unusual sort of fever, while others again thought that it was the *ficus*. From the latter disease Alfred had suffered from his infancy. This leads the author to relate how Alfred, when he was hunting in Cornwall (evidently some time before his marriage), prayed by the tomb of St. Gueriir that God would change his infirmity into some lighter one, which should not appear outwardly so as to render him an object of contempt to men. The author explains that Alfred feared leprosy or blindness<sup>1</sup>. Shortly afterwards Alfred's prayers were granted, and the illness entirely disappeared, although, as the author explains, Alfred was visited by this infirmity in answer to prayers offered up by him in his youth. The author then explains, although (as he for once says) in reverse order, how Alfred had prayed for some infliction that should enable him to preserve chastity before his marriage, and that he had prayed that the infliction might be one that should not make him worthless or useless in the affairs of the world. In answer he was afflicted with the *ficus*, from which he suffered until it was removed in response to his prayers before St. Gueriir's tomb. This is in flat contradiction to the statement in line 17 that he had suffered from this disease from his infancy, and there is a similarity about the requests contained in the prayers. The author then tells us that Alfred suffered from this *ficus* long and severely for many years. This, again, is an obvious exaggeration, if, as we are told in the second story, he incurred it in his youth and if it was cured before his marriage, which happened in his twentieth year. The author then reverts to the mysterious affliction with which Alfred was smitten at his wedding-feast.

Although there is a certain resemblance in outline between the two stories of Alfred's prayers for a change of his infirmity and for a new infliction, there are too many differences to admit the suggestion that we have here two

<sup>1</sup> We may surely recognize a characteristic piece of exaggeration here. Neither leprosy nor blindness could be described as 'lighter' afflictions than the *ficus*; certainly no affliction could be greater than the former, and few worse than the second.

alternative accounts of the same event. Both seem from the style to proceed from the same writer, so that there is little ground for the theory of interpolation or blundered copying<sup>1</sup>. But if the author did not intend one of these accounts to supersede the other, it is probable that he has applied the same details to both, although they probably belonged only to one of them.

The information concerning the final affliction is insufficient to identify it. It has been suggested that it was epilepsy, but this could hardly be mistaken for *ficus*. That name was applied amongst the English before the Norman Conquest to haemorrhoids<sup>2</sup>, which may possibly have been the complaint from which Alfred suffered.

**74, 18 Cornubiam.** After the defeat of the united Danish and Cornish armies by Ecgberht at Hengestesdun (Hingston Down, co. Cornwall), which is entered in the Chron. under 835, we hear nothing of any warlike actions on the part of the Welsh inhabitants of Cornwall against Alfred's house in the ninth century. According to Dunstan's letter about the western bishoprics, Ecgberht gave three estates in Cornwall to the bishop of Sherborne<sup>3</sup>, and these were still in the hands of the church in Dunstan's time. Alfred himself had estates in Cornwall<sup>4</sup>. In c. 81, 30 he is made to give to the author of the Life lands in Cornwall.

**74, 20 Gueriir.** The *Gueryr* of Camden, which is reproduced by the later editors, is, probably, an emendation. The name in Welsh is *Gwrhyr*, corresponding to the Irish *Ferghoir*, meaning apparently 'good shouter'<sup>5</sup>.

**74, 20 et nunc etiam Sanctus Niot ibidem pausat.**

<sup>1</sup> Freeman, *Dict. Nat. Biography*, i. p. 159, remarks that these tales of sickness seem 'to have received legendary additions; but the general outline of the story seems to be trustworthy.' The agreement in style with the rest of the work is an objection to the suggestion here made.

<sup>2</sup> See Cockayne, *Leechdoms*, iii. p. 30, 16. It was also applied to other disorders, like the Greek *σῦκον, συκία*.

<sup>3</sup> Crawford Charters, no. vii; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 277. See p. 322, below.

<sup>4</sup> See his will, *Cart. Sax.* ii. p. 178, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Rhys, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom*, Hibbert Lectures, 1886, p. 489. Camden's explanation of the name of this saint as meaning 'physician' is based upon the Cornish *guerir*, 'to cure.' But this seems to be merely the French *guérir*, and hence was probably not introduced until after the Norman Conquest.

These words are clearly an interpolation<sup>1</sup>. We are unable to decide whether they occurred in the MSS. used by the compilers of the Annals of St. Neots and of the first part of Simeon of Durham, as they both passed over this chapter in silence. Nothing whatever is known of St. Gueriir beyond this mention of his place of burial in Cornwall. It is evident that his fame was rapidly obscured by that of St. Neot, for this place bore the name of Neotesstou in the Domesday Survey<sup>2</sup>, and is still known as St. Neot. The date of St. Neot's death is unknown, but this interpolation, which was made some time between 893, the date of the composition of the *Life*, and 1000, the approximate date of the Cottonian MS., harmonizes with the statements in the lives of this saint that he was ordained by Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester<sup>3</sup>. His death would, according to this, occur in the latter part of the tenth century. Some time before 1020 his body is said to have been conveyed from Cornwall to Eynesbury, co. Hunts<sup>4</sup>, where the monastery of St. Neots has made his name familiar. The monastery at Eynesbury was founded some time between 978 and 984 by Leofric, and Leoflæd his wife. This information was derived by the twelfth-century compiler of the Ely history from a contemporary deed then in the abbey<sup>5</sup>. He states, however, that St. Neot had founded a monastery on this site, but this is evidently an attempt to account for the monastery bearing his name. It is clear that St. Neot was not connected with the foundation at Eynesbury until the removal of his body thither. This must have occurred some time after the foundation by Leofric and Leoflæd. Mr. Gorham assigns it to 974<sup>6</sup>, but to do this he has to ignore the matter-of-fact account of the foundation given by the Ely writer, and to substitute the names of the founders given in the untrust-

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 26, p. xlix, above.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. p. 121, col. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See note to c. 53 b, p. 258, above.

<sup>4</sup> His body is described as lying there in the list of English saints and their burial-places, which was compiled about 1020 (Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, p. 13, ii. no. 24; *Liber Vitae* of Hyde, p. 90).

<sup>5</sup> *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Stewart, p. 143. The deed was written in Old English in triplicate.

<sup>6</sup> *History and Antiquities of Eynesbury and St. Neot's*, p. 47 sqq., followed by the editors of the *Monasticon*, iii. p. 461.

worthy lives of St. Neot, and to date it by means of the deed relating to Leofric and Leoflæd. This is a monstrous mixture of true and false. It is probable that the body of the saint was still reposing in Cornwall at the time when the Cottonian MS. of the Life was written, for the writer was evidently unaware of the removal of his relics to Huntingdonshire<sup>1</sup>. Goscelin's Life of St. Ives mentions the presence of an 'inlyta matrona' named Ethelfledis at the dedication of the church of Ramsey abbey in the time of Abbot Eadnoth, 993-1008, and states that she had founded the monastery at Eynesbury<sup>2</sup>. There were several ladies bearing this name about this date<sup>3</sup>, but it is not possible to identify any of them with Goscelin's Ethelfledis. Little reliance can be placed upon this late eleventh-century writer of saints' lives, for he invented such details as he lacked in compiling his lives of saints<sup>4</sup>. If the Crowland story preserved by Ordericus Vitalis can be trusted, the body of St. Neot was at Eynesbury some time before the end of the tenth century, and was handed over by Leofgifu (*Levioua*), the lady of Eynesbury, to her brother Turketul, abbot of Crowland, and it was said to rest in that abbey at the time when Ordericus visited it<sup>5</sup>. This was about 1115<sup>6</sup>. It is a suspicious story, as, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> It is somewhat curious that the words 'sublevatus est' occur in the British Museum transcript (B) and in Parker's and all the subsequent editions of the Life, instead of the 'suatim utens' of the Corpus transcript, which was evidently the reading in the Cottonian MS. Was this falsification of the text derived from a marginal note, which Parker regarded as a gloss upon, or correction of, 'suatim utens'? As it stands in the text, this interpolation is unintelligible.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Bodl. 285, fo. 102 verso, col. 1 (printed from a transcript in Leland, *Itinerary*, iv. appendix, p. 22, ed. Hearne, p. 149). The text in the *Acta Sanctorum*, Junii tom. ii. p. 290, does not contain this passage.

<sup>3</sup> The Ramsey obituary records the death of 'Ethelfleda comitissa,' wife of Ealdorman Æthelwine 'Dei Amicus,' in 977 (*Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia*, iii. pp. 165, cf. 166); and in 997 of another countess of the same name, the wife of Ethelwold (an error for Ælfwold; cf. *Vita S. Oswaldi*, p. 429), the brother of Æthelwine (*ibid.* i. 268; iii. p. 167). The dates in the Ramsey obituary are seriously in error in some cases.

<sup>4</sup> For an example of this see Introduction, p. c, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, ed. Le Prevost, lib. iv. c. 16, ii. p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 268; Delisle, in vol. v. p. xxxvi of Le Prevost's edition.



anything coming from that factory of fraud, Crowland, must be.

75. This chapter is due to the author, and its statements seem to be correct. Alfred mentions three daughters, the number here assigned to him, in his will<sup>1</sup>. In that instrument he also refers to his two sons, but the elder, Edward, is alone mentioned by name<sup>2</sup>. Florence of Worcester has an entry, not found in any existing MS. of the Chron., that the Clito Æthelweard, brother of King Edward, died on October 16, 922, and was buried at Winchester. An 'Æthelweard, frater regis,' witnesses a spurious Winchester charter bearing the name of King Alfred<sup>3</sup>. This is either derived from the present passage or from the 'Æthelweard, frater (or filius) regis,' who occurs frequently in the Winchester, Hyde, and Wilton charters ascribed to Edward the Elder<sup>4</sup>. Ælfhryth, who is here described as unmarried,

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 178, 25, where he makes bequests to his eldest, his middle, and his youngest daughter.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 177, 25; 178, 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 207, 10. It contains a reference to payment of Danegeld, which was not known in Alfred's time.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 232, 35; 241, 14; 242, 28; 244, 20; 247, 28; 249, 41; 251, 24; 253, 29; 257, 26; 261, 28; 262, 22 (Ealdereð); 271, 28; 273, 40; 275, 34; 285, 17; 289, 4; 293, 8; 295, 8; 298, 26; 301, 37 (called *episcopus* by a clerical error); 303, 33; 305, 7 (called *episcopus*). The Hyde *Liber Vitae* states that a son of Edward, named 'Ætheluerdus Clito,' predeceased him (p. 6, 19). This is probably the Clito Æthelweard of Florence. Nothing is otherwise known of this son of Edward, the Ethelwardus of William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 120 (p. 136), being probably an instance of the common confusion by twelfth-century writers of Æthel- and Ælf-. The death of Edward's son Ælfweard is entered in the Chron. under 924. It is possible that this Æthelweard, son of King Edward, may be due to the writer of the account in the Hyde book taking Edward's brother for his son, either through mistaking *frater* for *filius*, or because the latter witnessed as 'filius regis,' meaning son of King Alfred, not of the reigning king. Thus the 'Oswealdus, filius regis,' who witnesses a genuine charter of Alfred, dated 875 (*Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 40, early tenth cent. ?; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 159, 2), would seem to have been the son of one of Alfred's brothers, unless he was one of Alfred's children who died in infancy (line 5 above). He occurs with the same description in a doubtful Winchester and a doubtful Abingdon charter bearing the name of King Æthelred (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 135, 37; 140, 11). On the other hand, it may be that Florence is in error in describing Æthelweard as brother of Edward the Elder. But he had probably some grounds for this, for if he met with 'Æthelweard Clito' without any other

became later the wife of Baldwin II of Flanders, the son of Judith, Alfred's step-mother<sup>1</sup>. Æthelflæd, the famous lady of the Mercians, is well known. Her marriage with Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, is here referred to some date earlier than 893. She witnesses, as wife of Æthelred, a Worcester charter, dated 880, which, if genuine, must be a mistake for 887, with which year the Indiction agrees<sup>2</sup>. As Alfred's marriage occurred in 869 (c. 29), Æthelflæd, who is described in the *Life* as the eldest child, could have been only eleven or twelve years of age in 880. She witnesses, next to Æthelred, another Worcester charter dated 889, which may be genuine<sup>3</sup>. Of Æthelgeofu little is known beyond this passage.

**75, 16 schola.** It is evident from c. 76, 33 that this was not a school in the modern sense of the term, but that it resulted from Alfred's causing the young nobles who were brought up, according to custom, in the court to be educated with his own children, and that he had added a sprinkling of promising youths of lowly origin, in accordance with his view expressed in the preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*<sup>4</sup>. His provision for the expenses of this school is described in c. 102, 17.

**76.** This chapter is the composition of the author. The interest of Alfred in Saxon literature, referred to in line 9, is in accordance with the evidence afforded by his works. Of his religious observances it is more difficult to procure proof, but his religious character, which is established independently of the *Life* by the testimony of his translations and his prefaces to them, renders it probable that the information conveyed by the author of the *Life* is true. It is easy also to believe that he was interested in the investigation of unknown things. We find evidences of this in his interviews with the Northmen Ohthere and Wulfstan, and in the

description he would naturally have concluded that he was the son of Edward.

<sup>1</sup> See Stubbs, William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xlv., note 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 167, 27, the date of which is accepted by Green, *Conquest of England*, p. 144, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 201, 15. Concerning this charter see Introduction, p. lxvi, note 3, and p. 151, note 2, and note to c. 22, 4, above.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, § 72, p. cvi, and § 89, p. cxxiv, above.

other additions of geographical information to his translation of Orosius. The improvement in the building of ships, recorded in the Chron. under 897, which is directly ascribed to him, is proof of his powers of observation and invention<sup>1</sup>. His interest in foreigners (line 21) is supported by the independent evidence that he received Asser from Wales, Grimbold from Frankland, and John the Old Saxon, while we have proof of the employment of Frisians in his fleet in the Chron. under 897. That work also records under 891 that three Scots from Ireland who landed in Cornwall proceeded to his court, where they must have imparted to the king the information given in this annal. Of his reception of Danes we have evidence in the case of Ohthere and Wulfstan. Thus we possess proof that he entertained at his court or had in his service representatives of all the races mentioned by the author of the Life, with the exception of the Bretons (*Armorici*). The training of the sons of the nobility at the court (line 32) seems to have been the usual practice then as at later times, but the innovation of teaching them letters (line 35 and c. 75, 13) was due to Alfred's initiative.

**76, 31 ministeriales.** This is a Frankish-Latin term not found in O.E. documents, and its use is due to the Frankish element in the vocabulary of the author<sup>2</sup>. From the time of Charles the Great the word was applied to certain court officials, though not to those of the highest rank, and has reference to the office (*ministerium*) about the person of the emperor with which each of them was charged<sup>3</sup>. The author uses the term correctly, for he mentions the *ministeriales* after the *comites ac nobiles* and as distinct from the *familiares*.

**76, 50 praestabuntur vobis.** This reading occurs in the Old Latin version of the Bible in the St. Germain MS.<sup>4</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also the account in the present work of his invention of time-candles, c. 104 sqq.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, § 58, p. xciv, above.

<sup>3</sup> See Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. 2, iii, 529; v, 323; Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i, 234 sqq.; R. Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. 3, pp. 139, 433. The Frankish word came into English after the Norman Conquest with a specialized sense, and survives in the form 'minstrel.'

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Wordsworth, *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, no. 1, Oxford, 1883.

and in the eighth- or ninth-century Book of Armagh<sup>1</sup>, and also in St. Hilary of Poitiers<sup>2</sup>.

**76, 62 velut apis prudentissima.** The comparison of the gathering of information to the operations of bees in collecting honey occurs again in c. 88, 39. As we have suggested<sup>3</sup>, the metaphor may be borrowed from Aldhelm, by whom it was elaborated even more than by the author of the Life<sup>4</sup>. The metaphor, which was common among classical<sup>5</sup> and later writers<sup>6</sup>, was a favourite one with the writers of the Caroline renaissance. It is employed by Alcuin<sup>7</sup> and, in a passage that has several features in common with those in the Life, in the Life of St. Eloi<sup>8</sup>. It is also found in the ninth-century Life of St. Egil, abbot of Fulda, by Candidus<sup>9</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> Wordsworth and White, *Novum Testamentum Latine*, Oxford, 1889-98.

<sup>2</sup> Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*, Remis, 1743.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, § 60, p. xcv, above.

<sup>4</sup> *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, c. 4 (ed. Giles, p. 3): 'Attamen solertissimae apis industrium praedictis exemplorum formulis coaptari posse, uberrima rerum experimenta liquido declarant, quae roscido facessente crepusculo et exorto limpidissimi solis iubare densos extemplo tripudiantium turmarum exercitus per patentes campos gregatim diffundunt. Modo melligeris caltarum frondibus seu purpureis malvarum floribus incubantes, mulsa nectaris stillicidia guttatim rostro decerpunt, et velut lento careni defruto, quod regalibus ferculis conficitur, avida viscerum receptacula certatim implere contendunt,' &c.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Lucretius, iii. 9; Seneca, *Epist.* 84, § 3.

<sup>6</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnaliorum Praefatio*, § 5, which is merely a repetition of the words of Seneca.

<sup>7</sup> *Vita Sancti Willibrordi*, c. 4: 'ex eorum propinquitate mellifluos pietatis carperet flores, et in sui pectoris alveario dulcissimos virtutum favos construeret.'

<sup>8</sup> Ed. Krusch, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, 'Scriptorum Rerum Merovingicarum' tom. iv. 679, 13: 'quasi apis prudentissima diversos ex diversis flores legens, in alvearium sui pectoris optima quaeque recondebat.' It is possible that this is based upon the passage cited in the preceding note from Alcuin. Krusch believes that the Life of St. Eloi is a Carolingian production (p. 645).

<sup>9</sup> *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ii. 98, 20:

Utque apis esuriens primo cum tempore veris  
enitens paribus volitat per gramina pennis,  
campigenosque sibi certat decerpere flores,  
altius inde volans glaucas stridentibus alis  
nunc salices, nunc namque pyrum platanumque nitentem  
floribus ore legit, tiliam fervore recenti hinc  
mellifluam satagit caeco sub condere tecto:

and is used by the Irish Sedulius<sup>1</sup>, who wrote in Frankland about the middle of the century. In England it is found in the tenth century in Edgar's *Regularis Concordia Monachorum*<sup>2</sup>, in the Life of St. Oswald of York<sup>3</sup>, the Life of St. Dunstan<sup>4</sup>, and in a letter written to Archbishop Æthelgar of Canterbury between 988 and 990<sup>5</sup>.

76, 68 *quaerens extrinsecus quod intrinsecus non habebat, id est, in proprio regno.* This lack of scholars in Wessex is in accordance with what is stated in c. 24, 9, and is supported by Alfred's own evidence in the preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*<sup>6</sup>.

77. This chapter is the composition of the author.

77, 10 *Plegmundum.* Plegmund became archbishop of Canterbury in 890, but it is probable that he was with Alfred some time before his election to the primacy. The Life is therefore probably correct in describing him as an instructor of the king before the latter had learned to read (c. 77, 10), that is before 887 (c. 87). The Life mentions Plegmund as one of the scholars who had been attracted by the king to his court before the arrival of the author, which seems to be referred to 884, but the date is not clear<sup>7</sup>. It is noticeable that Plegmund's name does not occur in Alfred's will, which was made between 873 and 888<sup>8</sup>. Werferth, bishop of Worcester, who is also mentioned by the Life as a literary assistant of the king, receives a considerable bequest. His arrival is assigned by

haud secus hic iuuenis librorum carmine primum  
corticibus veluti rasis quis pascitur acris,  
donec vi quoque non propria, sed munere Christi  
proficiens aetate simul sensuque sagaci  
pasci promeruit umbrati nectaris haustu.

<sup>1</sup> *Liber de Rectoribus Christianis*, c. 20, ed. Mai, *Spicilegium Romanum*, Romae, 1842, viii, p. 67: 'sic et apes ex diversis floribus colligunt, quibus gratissimos favos artificiosa dispositione componunt, hos itaque apices velut enchiridion vestri sagacitas ingenii saepius transcurrando perlegat.'

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 423, 2; Selden, *Notae ad Eadmerum*, Opera, ii. 1614.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Raine, *Historians of York*, i. 423.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 387.

<sup>6</sup> See below, p. 225, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> See Introduction, p. lxxii, above.

<sup>8</sup> See Introduction, p. lxxvii, note 3, above.



the Life to an earlier date than that of Plegmund, and in this its testimony harmonizes with the evidence of the will, which would therefore seem to have been executed before Plegmund entered the king's service, or before he had been there long enough to earn Alfred's gratitude.

77, 12 Æthelstan et Werwulfum, sacerdotes et capellanos. The former is probably the alleged envoy of Alfred to Rome and India<sup>1</sup>. An 'Æðelstan presbiter' witnesses a Winchester charter dated 979, for 879<sup>2</sup>, but he is described as 'dux' in another Winchester text<sup>3</sup>. An 'Æðelstan sacerdos' witnesses a Canterbury charter of 898<sup>4</sup>, and an 'Æðelstan presbyter' occurs in a spurious Winchester charter of 901 in close proximity to a 'Werwulf presbyter<sup>5</sup>,' and priests named Werwulf and Æthelstan witness side by side several other Winchester texts in 909<sup>6</sup>. But this raises a suspicion that the names may have been taken from the Life, and the Winchester chartulary is of such exceedingly bad repute that one cannot feel any confidence in the texts coming from it and bearing the name of Edward the Elder<sup>7</sup>. Æthelstan and Werwulf are mentioned in other charters<sup>8</sup>, but there is not one that is

<sup>1</sup> See above. note to c. 65, p. 289.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 170, 15.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 163, 12.

<sup>4</sup> *Ord. Survey Facs.* i. pl. 12 (see p. 290, note 1, above); *Cart. Sax.* ii. 220, 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 241, 19, 21; 242, 32, 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 285, 25, 26; 289, 12, 13; 293, 16, 17; 295, 18, 19; 298, 34, 35; 300, 9, 10; 302, 5, 6; 303, 41, 42; 305, 7. Upon the first of these charters (*Brit. Mus. Facs.* iv. pl. 10), see p. 322, note 6, below.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 149, note 6, above.

<sup>8</sup> 'Æðelstan presbyter' occurs in a spurious Wilton charter of 901 (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 232, 26), a Winchester one of 902 (*ibid.* ii. 252, 21, 23, 24, three of the name, evidently members of the monastery at Winchester), a Wilton text of 903 (*ibid.* ii. 253, 32, where he is described as 'mess(e-preost)'), and in Winchester charters of 904 and 909 (*ibid.* ii. 274, 3; 275, 39; 290, 26). An 'Æþelstan cle icus' of Winchester abbey is mentioned at ii. 280, 16; 290, 34. 'Werulf presbyter' witnesses a spurious Wilton charter of 892 (*ibid.* ii. 209, 23), a Malmesbury charter of about the same date, but without description (*ibid.* ii. 210, 23) and another of 901, where he is called 'minister' (*ibid.* ii. 228, 21). He occurs as 'presbyter' in a Hyde charter of 900 (*ibid.* ii. 261, 35, blundered into *Woenulf*), an Abingdon charter of 903 (*ibid.* ii. 255, 31), and in two from Winchester dated 904 (*ibid.* ii. 273, 41; 275, 37). In some of these the witnesses seem to have been taken from the Life.

altogether free from doubt. The Worcester chartulary, however, contains a demise for two lives to Werwulf the priest from Bishop Werfrith of Worcester, which was made in 899 'pro nostra antiqua sodalitate et sua fideli amicitia atque oboedientia<sup>1</sup>.' This text seems to be genuine, and its evidence that Werwulf was a friend of Bishop Werfrith confirms the statement in the present chapter that he was a Mercian. Æthelstan is probably the person of that name who was consecrated bishop of Ramsbury upon the division of the West-Saxon sees in 909.

77, 13 *capellanos*. In c. 104, 2, 7, the 'capellani' are described as supplying the king with candles for measuring time. The word 'capellanus' is of exclusively Frankish origin, being at first the title of the clerks (*clerici capellani*) who were charged with the custody of the cope (*cappa*) of St. Martin<sup>2</sup>, the most precious of the possessions of the Frankish kings. The place where it was kept was known as the 'capella.' From this has descended our meaning of 'chapel.' As early as 829 the term is applied to the emperor's private chapel in the palace at Aachen<sup>3</sup>. The early names for chapels were *oratoria*, *basilicae*, or *martyria*<sup>4</sup>. The chief chaplain, usually an eminent ecclesiastic, had naturally the care of the clerks of the palace, and filled the office represented later by the chancellor<sup>5</sup>. The imperial 'capella' remained long a school more for the service of the state than of the church, and many secular duties were discharged by its members<sup>6</sup>. The words 'chapel' and 'chaplain' do not appear to have reached England until the Norman Conquest<sup>7</sup>, when the invaders brought with

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 223, 7.

<sup>2</sup> See the quotation from Walafrid Strabo given in Waitz, *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. 2, iii. p. 516, note 1, and Waitz's remarks on that and the following pages.

<sup>3</sup> Waitz, *ibid.* note 3, citing the annals ascribed to Einhard.

<sup>4</sup> E. Loening, *Geschichte des deutschen Kirchenrechts*, ii. 353.

<sup>5</sup> Waitz, vi. p. 345. See Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, ed. 2, p. 483; Harry Bresslau, *Handbuch der Urkundenlehre*, i. p. 327.

<sup>6</sup> Waitz, vi. pp. 337, 340 sqq.

<sup>7</sup> *Capellae* in the modern sense are mentioned in clumsy Glastonbury forgeries bearing the dates 725 and 971 (*Cart. Sax.* i. 208, 41; 209, 20; iii. 575, 35), and in an equally clumsy Crowland fabrication bearing the date 1032 (*Cod. Dipl.* iv. 42, 8). Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* iii. c. 23, describes

them many other survivals of Frankish usages. With them 'chaplain' seems to have usually and predominantly its modern sense, but the tradition of the connexion with the chancery long existed<sup>1</sup>. It is, unfortunately, not clear whether the author of the Life uses the word in the later sense, or whether he applies it to clerks of Alfred's court, whom he found discharging duties corresponding roughly to those of the imperial 'capellani.' In both passages the word may be translated with either meaning without violating the sense. But from the date of the lost MS. it is probable that the word had the early meaning, and this seems to be supported by the description in the present passage of Æthelstan and Werwulf as 'sacerdotes et capellani,' which Florence of Worcester evidently considered as pleonastic, for he omitted the 'et capellanos.' But whatever may be the exact meaning to be given to the word in the Life, its appearance is clearly due to Frankish influence<sup>2</sup>, a conclusion that holds good whether the Life be as old as it purports to be or as young as the date of the lost MS.

78. This chapter is due to the author.

78, 3 **Galliam.** Frankland was naturally the country that Alfred would send to for scholars. His father had in his service as secretary the Frank Felix<sup>3</sup>. The Frankish schools in Alfred's time were in a very efficient condition, and attracted scholars even from Ireland<sup>4</sup>. The selection of

a chaplain of a Northumbrian king as one 'qui ipsi ac familie ipsius verbum et sacramenta fidei (erat enim presbyter) ministrare solebat.' In Leofric's *Missal*, p. 2 a, Leofric is described as a 'capellanus' of Edward the Confessor, but this passage was written after the Norman Conquest.

<sup>1</sup> The 'Constitutio Domus Regis,' which is in its present form as old as the beginning of the reign of Henry II, contains no trace of this connexion (*Liber Niger Scaccarii*, ed. Hearne, ed. 2, i. p. 341; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hubert Hall, iii. 807). Eadmer, however, records under 1121 that Henry I appointed two clerks of his chapel, one of whom, Robert (de Sigillis), was keeper of his seal under the chancellor, to bishoprics (*Historia Novorum*, p. 290). It is more remarkable to find King John in 1207 describing Godfrey the Spigurnel (which was an office of the chancery connected with the sealing of the royal writs) as a 'servant of his chapel' (*Rot. Chartarum*, p. 169 a).

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, § 58, p. xciv.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 225.

<sup>4</sup> See the passage in Heiric's preface to the *Vita Sancti Galli*, composed between 875-877, in which he dilates upon the eminence of the

scholars seems clearly to have been made with a view to the relationship of their native tongues to English<sup>1</sup>.

A probable proof of Alfred's connexion with Frankish scholars is to be found in two anagrams in his honour, which have been printed from a ninth-century Berne MS. The first is written in the MS. in O.E. letters:

Admiranda mihi mens est transcurrere gesta

Ex arce astrifera cito si redis arbiter inde

Lex etiam docuit typice portendere Frede

Flagranti simul moles mundi arserit igne

Rex formasti habens melius gnarum, optime, flammis

Eripis atque chaos vincens, Christe, ipse necasti

Divino super astra frui per saecula vultu.

En tibi descendant e caelo Gratiae totae,

Laetus eris semper, Aelfred, per compita vitae

Fletus iam mentem sacris satiare querela,

Recte doces properans falsa dulcedine mure.

Ecce aptas clara semper lucrare taltan

Docte peregrinae transcurre rura sophiae<sup>2</sup>.

**78, 4 Grimbaldum.** Goscelin, the eleventh-century hagiologist, who is said to have come from the famous Flemish monastery of St. Bertin of Sithiu<sup>3</sup>, at St. Omer (Pas-de-Calais), wrote a Life of St. Grimbald, which has not come down to us<sup>4</sup>. In it he asserted that Grimbald came from the monastery of St. Bertin, and his statement is supported by the much higher authority of the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde Abbey<sup>5</sup>, the monastery with which Grimbald was connected. This was written a century after Grimbald's

Frankish schools, by which, he says, even the Greeks were filled with envy (*Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, iii. p. 429).

<sup>1</sup> See note to c. 78, 4, p. 311, below.

<sup>2</sup> *Carmina Medii Aevi, maximam partem inedita . . . edidit Hermannus Hagen*, Bernae, 1877, p. 11, nos. 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 342 (p. 389).

<sup>4</sup> An abstract of it is given by Leland in his *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, i. p. 18, and portions of it are preserved in a lectionary of St. Bertin (Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, sec. 5, p. 3). Abbot John of Ypres, who wrote in the fourteenth century a history of the monastery, cites a 'legenda, quam de ipso (scil. Grimbaldo) canimus in ecclesia Dei' (Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, iii. col. 510).

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Birch, p. 5.

death, but it is probably founded upon a tradition in the monastery or upon some earlier record, and hence may be accepted as true. Grimbald was preceded or accompanied by a letter from Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, 883-900, recommending him to Alfred<sup>1</sup>. Fulco was abbot of St. Bertin prior to his accession to the see of Rheims, and the abbacy was afterwards conferred upon him, at the request of the monks, in order to preclude Baldwin II, Count of Flanders<sup>2</sup>, who became the son-in-law of Alfred. Baldwin wished to become lay-abbot of the monastery, a position subsequently obtained by him and handed on to his sons Adalolf (who must surely have been named after King Æthelwulf) and Arnulf the Old. Upon the death of Abbot Rodulf on January 4, 892, the monks of St. Bertin sent one of their brethren named Grimbald to Fulco to seek his aid against Baldwin. The archbishop went to the king, and eventually the abbacy was committed to him with the consent of the monks<sup>3</sup>. Bishop Stubbs fixed the date of Grimbald's arrival in England as subsequent to this mission to Fulco<sup>4</sup>. But it is not certain that the envoy to

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Wise in his edition of Asser, p. 123, whence it is reprinted in *Cart. Sax.* ii. p. 190. Wise states in his notice to the reader that it was communicated to him by Thomas Ford, M.A., rector of Banwell, and that it was written 'in fine vetusti MS. Evangelii.' Sir Thomas D. Hardy has identified this as a tenth-century evangelary at Crowcombe Court, Somerset, which contains Ford's autograph (*Second Report of the Historical MSS. Commission*, appendix, p. 75). He does not state that the copy of the letter is in the same hand as the evangelary. Stubbs inferred that the copy was also written in a tenth-century hand, for he states that the letter exists 'in manuscripts so ancient as to free it from the taint of forgery' (Preface to Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xliv). The only other MS. containing it is the late *Liber de Hyda*, pp. 31 sqq. It, however, seems to be genuine. There is no conceivable motive for forging such a letter. We can discover no grounds for Paul's condemnation of it (*König Ælfréd*, p. 195, note 2). As Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 122 (p. 130), states that Grimbald was sent to Alfred at his request by the archbishop of Rheims, he would seem to have been acquainted with this letter.

<sup>2</sup> Folcwin, *Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium*, c. 98, ap. Pertz, *Scriptores*, xiii. p. 624. This work was written in 962.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Preface to Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. xliv. He had some doubts as to the truth of the statements, for which he cites the untrustworthy work of Jchn of Ypres (ap. Martene and Durand, iii. col. 533).



Fulco and Alfred's friend are one and the same, for Grimbald was not an uncommon name at St. Bertin's, and we have, indeed, a record of a monk of this name who was an old man in 944<sup>1</sup>, and may hence conceivably be the same person as the envoy of 892. Goscelin placed Grimbald's arrival in England in 885, but no reliance can be placed upon this date. He seems to have derived it from the *Life*, and, it is worthy of note, from some copy that was free from the error in the Cottonian MS. by reason of which the events of 885, the last date mentioned previous to this chapter, appear under 884 (c. 66). If we could place any reliance upon the arrangement of the text by the author of the *Life*, we should have to conclude that Grimbald came to Alfred's court at or about the same time as he did himself, that is before 887<sup>2</sup>. Archbishop Fulco writes to Alfred, in the letter mentioned above, that he has unwillingly consented to accede to his request to send to him Grimbald, a priest and monk (exactly the description given of him in the *Life*), whom he highly valued. He does not mention Grimbald's monastery, but as Fulco was abbot of St. Bertin even after he became archbishop, it is probable that Grimbald was a monk of that house. If Grimbald was the envoy of the monks in 892 to Fulco, there might be some reason for sending him to England to escape the wrath of the violent Baldwin. John of Ypres makes him flee thither out of fear of the count, but after the murder of Fulco in 900.

Grimbald appears as a witness to a charter of 895<sup>3</sup>, but it is a clumsy forgery of much later times<sup>4</sup>. He is thanked

<sup>1</sup> Folwin, c. 107 (Pertz, xiii. p. 629, 22). This writer mentions two monks of this name, 'quos ego iuvenulus et paene ultimus recordor in hoc monasterio vixisse' (c. 111, *ibid.* p. 633, 1, 7, 12). As he did not enter the monastery until 948 (c. 107, *ibid.* p. 629, 35), it is impossible that either of these monks could be Alfred's 'magister,' for he died in 902.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. lxxii, above. It is noticeable that the long notices of Frankish events in the *Chron.* commence with 885, but there is no proof that Grimbald or John the Old Saxon were the sources of this information or the causes of the interest thus displayed in continental affairs. Possibly the author of the *Life* may have derived from them some of the knowledge of Frankland displayed by him (Introduction, § 48, p. lxxviii, above).

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 214, 5.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 201, note 4, above.

by Alfred in the preface to his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*<sup>1</sup>, a fact that harmonizes with the statement in the Life that Alfred sent to Gaul for him as a 'magister.' This translation seems to have been written after the date of the compilation of the Life<sup>2</sup>, in which it is not mentioned. Grimbald's death is entered as a 'mass-priest' (the description applied to him in the preface to the translation of the *Pastoral Care*) in the Chron. under 903, an error for 902, the date preserved by the Annals of St. Neots<sup>3</sup>. Goscelin states that Grimbald became abbot of Newminster (later Hyde), which was founded by Edward the Elder. The history of the foundation of the abbey given in the *Liber Vitae* informs us that Edward named him head of the clerks in his new foundation<sup>4</sup>. He is not described as abbot in the notice of his death in the Chron., and his name does not appear in the list of abbots in the *Liber Vitae*. The record of Grimbald's scholarship in the Life caused him to be drawn into the apocryphal history of the University of Oxford, which flourished and grew from the fourteenth to the eighteenth century. It was this connexion with the mythical history of Oxford that caused the fabricator of Camden's interpolation (c. 83 b) to make him play so important a part in his fraudulent attempt to prove that the University existed long before Alfred's time.

Goscelin's statements that Alfred was received at St. Bertin's by Grimbald on his first journey to Rome (in 853), and that he afterwards sent John the priest (i. e. John the Old Saxon) and Asser to bring him to England, are obviously inventions of this unscrupulous writer. He evidently derived these names from the Life. It is possible that Alfred became aware of Grimbald's character for learning during the negotiations that preceded the marriage of his daughter with Baldwin, which had not occurred at the time when the Life was written<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Sweet, p. 6, 21.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. cv, above.

<sup>3</sup> Page 143, above.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Birch, p. 5: 'Qui venerabilis pater, praefato rege astipulante, clericorum huius (monasterii) praelatus congregationi, sanctae conversationis indesinenter dans operam, verbis operibusque eximiam vitam agebat monasticam.'

<sup>5</sup> See p. 300, above.

The choice of John the Old Saxon and Grimbald as literary assistants by the king was a very wise one, and seems to have been largely dictated by the close relationship of their native tongues with his own. An Old Saxon at that time could have experienced little difficulty in understanding West Saxon. Grimbald, if he was a native of the parts about St. Omer, would speak a mixed Frankish and Saxon dialect<sup>1</sup>, the former unaffected by the Old High German sound-shift. His difficulties would be somewhat greater than John's in understanding and speaking English, but they could not have been very great. It is even possible that his native tongue was little more removed from English than Old Saxon, for St. Omer adjoins a portion of Picardy (that round Boulogne), that seems from the evidence of the local names to have been settled by Saxons who were related to the conquerors of Britain even more closely than the Old Saxons<sup>2</sup>.

- 78, 8 *Iohannem*. This is, no doubt, the John who is described as an Old Saxon in c. 94, 2. In his translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*<sup>3</sup>, Alfred thanks John, his 'mass-priest,' for his assistance. Otherwise little is known of

<sup>1</sup> Archbishop Fulco, writing to the pope, describes the men of the diocese of Térouanne (St. Omer) as 'barbaricæ feritatis et linguæ' (Flodoard, *Hist. Remensis Ecclesiae*, c. iv. c. 3, ap. Pertz, *Scriptores*, xiii. 561, 35). This was from the point of view of the Romance-speaking people.

<sup>2</sup> See Waitz, *Das alte Recht der salischen Franken*, Kiel, 1846, pp. 53 sqq. These names may be found in *Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin . . . publiées par M. l'Abbé Daniel Haiguerie*, Saint-Omer, 1886; in Baron Tard's *Bibliographie historique de l'arrondissement de Saint-Omer*, St. Omer, 1887; and in the *Cartulaires de l'église de Térouanne, publiés par Th. Duchet et A. Giry*, St.-Omer, 1881; in the publications of the Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. M. Godefroi Kurth, *La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le nord de la France*, published in the 'Mémoires couronnés et autres mémoires publiés par l'Académie Royale . . . de Belgique,' collection in-8vo, vol. xlviii, Brussels, 1895-8, i. 530 sqq., has collected forty-two instances of local names ending with what he and other scholars conclude to be the specifically English compound termination *-inchon*, *-inchun* (i. e. O.E. *-inglun*). *Caestre*, *Caster*, *Chastre* (ib. i. 545), although not so described, seems to be quite as much peculiar to the English Saxons. The frequency in English local names of *-ingham* renders it possible that some of the Picard local names in *-eghem*, *-inghem*, &c. are not so exclusively Frankish as M. Kurth and other continental scholars hold.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Sweet, 6, 22; 7, 22.

him<sup>1</sup>. His name occurs as a witness to several charters<sup>2</sup>, but most of these are clearly spurious, and none of them can be accepted as evidence. His confusion with John Scotus is dealt with below<sup>3</sup>.

79. This chapter is due to the author.

79, 4 *Dexteralium*, 'south.' See above, note to c. 35, 10.

79, 7 *Dene*. This *villa regia* in Sussex is, no doubt, the Dene (dat. sing.) of Alfred's will, in which it is bequeathed to Edward, the king's eldest son<sup>4</sup>. This seems to be Dean (Eastdean and Westdean), near Eastbourne, which in the time of Edward the Confessor was held by Goda, the king's sister<sup>5</sup>.

79, 9 *famina*, 'words, conversation.' This word connects the work with the curious latinity of the *Hisperica Famina*<sup>6</sup>, one feature of which is the excessive fondness for compounds in *-men*, very many of which are unknown to classical Latin<sup>7</sup>. *Famen* had a wide currency in Frankland in and after the time of Alfred, which was, no doubt, due to the influence of Celtic scholars. In the ninth century it is

<sup>1</sup> Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, cent. iv, pars 2, p. 509, thinks that he came from the Westphalian monastery of Corvei, and that he was transferred to the mother-abbey of Corbie in Picardy, where many of the Old Saxons were educated after the conversion of their race.

<sup>2</sup> A. D. 892, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 209, 22, Wilton, spurious; 895, *ibid.* ii. 214, 7, Rochester, described as 'abbas,' spurious (see above, p. 201, note 4, upon this fabrication); 901, *ibid.* ii. 232, 26, Wilton, spurious; 904, *ibid.* ii. 261, 34, Hyde, spurious; *ibid.* ii. 273, 40, Winchester; *ibid.* ii. 275, 36, Winchester.

<sup>3</sup> See note to c. 95, p. 335, below.

<sup>4</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 178, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Domesday Survey*, i. 19, col. 1; 19 b, col. 1. Two tenants of Edward the Confessor in it are mentioned at 21, col. 2. See Introduction, p. lxxii, note 5, above.

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction, § 57, p. xci, above.

<sup>7</sup> The word is explained under *fare* (= *fari*) in a glossary printed by Cardinal Mai, *Classicorum Auctorum e Vaticanis Codicibus tom. VIII*, Rome, 1836, p. 215, 22, from a twelfth-century MS. The author of this glossary was strongly influenced by Hisperic Latinity. The glossary contains several French and English words, the entry of 'Anglia, nomen patriae; inde Anglus, et Anglicus, et Anglice, et Anglisso, id est Anglice loqui,' and a quotation from the Life of St. Edmund, p. 607, 9 (referring to c. 13 of Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Edmundi*, c. 13).

found in the metrical Life of St. Gall<sup>1</sup>, the metrical *Gesta Apollonii*<sup>2</sup>, Abbo's poem on the siege of Paris<sup>3</sup>, in the tenth century *Gesta Abbatum St. Bertini*<sup>4</sup>, &c. It is glossed by *locutio* by a late tenth-century Frankish scholar<sup>5</sup>. In England it was used by Aldhelm<sup>6</sup>, and it came into use again in the tenth century with other Frankish-Latin words. Fridegoda employs it in the early part of this century in his life of St. Wilfrid<sup>7</sup>, and it occurs in a charter of King Edgar, dated 964, the original of which was in existence at Worcester in Hicckes' time<sup>8</sup>; in the contemporary life of St. Dunstan<sup>9</sup>; in a letter written to Æthelgar, archbishop of Canterbury, in 988-90<sup>1</sup>; and in Æthelweard's Chronicle<sup>2</sup>. The word occurs in a curious long-winded formula, which seems to date from the middle of the eleventh century, although it appears under the name of Edgar<sup>3</sup>. A dubious charter of 1006-12 also uses it<sup>4</sup>.

79, 11 *sinistrali . . . parte*, 'north side.' See above, note to c. 35, 10.

79, 17 *coronatus*, 'received the clerical tonsure.' Ducange has collected numerous instances of the use of *corona* in the sense of 'tonsure'<sup>5</sup>.

79, 33 *Wintonia*. This has been usually taken to refer to Winchester. But this is difficult to reconcile with the statement in the previous line that the author had returned to his country ('*ad patriam remeavimus*'), and that he took counsel with '*nostri omnes*' (line 45), evidently the religious

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Dümmler, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ii. p. 446, 666; p. 458, 1156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 501, 593.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Winterfeld, *Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, iii. p. 102, 144.

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Pertz, *Scriptores*, xiii. p. 614, 42.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Schepps, in the *Neues Archiv*, ix. 183, glossing the *Gesta Apollonii*.

<sup>6</sup> *Opera*, ed. Giles, 138, 22; 156, 15; 180, 29; 194, 17; 198, 20. Cf. 109, 3; 112, 8, 9.

<sup>7</sup> Line 270, ed. Raine, *Historians of York*, i. p. 117.

<sup>8</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 376, 19; Hicckes, *Thesaurus*, i. p. 139.

<sup>9</sup> Ed. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, pp. 16, 22.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* p. 386, 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon. Hist. Brit.* 509 E.

<sup>3</sup> *Cart. Sax.* iii. 253, 29; 257, 5; 450, 24; 584, 14; 594, 9; *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 265, 13, 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Cod. Dipl.* iii. 354, 26, Chertsey.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Aldhelm's letter to King Gerontius (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 85, 29).



of St. Davids, without any other mention of his proceeding from Winchester to Wales, and of his returning to the former. The improbability of his lying ill for twelve months in Winchester without Alfred's having any knowledge of his presence in his kingdom forms one of the chief articles in the indictment against this work<sup>1</sup>. All the difficulties are obviated if we identify Wintonia with Caerwent (*Venta Silurum*) instead of Winchester (*Venta Belgarum*). We owe this suggestion to George North, a capable antiquary of the eighteenth century<sup>2</sup>. In its favour may be urged that in the tenth century and, no doubt, in the ninth, Caerwent was called *Guentonia* by Welshmen when writing Latin<sup>3</sup>. There was an abbey there<sup>4</sup>, where a travelling ecclesiastic would be likely to stay, and it was on the great Roman road to South Wales, by which a traveller from Wessex to St. Davids would proceed. The alteration of *Guentonia* into *Wintonia* would be a natural one for an English scribe to make<sup>5</sup>, and the presence of the English form in the Cottonian MS. may be taken as a proof that the latter was not the autograph text of the Welsh author. Possibly some of the other cases of initial *w* for *gu* are also due to alterations by the English copyists. It is possible that Asser was a native of the diocese of Llandaff<sup>6</sup>, and may therefore have been quite at home in Caerwent.

79, 34 in qua. This has been generally taken as

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 74, p. cx, above.

<sup>2</sup> He has written in his copy of Wise's edition of the Life, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library (Gough, *Sax. Lit.* 205), against this passage: 'Nullus dubito, quin cuius hanc paginam attente legenti mea sententia perplacebit, quod civitatem Belgarum, hodie Winchester, nequaquam innuebat Asserius, sed Ventam Silurum sive Caergwent, in comitatu Monmouth, quae, quamvis hodie penitus diruta, ad tempus Giraldi Cambrensis manebat.' In the reference to Giraldus he has confused Caerwent with Caerleon-on-Usk.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 220, 11, from a record of 955.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 222, 6, 'abbas Guentoniae urbis.' A 'lector urbis Guenti' occurs at p. 243, 28. St. Malo was born in Gwent (*regio Wenti*), according to the ninth-century life by Bili (*Vie inédite de Saint-Malo . . . publiée . . . par le R. P. Fr. Plaine, O. S. B.*, Rennes, 1884, p. 36; Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. p. 14).

<sup>5</sup> Giraldus Cambrensis uses the anglicized form *Winta* for Gwent (*Opera*, iii. p. 386, 9).

<sup>6</sup> See Introduction, § 42, p. lxx, above.

referring to *Wintonia*, and stress has been laid upon the improbability of the author's lying ill of fever for twelve months in Winchester<sup>1</sup>. But it is equally possible that the antecedent is *febris*<sup>2</sup>. The statement that he suffered from the fever without hope of life for twelve months and a week, by day and by night, as he adds with his characteristic love of unnecessary detail, is certainly an exaggeration. We may suspect an error in the number of the months, but the time was evidently a long one, for six months (line 28) and a little more must have elapsed before Alfred sent to inquire after him, and he tells us that he was even then unable to ride to him.

79, 38 *indiculos*, 'letters.' So *indiculum* in line 40. The Frankish character of this word may be seen from the quotations given by Ducange, who, with his marvellous sagacity, recognized that this word lurked under the blundered *indiluculos*, *indiluculum* of the printed texts of the Life. It is used in its original sense of short list or index in a note written in 359 in reference to the number of verses in the Bible<sup>3</sup>, and Symmachus employs it in the same sense<sup>4</sup>. The development from this meaning to that of 'letter' appears to be due to Frankish latinity. In England the word is seldom met with, but it was introduced into this country with other Frankish-Latin words in or before the early part of the tenth century. It is used in the attestation clause of Æthelstan in a contemporary charter of 931, where the deed itself is described as 'huius indiculi fulcimentum'<sup>5</sup>, a formula that occurs in other charters of this king from later chartularies<sup>6</sup>, and, with other words instead of *fulcimentum*, in several other texts derived from

<sup>1</sup> See note to c. 79, 33, on the preceding page.

<sup>2</sup> It has been so regarded by Joseph Stevenson in his translation, p. 467, and by Mr. Conybeare, p. 107. Dr. Giles, in his version, p. 71, refers it to Winchester.

<sup>3</sup> Printed from a ninth-century copy by Mommsen in *Hermes*, xxi. pp. 144, 146. Cf. Karl Dziatzko, *Untersuchungen über ausgewählte Kapitel des antiken Buchwesens*, Leipzig, 1900, p. 159, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Epist.* vi. 48; vii. 82, ed. Otto Seeck, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, 'Auctores Antiquissimi,' vi. part 1.

<sup>5</sup> *Brit. Mus. Facs.* iii. pl. 3; *Cart. Sax.* ii. 364, 31.

<sup>6</sup> A.D. 931, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 361, 10, Abingdon; A.D. 932, *ibid.* ii. 379, 36, Winchester; 385, 2, Shaftesbury; 388, 4, Hyde.

chartularies<sup>1</sup>, most of which seem to be genuine. It occurs in the somewhat dubious 'indiculum libertatis de Osuualdes Lauues Hundred' of about 964<sup>2</sup>, but this rubric may be a later addition.

**79, 57 Nobis.** The death of Bishop Nobis of St. Davids is recorded in the *Annales Cambriae* under 873: 'Nobis et Mouric moriuntur.' His accession to the see of St. Davids is entered under 840: 'Nobis episcopus in Miniu<sup>3</sup>.' The *Annales* are principally concerned with this diocese<sup>4</sup>.

**80.** This chapter is due to the author.

**80, 3 Hemeid.** The death of Himeyd is entered in the *Annales Cambriae* under 892: 'Himeyd moritur.' He was king of Dyfed<sup>5</sup>, *Demetia* in O.E. *Deomedum*, *Deomodum*, dat. pl., of the inhabitants), which comprised Pembrokeshire and part of Carmarthenshire<sup>6</sup>.

**80, 5 Rotri.** Rhodri Mawr (the Great), king of Gwyneth, who acquired the rule of the whole of North and Mid-Wales and Cardigan. The account given by the present work of his oppressions of Dyfed agrees with what is known of Welsh history of this date, which, however, mentions four sons of Rhodri only<sup>7</sup>. The Welsh evidence is so very fragmentary that we cannot argue that the author is wrong in the number of Rhodri's sons. The statement that the South-Welsh princes sought the protection of Alfred rests solely upon the authority of this work, but the frag-

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 311, 32; 350, 20; 359, 10; 393, 12; 395, 19; 400, 12; 401, 30; 404, 4; 406, 33; 408, 19. In the texts at ii. 363, 3; 369, 5, and 373, 21 *singraphae* is substituted for *indiculi*, and the entire phrase is represented by *hunc indiculum* at ii. 317, 2; 424, 3; 425, 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 382, 1.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Egerton Phillimore's admirable text of the Harleian MS. 3,859, a twelfth-century MS. that preserves the tenth-century form of this compilation, in *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. p. 141 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> Phillimore, l. c., p. 145. The *Nouis* of the *Liber Landavensis*, ed. Rhys and Evans, p. 216, 14, appears to be another bearer of this name. 'Nobis, episcopus Teiliau' (Llandaff) witnesses a grant entered in an early ninth-century Welsh hand in the Book of St. Chad (see the facsimile and text in *Liber Landavensis*, p. xlvi). It is not clear that he is the person who became later bishop of St. Davids. See Introduction, p. lxxi, note 3, above.

<sup>5</sup> See Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*, pp. 145, 150.

<sup>6</sup> See Mr. Phillimore's note in Owen's *Pembrokeshire*, i. 199, note 2.

<sup>7</sup> Rhys and Jones, *The Welsh People*, pp. 144 sqq. See also *Dict. of Nat. Biography*, xlvi. p. 85.

mentary annals of Wales of this period show that the 'Saxons' had considerable relations with South Wales. Rhodri himself is recorded to have been slain by the Saxons in 876 in the *Annales Cambriae*.

80, 6 Houil filius Ris, rex Gleguising. Howel (Higuel) is recorded in the *Annales Cambriae* as dying in Rome in 885<sup>1</sup>, but his death is referred to 894 by the Gwentian *Brut*<sup>2</sup>. He witnesses deeds in the time of Bishop Cerenhir of Llandaff<sup>3</sup>, and of Bishop Nud<sup>4</sup>, and of Bishop Cyfeilog<sup>5</sup>.

80, 6 Brochmail atque Fernmail filii Mouric, reges Guent. They witness, under the later Welsh forms Brochvail and Fernvail, with their father Mouric, a grant made to Llandaff in the time of Bishop Nud<sup>6</sup>. 'Brochmail filius Mouric' is recorded as a donor to Llandaff in the time of Bishop Cyfeiliog (*Cimeilliauc*, *Civeilliauc*, the successor of Nud), and he confirmed two grants made to that prelate<sup>7</sup>. This is the 'Camelgeac' who was redeemed from the Danes, who had captured him in Archenfield, by King Edward in 915<sup>8</sup>. He is recorded, upon somewhat doubtful authority, to have been consecrated by Æthelred, archbishop of Canterbury, 870-89<sup>9</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Phillimore, *Y Cymmrodor*, ix. p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. p. 207. See Heinrich Zimmer, *Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, p. 212, 15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 227, 12; 229, 12, 23; 230, 6, 20; 231, 8.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 236, 20. The cross at Llantwit, co. Glamorgan, erected by Houelt to the memory of Res, his father, has been assigned to this king (Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, p. 626; Hübnér, *Inscriptiones Britanniae Christianae*, p. 24, no. 63). But Professor Rhys has pointed out that Houelt is not the same name as Howel (*Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 1899, p. 155).

<sup>6</sup> *Liber Landavensis*, p. 226. The Welsh Annals record that Mouric was slain by the Saxons in 849. The death of another Mouric is entered in 873. The *Brut y Tywysogion* calls the latter a bishop, which may, however, be an erroneous extension of an abbreviation referring to Bishop Nobis, whose death is recorded in the same sentence.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 232-5.

<sup>8</sup> Chron. C, D, and E, Florence of Worcester. Chron. A, which is three years in advance of the real dates hereabouts, enters it under 918.

<sup>9</sup> Ralph Diceto, *Abbreuiatio Chronicorum*, ed. Stubbs, i. 138. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. 208. He was bishop before the death of King Howel (*Liber Landavensis*, p. 236), which seems to have occurred in 885 (*Annales Cambriae*, as in note 1, above).

80, 8 **Eadred, comitis**. This is clearly Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, who is called Æthered<sup>1</sup> in line 22. The confusion of Æthered with Eadred is not uncommon in late records, and it must in this case be due to the carelessness of the scribe of the Cottonian MS.

80, 10 **Helised, filius Teudubr, rex Brecheniauc**. Teudur, son of Elised, king of Brecknock, is mentioned in the *Liber Landavensis* during the episcopacy of Bishop Libiau, 927-9<sup>2</sup>.

80, 13 **Anaraut**. Anarawd, son of Rodri Mawr, king of Gwyneth. The Welsh Annals record that in 894 Anarawd with the English wasted Cardigan and Ystrat Towi, and that he died in 915. As the present work purports to have been written in 893 (c. 91, 4), Anarawd's submission to Alfred must have happened in or before that date, a conclusion that is confirmed by the Welsh evidence that he was acting with the English in 894, and by the record in the Chron. of the co-operation of some of the North-Welsh with the English in 894 (=893)<sup>3</sup>. Green's statement that the sons of Rodri submitted to Alfred in 897<sup>4</sup> is based upon some error.

81. This chapter is due to the author.

81, 9 **Leonaford**. In form this would seem to be a compound of the gen. plural of O.E. *leo*, 'lion,' but such a name is highly improbable in England. It is likely that a second *n* has been omitted by the scribe of the Cottonian MS.<sup>5</sup>, and that the name was really *Leonanford*, probably

<sup>1</sup> Upon this form of Æthelred see *Crawford Charters*, p. 109, where several ninth-century instances are given.

<sup>2</sup> Page 237, 27.

<sup>3</sup> No objection to the accuracy of the information conveyed by the author of the Life can well be founded upon the statement of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 134 (p. 148), that no English king before Æthelstan had reduced the North-Welsh princes to pay him tribute, even if this information was taken from the contemporary Latin Life of King Æthelstan that was used by Malmesbury, the source whence Malmesbury derived most of his information concerning this ruler (see p. 184, note 4, above).

<sup>4</sup> *Conquest of England*, p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> The *n* in such a position is frequently omitted about the date of this MS. Cf. for instance *Hlidaford* and *Beardastapol*, for *Hlidan-* and *Beardan-*, in the contemporary endorsement, 1016-20, in the *Crawford Charters*, no. IV, 131.



derived from a river or brook \**Leone* (cf. the river Leen, co. Notts). The place has not been identified. Such a name would appear in Domesday as *Leneford*, or, with a common confusion therein of *en* and *an* due to French influence, as *Laneford*. In many cases this substitution of *an* for *en* (which would have regularly developed into *in*) has persisted in local names owing to the influence of written forms in legal documents. Hence we get compounds of O.E. *hēan-*, the weak dat. sing. of *hēah*, 'high,' represented in modern local names by *Han-*, *Hen-*, and *Hin-*. In the first case an excrescent *d* is sometimes developed, as in the case of Handley, co. Dorset<sup>1</sup>. In like manner, Blandford, co. Dorset, has been produced from the *Bleneford* of Domesday<sup>2</sup>, which may represent an O.E. \**Bleonan-ford* or a similar compound with a different vowel or diphthong in the first syllable. It is therefore probable that Leonaford would now occur in the shape of Landford, more especially as this is a name that conveys a meaning to the ordinary Englishman. We may therefore suggest that Leonaford is the modern Landford, in the Hundred of Frustfield, co. Wilts. The growth of the *d* in this name can be proved, for the thirteenth and fourteenth century forms of it are *Laneford*<sup>3</sup>. It was a royal manor, but it is unfortunately not mentioned in Domesday. Early forms of it are difficult to discover, as it is seldom named in mediaeval records. The Hundred of Frustfield is constituted by Landford and Whiteparish. They both appear to be later divisions of Frustfield, Whiteparish being the Abbodestun of the *Nomina Villarum*. In 968 King Edgar granted to Wilton Abbey three hides in Frystesfeld or Fyrstesfeld<sup>4</sup>, which is probably part of Whiteparish. The charter is proof that the royal house of Wessex possessed land in this neighbour-

<sup>1</sup> It appears in Domesday, i. 78 b, col. 2, as *Hanlege*, but the O.E. form was plainly *Heanleage*: cf. *Cart. Sax.* ii. 149, 1 (the *Hanlee* of ii. 148, 11, and iii. 159, 19 is due to the late scribe of the Shaftesbury Chartulary).

<sup>2</sup> It is written *Bleneford* six times and *Blaneforde* thrice.

<sup>3</sup> *Testa de Nevill*, p. 141 b; *Rot. Hund.* ii. 237 b; *Inquisitiones post Mortem*, 20 Edw. I, no. 21, and 18 Edw. III, no. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Dugdale's *Monasticon*, ii. 323, from the early thirteenth-century Wilton chartulary. This charter has been overlooked by Kemble and Birch.

hood, and we can hardly be wrong in concluding that Landford was part of Fyrstesfeld that was retained in the king's possession. Melchet Park or Forest, which is also in the Hundred, was a favourite hunting-place of the Plantagenets, and the facilities for sport afforded by the neighbourhood may have been the reason for Alfred's stay there. His house had many estates in South Wilts, and the identification of Landford with Leonaford has therefore much in its favour. We have, however, been unable to find any post-Conquest forms *Leneford*, and in their absence the identification must remain somewhat doubtful.

**81, 21 in duobus monasteriis.** This reference to the gift by the king of the two monasteries with everything in them to the author, is, in our opinion, an argument against the composition of the *Life* at the end of the tenth century. After the monastic reforms introduced by Æthelwold and Dunstan in the reign of King Edgar, such a disposition of a monastery would be, to say the least, unusual. Beda draws a picture of the state of religion in Northumbria in his time, in which one of the greatest abuses is the purchase and ownership of monasteries by laymen and others<sup>1</sup>. We have instances of the granting of monasteries by kings in the eighth century<sup>2</sup>, but to members of religious orders. It is clear that the same system existed until the time of Æthelwold and Dunstan, for we find an instance of the purchase of a monastery as late as the time of Æthelstan<sup>3</sup>.

**81, 22 Cungresbyri et Banuville.** According to a statement written by Giso, bishop of Wells, 1061-88, Duduco, his predecessor, gave to the bishopric all the possessions that he had acquired in hereditary right from the king, including the towns of Congresbury and Banwell<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Epistola ad Ecgbertum Episcopum*, c. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* i. 331, 23. Cf. the interesting case of Bath, *ibid.* i. 335, 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Vita S. Oswaldi*, ed. Raine, *Historians of York*, i. 411. Folwin, *Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini*, c. 107, ap. Pertz, xiii. p. 629, records that King Æthelstan gave the monastery at Bath (*Ad Balneos*) to some of the monks who had left St. Bertin's as a protest against the introduction of reform.

<sup>4</sup> From the copy set out in the twelfth-century history of the bishopric printed by Joseph Hunter in *Ecclesiastical Documents*, Camden Society, 1840, p. 15.

They were taken into Harold's hands, and the former is returned in Domesday as being in the king's possession, while the latter is held by the bishop<sup>1</sup>. Nothing is known of them in the interval between the death of Asser and the gift to Duduco, but the latter is evidence that they were royal possessions, and hence may well have been given to the author by Alfred. Nothing is known of the monasteries there beyond the present passage.

81, 28 *Exanceastre, cum omni parochia . . . in Saxonia et in Cornubia*. The word *parochia* means in the latinity of this period 'ecclesiastical diocese.' Nothing, however, is known of a diocese of Exeter prior to the transference thither of the see of Crediton in 1050<sup>2</sup>. This portion of the Life was written in a hand some fifty years or so older than this date, a fact that puts out of court the attempts that have been made to prove that the work is a forgery of later date than the removal of the see to Exeter<sup>3</sup>. Apart from the Life, Asser is known as bishop of Sherborne<sup>4</sup>, but we have no proof that he occupied that see so early as the date of the composition of the Life, although there is nothing except this passage to prove that he did not. Haddan has concluded that this passage means that Alfred organized a new diocese out of Devon and some small part of Cornwall, and that on Asser's succession to the see of Sherborne (which is categorically assigned to 900) this new diocese became merged in that of Sherborne<sup>5</sup>. Lingard thought that Asser became bishop of the western portion of the diocese of Sherborne, which, he holds, then extended to Land's End<sup>6</sup>. Freeman, who adopts Haddan's

<sup>1</sup> *Domesday Book*, i. 87, col. 1; 89 b, col. 1. For the details connected with Giso's claim to these estates see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, ii. appendix SS.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Leofric, who transferred the see, is described in his *Missal*, ed. Warren, p. 2, as 'primus episcopus factus est Exoniensis ecclesiae.'

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, § 69, p. ciii; § 76, p. cxi, above.

<sup>4</sup> See p. lxy, above.

<sup>5</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, i. pp. 673, 675.

<sup>6</sup> *History of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ii. p. 423. He was led to make this suggestion under the erroneous impression that a copy of Alfred's version of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* was dedicated to 'Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne,' Asser's predecessor. Asser is described as 'my bishop' by the king in his preface to this work, and therefore Lingard's conclusion was just if 'Wulfsige, bishop of Sherborne' had been men-

suggestion, states that 'whatever we may say about Devonshire, it is quite certain that the diocese of Sherborne did not take in Cornwall<sup>1</sup>.' This, however, is a mistake, for we have evidence to the contrary. The profession of Kenstec '⟨ad⟩ episcopalem sedem in gente Cornubia in monasterio, quod lingua Brettonum appellatur *Dinniurrin*, electus,' made to Ceolnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, 833-90, has been preserved<sup>2</sup>. The site of his see is unknown<sup>3</sup>, and nothing else beyond this profession is known of him. It is possible that Asser succeeded him as bishop of Devon and Cornwall. It was not until the time of Æthelstan, in or about 926, that we have a record of another bishop of these shires. The first bishop of Crediton, Eadwulf, was then consecrated as diocesan of these two counties<sup>4</sup>. It is noticeable that his bishop-stool at Crediton was within a few miles of Exeter, so that the causes that led Alfred to place Asser at Exeter were still operative in his grandson's time. The see of Crediton would thus seem to be a revival of that held by Asser, and possibly that of Kenstec. We have evidence in the letter of Dunstan concerning the bishopric of Cornwall, which was written between 980 and 988<sup>5</sup>, that Cornwall was in the diocese of Sherborne until the consecration of the first bishop of Crediton. The letter is a report concerning the disposition of three estates in Cornwall that were given by King Ecgberht to the church of Sherborne. It states that, upon the division of the West-Saxon sees, they were assigned to the first bishop of Crediton. There is no contemporary record of this division of the sees, but some dubious Winchester charters refer it to 909<sup>6</sup>.

tioned in the copy of the *Pastoral Care* referred to by him. But the addition 'of Sherborne' does not occur in the MS. See Introduction, p. cv, above.

<sup>1</sup> *King Ine*, part 2, p. 20 (in the *Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society's Proceedings*, vol. xx, 1874).

<sup>2</sup> Haddan and Stubbs, i. p. 674; reprinted in *Cart. Sax.* ii. p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Haddan's suggestion that it is a mistake for Dingerein, the site of which is also unknown, is not convincing.

<sup>4</sup> This appears from the letter of Dunstan cited below.

<sup>5</sup> *Crawford Charters*, no. vii, contemporary.

<sup>6</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 283, 1 (= 286, 4); 297, 9; 299, 12; 302, 27. These texts, with the exception of the first, are derived from the Winchester chartulary, and they are all of a very suspicious nature. Bishop Stubbs, who accepts their evidence as fixing the division of the bishoprics in this



This was the year of Asser's death<sup>1</sup>, and would thus be a suitable time for dividing the see of Sherborne<sup>2</sup>. From Dunstan's letter it is plain that the three estates in Cornwall were originally given to the bishop of Sherborne, for they were handed over to the first bishop of Crediton as diocesan, and Dunstan and the bishops recommended that they should be assigned to the recently consecrated bishop of Cornwall.

We have thus proof that Cornwall and Devonshire were in the diocese of Sherborne, and that in Dunstan's opinion the connexion was not severed until the division of the West Saxon dioceses after the death of Asser. Dunstan makes no mention of Kenstec, who was evidently not interested in the three Cornish estates, or of Asser. The latter, however, must, as bishop of Sherborne, have been in possession of these estates. Thus there would be no need to mention that he had held them as bishop of Devon and Cornwall before his succession to the see of Sherborne. There is nothing in the evidence at our disposal that conflicts with Lingard's suggestion that the present passage means that Alfred made Asser bishop of the western portion of the old diocese of Sherborne, an appointment for which his Welsh origin would peculiarly fit him, for Celtic was still spoken in Devonshire as well as in Cornwall<sup>3</sup>.

year, states that the charter at p. 283 exists in an 'original tenth-century charter' (preface to Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. p. lvi, note 3). It is reproduced in the Brit. Mus. *Facs.* iv, pl. 10, and is written in what must be a very late tenth-century hand, but is more probably an early eleventh-century one. It is one of the long series of forgeries intended to establish the reduction of the hidage of Chilcomb from a hundred hides to one. We have no indications that such reductions of hidation were known before the introduction of Danegeld, and no evidence beyond the Winchester charters that such reductions were made by royal charters. These suspicious texts speak not of the division of the West-Saxon dioceses into five bishoprics, but of that of Winchester into two.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 39, p. lxxv, above.

<sup>2</sup> It is, however, noticeable that the letter and the other documents connected with this division (upon which see *Crawford Charters*, p. 103) state that the bishop appointed to Sherborne was Wærstan, who in the lists of bishops succeeds Æthelward, Asser's immediate successor.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 249. It is noticeable that Alfred in his will (*Cart. Sax.* ii. 178, 9), after mentioning his Devonshire estates at Axmouth, Branscombe, Cullompton, Tiverton, Exminster, Luton, and two others,



82. From the Chronicle, adding the description of the site of Paris, which is correctly placed in the realm of the West Franks, and of the lines of the Danish intrenchments<sup>1</sup>, and the record of the failure of the attempt to capture Paris<sup>2</sup>, which is not mentioned in the Chronicle. The version of the Chronicle used by the author agreed with MSS. B, C, D, and E, against A in mentioning that the winter quarters of the Danes were at Paris. It is obvious that the careless scribe of A overlooked 'æt Paris þære byrig' in his original.

83. From the Chronicle, adding the reference to the burning of towns and the slaying of men. The author translates the 'gesette' of the Chron. by 'restauravit et habitabilem fecit,' but it is not clear whether the first is intended as a rendering of the ambiguous O.E. verb, which may mean 'to settle with inhabitants' or 'to restore,' or is the result of a deduction by him that the 'burh' of London must have been restored before it could be re-peopled or re-garrisoned. His reference to the condition of London is probably due to personal knowledge, for the MS. of the Chron. used by him contained no reference to its siege<sup>3</sup>.

83, 7 aut cum paganis sub captivitate erant. This is a mistranslation of 'þæt buton Deniscra monna hæft-niede was,' literally the part of the English folk 'who were without captivity to the Danish men,' i. e. who were not under Danish captivity.

83 b. This famous (or rather infamous) interpolation of Camden's is discussed in the Introduction<sup>4</sup>. Twyne's assertion that he had often seen it written separately at the beginning and end of many old books, such as Rosse and Richard of Cluni<sup>5</sup>, is one of his desperate devices to

bequeath also 'the lands that belong thereto, to wit, all that I have among the *Wealcyn* (i. e. the Welsh of Cornwall and Devon) except *Triconsir*' (? the Hundred of Trigg, co. Cornwall).

<sup>1</sup> This suggests that the author had been at Paris. It is one of several proofs of his acquaintance with Frankland. See Introduction, § 48, p. lxxviii, above. Cf. however p. 309, note 2, above.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. also c. 84, 3.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 289, above.

<sup>4</sup> See above, § 8, pp. xxiii sqq.

<sup>5</sup> *Antiquitatis Academiae Oxoniensis Apologia*, Oxford, 1608, lib. ii,

buttress up the authenticity of this passage. Rosse lived at the end of the fifteenth century, and the addition, if it ever existed, could hardly have been earlier than the sixteenth century. Rosse's own account<sup>1</sup>, which is founded upon Higden and Thomas Rudbourne, is of even lower value than the evidence of those writers. Richard of Cluni was an eleventh-century Poitevin, and no MS. of his chronicle is known to have been in England. Twyne throughout his work frequently quotes marginal notes by later writers as of equal value with the text to which they were added. It is therefore probable that in this case the 'most ancient hand' was little, if at all, older than Elizabeth's time.

84. From the Chronicle, much expanded, adding the mention of the mouth of the Marne and Yonne, and that Chézy was a 'villa regia.' The latter is another proof of the author's knowledge of Frankland<sup>2</sup>.

85. From the Chronicle. The author has omitted the mention in the Chronicle of the Danes passing beyond the bridge at Paris, possibly regarding it as a repetition of that represented in c. 84.

85, 16 Hreni. The substitution of this form for the *Rin* of the Chron. is probably due to the Frankish preservation or revival of the classical form *Rhenus*<sup>3</sup>.

86. From the Chronicle, adding that Æthelhelm was ealdorman of the people of Wiltshire<sup>4</sup>. It is noteworthy that the author has added that the mission to Rome occurred in the same year as the Danes went from Paris to Chézy,

§ 81, p. 144: 'Porro hunc Asserii locum non solum in iusto <leg. isto> exemplari, sed etiam in principiis ac fine multorum veterum librorum, nominatim vero Rossi et Richardi Cluniacensis, seorsim antiquissima manu scriptum saepe legi, ut nullus mihi de hoc loco dubitandi locus restare videatur.'

<sup>1</sup> *Historia Regum Angliae*, ed. Hearne, p. 76. It is quoted by Twyne, § 172, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, § 48, p. lxxviii, above.

<sup>3</sup> See the numerous quotations from Frankish sources given by Alfred Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, ii, col. 1171 sqq.

<sup>4</sup> This is confirmed by the Chron. under 898, when Æthelhelm died. Upon the alleged connexion between the alms carried to Rome and Peter's Pence, see p. 211, note 2, above. As to Æthelhelm's possible patronage of Archbishop Oda, see note to c. 94, 9, p. 334, below.

which is correct. The account in the Chronicle is somewhat obscured by the recounting under 887 of the proceedings of the Danes in France in the succeeding year.

87. This chapter is due to the author.

88. This chapter is due to the author.

88, 6 *libellum, quem in sinum suum sedulo portabat*. This book is described in similar words in c. 24, 3. The author does not state that this book of hours, psalms, and prayers, was identical with the 'handbook' described in c. 89, 20.

88, 13 *immensas . . . persolvi*. This seems to be founded upon the words of Aldhelm: 'suscipiens, erectis ad aethera palmis, immensas Christo pro sospitate vestra gratulabundus impendere grates curavi'<sup>1</sup>.

88, 39 *velut apis fertilissima*. See note to c. 76, 62, above.

89. This chapter is due to the author.

89, 11 *in gabulo*, 'on the gallows or crucifix.' This is a Celtic-Latin word (Old Irish *gabul*, Welsh *gaff*, 'fork')<sup>2</sup>, which already occurs in Latin in Varro<sup>3</sup>. It is used by Aldhelm<sup>4</sup>, and occurs in an Abingdon charter of 1033<sup>5</sup>, but is otherwise very rare in English Latin.

89, 20 *enchiridion, id est manualem librum*. This was one of the Greek words in common use in the Frankish Latin of this period<sup>6</sup>. The book itself seems to have been still current in the time of William of Malmesbury, for he cites it as 'Manualis Liber regis Elfridi' to prove the relationship of Aldhelm to King Ine<sup>7</sup>, and he also quotes

<sup>1</sup> *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, c. 2 (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 1, 20).

<sup>2</sup> See Brugmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*, ed. 2, i. 575, § 638.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted in Nonius, ed. Lucian Müller, Leipzig, 1888, p. 166.

<sup>4</sup> *Opera*, ed. Giles, 7, 5; 42, 26; 180, 26.

<sup>5</sup> *Cod. Dipl.* iv. 47, 14.

<sup>6</sup> For example, the *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, ed. Löwenfeld, c. 16, p. 47, c. 17, p. 54, 56, speak of the 'Enkiridion' of Saint Augustine at Fontanelle. It was this work of St. Augustine's that gave the word so great a currency. Regino recommends his abridgement of councils to Archbishop Hatho, 'ut illum pro enkyridion habeatis, si quando plenitudo librorum vestrorum in praesentia non est' (see Regino's prefatory letter, printed in the introduction to Kurze's edition of his Chronicle, p. xx).

<sup>7</sup> See p. 153, note 4, above. Faritius, abbot of Abingdon, who died

from it the story of Aldhelm's singing to the people in his native tongue on the bridge at Malmesbury<sup>1</sup>.

90. This chapter is due to the author.

90, 3 *Invigilant animi*, &c. We have been unable to find the source of this verse, which expresses a sufficiently common reflection<sup>2</sup>. From the use of the words *pia cura* it would seem to be of Frankish origin, for the adjective *pius* was, owing to its connexion with the imperial title, an exceedingly favourite one with the Frankish writers of Latin verse.

91. This chapter is due to the author. The king's illness is described in almost the same words in c. 74. He himself refers somewhat pathetically to the troubles of his reign in his preface to his translation of Boethius<sup>3</sup>.

91, 15 *Hiberniæ*. This sentence is so corrupt that it is difficult to decide whether Ireland or Spain (*Iberia*) is

in 1115 (*Chron. Monasterii de Abingdon*, ii. 290), seems also to refer to the Handbook in the same connexion, for he says of King Ine that Kenten (Centwine, the father of Aldhelm) was his brother, and that he was 'virum probum, sanctitate lautum, honestate magnificum, antiquissimis Anglicanae linguae schedulis saepius ex interprete legendo audivimus' (ed. Giles, *Sancti Althelmi Opera*, p. 356). Here the Italian writer seems to have misunderstood the O.E. original, as appears from Malmesbury's correction of the assertion that Centwine was brother of Ine. Faritius was cellarer of Malmesbury before he became abbot of Abingdon, and his Life of Aldhelm was, no doubt, written in the former monastery, which seems to have possessed Alfred's Handbook or a copy of it.

<sup>1</sup> In his Life of St. Aldhelm, in his *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 190, p. 336, he says of Aldhelm: 'Litteris itaque ad plenum instructus, nativae quoque linguae non negligebat carmina; adeo ut, teste libro Elfredi, de quo superius dixi (in the quotation given at p. 153, note 4, above), nulla umquam aetate par ei fuerit quisquam. Poesim Anglicam posse facere, cantum componere, eadem apposite vel canere vel dicere. Denique commemorat Elfredus carmen triviale, quod adhuc vulgo cantitatur, Aldelmm fecisse, adiciens causam, qua probat rationabiliter tantum virum his, quae videantur frivola, instituisse. Populum eo tempore semibarbarum, parum divinis sermonibus intentum, statim cantatis missis domos cursitare solitum. Ideo sanctum virum super pontem, qui iura et urbem continuat, abeuntibus se opposuisse obicem, quasi artem cantitandi professum. Eo plusquam semel facto, plebis favorem et concursum emeritum.' The story is told somewhat differently by Faritius, who alleges no authority for it.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. e. g. the *Iliad*, ii. 24, 61; Plato, *Leges*, 808 C.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Sedgefield, Oxford, 1899, p. 1.

meant<sup>1</sup>. It would seem to be brought into connexion with the Mediterranean (if Wise's emendation of *Tyrreno* be accepted and extended to the Mediterranean), since the author adduces as final proof the correspondence with the patriarch of Jerusalem. But arguments from the arrangement of his material are somewhat uncertain. In favour of the reading *Hibernia* may be adduced the fact that the Chron. records under 891 the arrival in Cornwall of three Scots from Ireland, who proceeded to Alfred's court, and the sending by Alfred of gifts to that country mentioned in c. 102, 23.

91, 16 de Hierosolyma ab El<ia> patriarcha. We have restored the original reading *patriarcha*, the form *patriarchae* in the printed texts being clearly an alteration made by Parker in order to make it agree with *Abel*, which he regarded as the genitive case. It is more natural to take *Abel*, as Canon Raine has done<sup>2</sup>, as a confusion due to the scribes of *ab* and *El<ia>*. There is no record of a patriarch Abel at this time, but the records are so imperfect that Pagi<sup>3</sup> was prepared to accept him upon the authority of the Life. Le Quien held more probably that Abel was identical with Elias III, who was patriarch from about 879 to 907, and he explained the Abel of the Life as representing Ab-El, that is the name of Elias with a prefix of Abba<sup>4</sup>. This was a common prefix to the names of bishops who had been heads of monasteries. But this scarcely explains the presence of such a compound in the present work, for the author states that he had seen the gifts and letters of the patriarch, and the latter would, no doubt, bear his real name Elias.

It is a strong confirmation of the authenticity of the Life that we have proof that Elias sent to Alfred certain medical recipes<sup>5</sup>, and that two letters of his to the rulers of western

<sup>1</sup> The Georgian Iberia seems to be out of the question, owing to its distance from the Mediterranean.

<sup>2</sup> In the Surtees Society's edition of Simeon of Durham, p. 60.

<sup>3</sup> In his edition of Baronius's *Annales Ecclesiastici*, an. 889.

<sup>4</sup> *Oriens Christianus*, Paris, 1740, iii. p. 462 C. In the list of patriarchs of Jerusalem given by Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, c. 368 (p. 425), the name appears in the nominative as *Ilia*.

<sup>5</sup> Cockayne, *Leechdoms, &c.*, ii. p. 290, from MS. Reg. 12 D, xvii,



Europe are preserved. The first was brought by his envoys Gispertus and Rainardus (who, from their names, would seem to have been Lombards or Franks) to Charles the Fat in 881<sup>1</sup>. In this Elias begs for money for the rebuilding of churches, as he has raised all the money that was possible in his own province. It was probably this letter that reached Alfred, for the date of the other letter is later than the composition of the *Life*. In it Elias prays for help to raise the ransom demanded by the Turks for some monks whom they had captured with Malacenus, bishop of Amasia in Cappadocia<sup>2</sup>. The date of this letter is established by the encyclical of Pope Benedict IV, 900-903, recommending the object of the mission and asking for safe conduct for the envoys from city to city and for hospitality for them<sup>3</sup>.

**91, 20 aedificiis aureis et argenteis.** The mention of gold and silver buildings is somewhat surprising, but there is no reason to suspect the accuracy of the reading, for the preceding and following clauses treat of building operations. The reference to gold and silver buildings must therefore be ascribed either to rhetorical exaggeration on the part of the author, or must have some narrower sense than the literal one. Possibly he intended to refer to the use of the precious metals in sacred edifices. We are told on the doubtful authority of William of Malmesbury, that King Ine built a chapel of gold and silver at Glastonbury<sup>4</sup>. A

written in the early part of the tenth century, ending ' þis eal het þus secgean Ælfrede cyninge Domne Helias patriarcha on Gerusalem ' ('all this Dominus Elias, patriarch of Jerusalem, ordered to be said to King Alfred'). Cf. Cockayne's remarks, preface, p. xxiv.

<sup>1</sup> Printed by D'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. 2, Paris, 1681, ii. p. 372. Possibly it was this mission from the patriarch of Jerusalem that caused Alfred to think of sending alms to 'India,' if the statement that he did so is not entirely baseless. See p. 287 sqq. above. A few years before the date of this mission the Frankish monk Bernard and his companions visited Jerusalem. See his itinerary in *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. Tobler and Molinier, Geneva, 1879, p. 309, published by the Société de l'Orient Latin.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta*, ed. 1, iii. p. 434; ed. 2, p. 428; and thence in Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, cxxxii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*; Jaffé-Wattenbach, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, no. 3530.

<sup>4</sup> *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*, ed. Hearne, *Adami de*

ninth-century writer records that Ansegis, abbot of Fontanelle, 806-833, partly decorated a spire of the abbey with gilt metal<sup>1</sup>, and another writer of that period mentions the golden doors of the 'basilica' of St. Alban in his description of the imperial palace at Ingelheim<sup>2</sup>. Giraldus Cambrensis ascribes the use of golden roofs or roof-crests to the Romans at Caerleon-on-Usk<sup>3</sup>. The idea that a king's palace ought to be decorated with the precious metals is probably an outcome of the late Roman rhetoric<sup>4</sup> and Byzantine magnificence<sup>5</sup>.

**91, 23 motatis.** Florence's alteration to *mutatis*, which has been adopted by Wise and Petrie, is probably correct, but we have refrained from placing it in the text because *mutare* and its compounds are in the ninth and tenth centuries frequently written *motare*<sup>6</sup>, and the spelling is

*Domerham Historia*, i. p. 55: 'Fecit etiam idem rex construere quandam capellam ex auro et argento, cum ornamentis et vasis similiter aureis et argenteis, ac infra maiorem collocavit.'

<sup>1</sup> *Gesta Abbatum Fontanellensium*, c. 17, ed. Löwenfeld, p. 55: 'In eadem autem Sancti Petri basilica pyramidam quadrangulam (*sic*) altitudinis triginta quinque pedum, de ligno tornatili compositam, in culmine turris eiusdem ecclesiae collocari iussit; quam plumbo, stagno ac cupro deaurato cooperiri iussit, triaque ibidem signa posuit.'

<sup>2</sup> Ermoldus Nigellus (*Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini*, ed. Dümmler, ii. p. 63, 187):

Templa Dei Summi constant operata metallo,  
aerati postes, aurea hostiola.

<sup>3</sup> *Itinerarium Cambriae*, i. c. 5 (*Opera*, ed. Dimock, vi. p. 55): 'Videas hic multa pristinae nobilitatis adhuc vestigia; palatia immensa, aureis olim tectorum fastigiis Romanos fastus imitantia, eo quod a Romanis principibus primo constructa et aedificiis egregiis illustrata fuissent.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the fragment of an oration ascribed to Cassiodorus, ed. Traube, in Mommsen's edition of the *Variae*, p. 483, 10: 'fecisti quoque, Domina, palatium. . . Renidet crusta marmorum concolor gemmis, sparsum aurum fulget in. . .' Ibid. p. 483, 20: 'Regis Persarum Cyri domus variis auro lapidibus inligatis constructa perhibetur.'

<sup>5</sup> The great Swedish temple at Upsala was said to be covered with gold. Cf. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, iv. c. 26.

<sup>6</sup> A.D. 811 *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 11, *Cart. Sax.* i. 462, 10, 31; 463, 13 (contemporary?); A.D. 869 *Brit. Mus. Facs.* ii. pl. 39, *Cart. Sax.* ii. 141, 14 (tenth cent.); A.D. 882 *Cart. Sax.* ii. 171, 23, Winchester (dubious; in this chartulary the word in this formula is in most other cases altered to *mutare*); A.D. 892 *ibid.* ii. 211, 20, Worcester (genuine?); 904 *ibid.*

therefore probably that of the author, and is a proof of the antiquity of the work.

91, 30 *navem suam*. The common classical comparison of the direction of a state to the steering of a ship<sup>1</sup> was in great favour with the writers of the Middle Ages<sup>2</sup>. The metaphor is as elaborately worked out by St. Agobard<sup>3</sup>, a ninth-century Frankish writer, as by the author of the present passage, who uses a similar figure in cc. 21, 9; 73, 2.

91, 49 *castellis*. In O.E. Latin this word is used in the same sense as 'chester' and 'caster,' both from Latin *castra*<sup>4</sup>, and not in that of 'castle' or 'fort,' as it seems to be in the present passage. In the *Liber Landavensis* it

ii. 260, 22, Hyde (dubious); A.D. 904 *ibid.* ii. 270, 32, Winchester; 909 *ibid.* ii. 294, 14, Winchester; A.D. 930 *ibid.* ii. 349, 3, Chichester (genuine); 930 *Crawford Charters*, iv. 5, *Cart. Sax.* iii. 681, 5 (contemporary).

<sup>1</sup> *Exx. g.* Sophocles, *Oedipus Tyrannus*, 104; Aristophanes, *Ecclesiaz.* 109; Cicero, *In Pisouem*, ix. 20, *Ep. ad Famil.* i. 9, 21; Horace, *Carm.* i. 14. Cf. Quintilian, viii. c. 6, § 44. In later times it is used by Gregory of Nazianzus (Benedictine ed. of his works, Paris, 1840, ii. pp. 76 B, 131 C, 206, 577).

<sup>2</sup> It is used in the Forged Decretals (*Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, ed. Paul Hinschius, Leipzig, 1863, pp. 34, 67, &c.).

<sup>3</sup> 'Tantis quippe in hoc loco huius mundi fluctibus quator, ut vetustam ac putrescentem navem, quam regendam occulta Dei dispensatione suscepi, ad portum dirigere nullatenus possim. Nunc ex adverso fluctus irruunt, nunc ex latere cumuli spumosi maris intumescunt, nunc a tergo tempestas insequitur; interque haec omnia turbatus, cogor modo in ipsa clavum adversitate dirigere, modo curvato navis latere minas fluctuum ex obliquo declinare' (*Opera*, ed. Baluze, Paris, 1665, ii. p. 52). Quite as elaborate is the form assumed by the metaphor in a suspicious Malmesbury charter dated 675 (*Cart. Sax.* i. 61, 14).

<sup>4</sup> So in the Council of Hertford, in Beda, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. c. 5: 'Putta, episcopus castelli Cantuariorum, quod dicitur Hrofescaestir.' Beda's *castella* of iii. c. 28, which are mentioned along with 'oppida, rura, casas, vicos' as the scene of Chad's missionary labours, have probably the same meaning. The term is applied to Rochester in a charter of 765 (*Cart. Sax.* i. 278, 9), and in another of 788 (*ibid.* i. 352, 18), both of which appear to be copied from genuine originals. In the eighth-century *Life* of St. Guthlac by Felix, ed. Birch, 17, 4, it refers to the Roman camp at Grantchester. In the late tenth-century *Life* of St. Oswald it is linked with other words, such as 'towns,' 'villages,' 'houses,' relating to settlements of men, and hence cannot have the meaning of 'castle' (*Historians of York*, pp. 425, 436, 472). In the O.E. glosses from the eighth-century *Corpus Glossary* downwards *castellum* is glossed by 'wic,' that is 'town.'

is applied to a *caer*<sup>1</sup> (which is supposed to be derived from *castra*), the Welsh name for Roman stations, few, if any of which, were inhabited at this time. Hence the sense 'castle' may be due to the Welsh origin of the author, or may perhaps be another Frankish feature in his vocabulary.

91, 59 *eulogii*. This form seems to have arisen from confusion between *eloquium* and *εὐλογία*, of which there are other instances. In the present case it seems to have the meaning of 'text,' referring to the 'inanis poenitentia' mentioned in the preceding sentence on the authority of 'scripture.'

92. This chapter is due to the author.

92, 9 *gronna*, 'fens, moors.' See note to c. 53, 2.

92, 11 *cauticis*. This word seems to represent the Latin *caudica* (*navis*). The knowledge of it probably came indirectly from Isidore of Seville<sup>2</sup>. *Caudicae* are mentioned in the list of ship-names in Aulus Gellius<sup>3</sup>. A variant form *codicaria* occurs in Nonius<sup>4</sup>, who cites Sallust and Varro. Further examples of *caudicae* may be found in Rönisch<sup>5</sup>. *Caudex* is glossed by O.E. *punt* in the glossaries<sup>6</sup>. William of Malmesbury similarly states that Athelney could only be reached by water<sup>7</sup>.

93. This chapter is due to the author.

93, 9 *monasteria*. The description here given of the condition of the monasteries in England is, as Bishop Stubbs has remarked, true of the next half-century<sup>8</sup>. In

<sup>1</sup> Ed. Rhys and Evans, 226, 23. Cf. 205, 21.

<sup>2</sup> *Origines*, xix. c. 1, § 27: 'Trabariae amnicae naves, quae ex singulis trabibus cavantur; quae alio nomine litorariae dicuntur. Hae et *caudicae* ex uno ligno cavato factae, et inde *caudicae*; quia a quatuor ad octo homines capiunt.'

<sup>3</sup> *Noctes Atticae*, x. c. 25, 5 (ed. Hertz, ii. p. 49).

<sup>4</sup> Ed. Lucian Müller, 535 M (ii. p. 196).

<sup>5</sup> Hermann Rönisch, *Itala und Vulgata*, Marburg and Leipzig, 1869, p. 134.

<sup>6</sup> Wright-Wülcker, *Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies*, i. 181, 31; cf. 287, 33. The latter glossary seems to be based upon Isidore.

<sup>7</sup> *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 92, p. 199: 'Adelinga est non maris insula, sed ita stagnorum refusionibus et paludibus inaccessa, ut nullo modo nisi navigio adiri queat.'

<sup>8</sup> *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. lxxxiii, note 1.

his words, 'the churches and other buildings <were> standing, the libraries perhaps in a few cases continuing entire, but the monastic life <was> extinct, the name preserved only as giving a title to the ownership of the lands, and the abbots and monks, if there were any that called themselves so, being really secular priests and clerks.' The letter of Archbishop Fulco to Alfred refers to the disappearance of the 'ecclesiasticus ordo' in England, and to Alfred's desire to restore it<sup>1</sup>. Ælfric, in his Life of St. Æthelwold, describes the deserted condition of Abingdon as late as the time of King Eadred<sup>2</sup>, and Ely was in the same condition<sup>3</sup>. Alfred's attempts to restore the monasteries do not appear to have been crowned with success, and the story narrated in c. 96 sqq. suggests that his instruments were not well chosen in all cases. The Frankish monasteries from which he drew his helpers had not yet felt the great monastic reform that was to spread from Cluny. St. Bertin's itself was not reformed until the year 944<sup>4</sup>. We may learn from the Life of St. Oswald how low the monastic life had fallen before the introduction of reforms by Dunstan and Æthelwold. It must, however, be borne in mind that the writer of this life was, like Ælfric himself, a firm believer in the benefit of these reforms, and that he was therefore likely to mete out scant justice to the members of the unreformed monasteries. The condemnation of the irregularities and vices of the canons who were ousted from the monasteries by Dunstan and Æthelwold and their followers is common in writings of the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh centuries. Thus a forger writing at that period might have written the present passage from the point of view of that time, but in that case we should expect him to have betrayed his enmity to the canons. The fact that there is no hint of any such

<sup>1</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 190, 18; 192, 1. Upon this letter see above, p. 308, note 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Mon. de Abingdon*, ii. 257.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 262. Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, p. lxxxi, thinks that Glastonbury was in a similar condition.

<sup>4</sup> Folcwin, *Gesta Abbatum S. Bertini*, c. 107 (Pertz, *Scriptores*, xiii. p. 628).



feeling is an argument in favour of the authenticity of the Life.

94. This chapter is due to the author.

94, 6 *eiusdem gentis Gallicae*, referring to c. 78, 3.

94, 9 *unum paganicae gentis . . iuvenem*. It is a curious coincidence that Oda<sup>1</sup>, who became bishop of Ramsbury between 925 and 927 and archbishop of Canterbury in 942, and who died in 958, was said to be the son of a Dane who came to England with Inguar and Ubba (in 866). This we learn from the life of his nephew Oswald, archbishop of York<sup>2</sup>, which was written in the closing years of the tenth century. Oswald was also related to Oscytel<sup>3</sup>, bishop of Dorchester 950, and archbishop of York 958, who died in 971. From his name Oscytel must have been of Danish origin<sup>4</sup>. It is not impossible that the pagan boy seen by the author of the Life in (presumably) a West-Saxon monastery was either Oda or Oscytel. From their occupancy of West Saxon bishoprics it is probable that both were educated in Wessex. Of Oda we are told in the life of Oswald that he left his parents and adhered to a knight named Æthelhelm<sup>5</sup>, whom he accompanied to Rome, whence they returned after rendering alms<sup>6</sup>. They afterwards visited the king, who as a reward made Oda bishop of Ramsbury<sup>7</sup>. If this account is correct, it would refer the mission to Rome to about 925, but it is probably confused, for the biographer makes Oda spend 'perparvi spatii temporis' at Ramsbury<sup>8</sup>, instead of fifteen years or so. It is somewhat remarkable that the Chron. records under 887 the carrying of alms to Rome by Æthelhelm,

<sup>1</sup> The name is apparently an adaptation of O.N. *Audi*, *Auðe* (the cognate of O.E. *Éada*).

<sup>2</sup> Ed. Raine, *Historians of York*, i. 404.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. p. 420.

<sup>4</sup> It is an adaptation of O.N. *Ās-ketill*. The second member of the compound was not used in native English personal names, and occurs only in adapted Scandinavian ones.

<sup>5</sup> *Historians of York*, i. p. 404, where an account of his education by Æthelhelm is given, which must not be taken too literally.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* p. 405.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* p. 406.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, where his promotion to the primacy is ascribed to the king who nominated him to Ramsbury, which is impossible from the dates.

ealdorman of Wilts. It is hardly possible, however, that this can be the mission to Rome referred to in the life of St. Oswald, unless his story that Oda was already a priest be rejected.

95. This chapter is due to the author.

95, 1. This and the following chapters have been frequently misunderstood as relating the death of John the Old Saxon<sup>1</sup>, although it is evident from line 21 that he survived the attack of the assassins. Further confusion has arisen from identifying this account of the attack upon John the Old Saxon with William of Malmesbury's relation of the murder of John Scotus by his pupils at Malmesbury<sup>2</sup>. But, as Mabillon<sup>3</sup> has remarked, William carefully distinguishes the two Johns, and he states that John Scotus 'is believed' to have flourished about the time of Alfred. The basis of his story was the existence in Malmesbury abbey of a tomb bearing a Latin epitaph to a 'sanctus Iohannes sophista,' who is therein said to have died 'martyrio.'<sup>4</sup> He remarks that the latinity of this epitaph, which he quotes, is not up to the elegance of his time. There is earlier evidence of the burial of a scholar named John at Malmesbury in the entry in the Corpus MS. of the list of burial-places of saints in England of the statement that 'Iohannes se wisa' (John the wise, or learned) was buried at Malmesbury<sup>5</sup>. This MS. was written about the middle of the eleventh century, and the entry does not appear in the older text of this list, which dates back to c. 1020. It is clear that William was in error in treating John of Malmesbury as the same person as John Scotus. Stubbs regards John of Malmesbury as distinct from John the Old Saxon, and cites as proof the appearance of John's name as a witness to charters of Edward the Elder<sup>6</sup>. But with the correction of his error in regarding the account in the Life as recording the death of John the Old Saxon, the

<sup>1</sup> See § 70, p. civ, and p. cxii, note 2, above.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> *Acta Sanctorum Ordinis Sancti Benedicti*, cent. iv, pars 2, p. 511.

<sup>4</sup> *Gesta Regum*, c. 122, p. 132; *Gesta Pontificum*, c. 240, p. 394.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Heiligen Englands*, ed. Liebermann, ii. 41, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> In his edition of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, i. p. 131, note 1; ii. p. xlvi. Upon these charters see p. 312, note 2, above.

grounds for referring these attestations to some other John disappear. As the date of John the Old Saxon's death is unknown, it is even possible that the Malmesbury epitaph is his, for no other John is known to us, and the person described as 'Iohannes se wisa' must have been, like John the Old Saxon, a great scholar. Whether Malmesbury's account of the murder of John at Malmesbury accurately reproduces a tradition then current in the abbey, or is some account of the murder of John Scotus that he has imported into his history in consequence of his identification of the 'Iohannes sophista' of the tomb with this famous scholar, it is impossible to decide. Nothing is known of the end of John Scotus or of John the Old Saxon. We should hardly expect the murder of John Scotus by his pupils to be described as a 'martyrium,' a word that strongly suggests that 'Iohannes sophista' was slain by the Danes.

96. This chapter is due to the author.

97. This chapter is due to the author.

97, 25 *gronna*, 'fen, moor.' See note to c. 53, 2.

98. This chapter is due to the author.

99. This chapter is due to the author.

99, 5 *Dominum decimam sibi multipliciter redditurum*, &c. This obviously blundered sentence may perhaps be derived from a draught<sup>1</sup>, the copyist having transcribed both the original reading and the emended reading. The only passage resembling this that we have been able to find is in a tract formerly ascribed to St. Ambrose: 'Quia de omni substantia, quam Deus homini donat, decimam partem sibi servavit, et ideo non licet homini retinere illud, quod Deus sibi reservavit. Tibi dedit novem partes, sibi vero reservavit decimam partem.'<sup>2</sup>

99, 18 *Si recte offeras, recte autem non divides, peccas*. This is adapted from a reading in an Old-Latin version, which represents the reading of the Septuagint<sup>3</sup>, and is quoted by Irenaeus, Jerome, and others<sup>4</sup>.

100. This chapter is due to the author.

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, p. cxxxi, above.

<sup>2</sup> *S. Ambrosii Opera*, Paris, 1690, ii, appendix, p. 425 B, 'Sermo xxv, de sancta Quadragesima ix.'

<sup>3</sup> Gen. iv. 7: Οὐκ εἰν ὀρθῶς προσενέγκης, ὀρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλθης, ἡμαρτες;

<sup>4</sup> Sabatier, *Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinae Versiones Antiquae*.

100, 8 in *tribus namque cohortibus . . . dividebantur*, &c. The Chron. under 894 records that Alfred divided his forces into two parts, one being on active service and the other at home alternately, much as the author describes the rotation of service among the warriors of his household. Whether this rotation of service in the court was an innovation due to Alfred, or was an older custom, does not appear. But it is a tempting theory that this rotation of service is an outcome of the processes by which the *gesīdas* ceased to be personal attendants upon the king and became hereditary landed proprietors, by a similar process of development to that undergone by the Merovingian *antrustiones*<sup>1</sup>, who, like the *gesīdas*, represented the original members of the king's *comitatus*. It is noticeable in the present passage that Alfred's military attendants are no longer landless *comites*, but have homes of their own at which they spend two months out of every three. Alfred makes a bequest in his will to the men who 'follow' him<sup>2</sup>.

100, 9 *satellites*. The use of this term to describe the king's military attendants is another proof of Frankish influence in the vocabulary of the author<sup>3</sup>. In Frankish Latin it was similarly used to describe what Waitz ventures to call the emperor's body-guard<sup>4</sup>. The word is used in the Vulgate, and hence must have been well known to most scholars of the time<sup>5</sup>, but in the present passage the author uses it in a more technical sense that can only be due to Frankish influence.

101. This chapter is due to the author.

<sup>1</sup> See Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> *Cart. Sax.* ii. 178, 30, whereby he bequeaths two hundred pounds to the men who 'follow' (serve, form his *comitatus*) him and to whom he made gifts at Eastertide. It was, no doubt, in these gifts, another relic of the Germanic *comitatus*, that the money described in this chapter as being given to the king's noble ministers was expended.

<sup>3</sup> See Introduction, § 58, p. xciv, above.

<sup>4</sup> *Deutsche Verfassungsgeschichte*, ed. 2, iii. 546.

<sup>5</sup> It occurs in a Worcester charter of 816 in Heming, which is of somewhat unusual form (*Cart. Sax.* i. 495, 2), and in an Abingdon charter of 964 (*ibid.* iii. 393, 26). The tenth-century instances in the Life of St. Oswald, ed. Raine, *Historians of York*, i. p. 469, 6, and in the Life of St. Dunstan 'auctore B,' in *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. Stubbs, p. 32, 21, may also from their date be due to Frankish influence.

102. This chapter is due to the author.

102, 17 *scholae*. The school is described in similar words in c. 75, 16. Cf. 76, 33.

103. This chapter is due to the author.

104. This chapter is due to the author.

104, 6 *sex candelas*. As these six candles weighed 72 pennyweights, each one was of the weight of 12d. The weight of the O.E. penny was  $22\frac{1}{2}$  Troy grains<sup>1</sup>, so that each candle would weigh roughly  $\frac{5}{8}$  oz. avoirdupois. As the candles were twelve inches long, they would be very thin in proportion to their length. A modern beeswax candle burns at a considerable quicker rate than is here assumed, but we do not think this condemns the figures given in this chapter as imaginary. The candle of Alfred's time was probably not moulded, and the wick would not be made of cotton as in the modern ones. Rushes, tow<sup>2</sup>, and the hards of flax<sup>3</sup> were used for wicks. Aldhelm refers to the use of linen or flax wicks<sup>4</sup>, but also to those made of rushes<sup>5</sup>. It is therefore hardly possible to reproduce the candles used by Alfred for the purposes of testing this chapter. The fact that the later transcribers copied this chapter without hesitation cannot be adduced as proof that the details given in it are accurate. Nor, assuming that

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Keary, *British Museum Catalogue of English Coins*, Anglo-Saxon Series, i. p. xxxv; Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage*, ed. 2, i. 277 note h, 280-1. There is great variation in the weight of the coins that have been preserved, and the weight given above seems to be rather a general average of a number of coins than the normal weight of each one.

<sup>2</sup> Moriz Heyne, *Fünf Bücher deutscher Hausallertümer*, Leipzig, 1899, i. pp. 124-5.

<sup>3</sup> They were in use in the seventeenth century. See *Records of the Borough of Nottingham*, v. p. 175, 7.

<sup>4</sup> In his enigma on the candle (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 261):

Materia duplici palmis plasmabar apertis,  
interiora mihi candescunt viscera lino,  
seu certe gracili iunco spoliata nitescunt, &c.

<sup>5</sup> *De Laudibus Virginitatis*, c. 32 (*Opera*, p. 37, 32): 'ut latex lucernarum cicindilibus infusus, in olei crassitudinem perneciter vertetur, et papirus in centro positus velut fomes arvina vel sevo madefactus solito clarius lucesceret.' Other proofs of the use of rushes for wicks may be found in Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, s. v. 'wēoce.'



they are correct, can they be cited as proof that the work is the production of a contemporary, for such details might easily be supplied by a later writer.

**104, 10 per viginti quatuor horas die nocteque.** It would seem that the author refers to a division of the day and night taken together into twenty-four equal hours; and not to the division of the day, the time between sunrise and sunset, and the night, the time between sunset and sunrise, into twelve hours each, the length of which, strictly speaking, varied from day to day<sup>1</sup>. The author, who is so exceedingly profuse in his explanations in this chapter, does not hint at any device for accommodating the candles, which he describes as being all of equal weight and length, to the varying length of the hours or to the difference that existed, except at the equinoxes, between the length of the hour of the day and that of the night associated with it. Apart from the mechanical difficulties involved in any such attempt to represent these constantly varying hours, it is obvious that Alfred could not obtain by their use any such equal division of his time as is here described. It would therefore seem that he is pictured as using the equinoctial hours; and he has, if this is so, the credit of anticipating by several centuries the use of this, the modern, system, which is so largely the result of the introduction of the wheel-clock. This division into twenty-four hours may have been suggested to Alfred by the system then in use of dividing the day and the night into twelve hours each, or by the astronomical division of the two into twenty-four equal hours. This scientific usage is represented in the O.E. calendars, which generally assign to each month so many hours for the day and so many for the night, the total of the two being twenty-four<sup>2</sup>.

**104, 24 laternam ex lignis et bovinis cornibus.** On the strength of this passage Alfred has been frequently

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 283-4.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 285, note 2. This use is represented in the famous Bodleian MS. no. 63, written c. 850 by a Rægenbold, who, from his name, was clearly not an Englishman, although he is therein said to be a monk of 'Wentonia' (Winchester), which name is written in a ninth-century hand over an erasure. See the account of this MS. given in the Palaeographical Society's Publications, plate 168.

described as the inventor of the horn lantern. Ducange<sup>1</sup> objected that horn lanterns were known to the Greeks and Romans long before Alfred's time. But the passages adduced by Salmasius<sup>2</sup>, to whom he refers, and such others<sup>3</sup> as we have been able to gather do not clearly describe a horn lantern lit by a candle, but rather screens formed of horn to place round oil lamps. It is possible therefore that Alfred may really be the inventor of the horn lantern as we know it. The door in the side, which would be rendered necessary by the change of the candles every four hours, is here described, and seems to be a new feature. The horn lamp-holders (λυχνούχοι) of the Greeks seem to have been screens that were placed over the lamp, but in a Roman example from Pompeii the lamp was inserted from the top, which was covered by a hinged lid<sup>4</sup>. Glass lamps for church use were known to Bede<sup>5</sup> and Aldhelm<sup>6</sup>, and the latter mentions lanterns made of thin

<sup>1</sup> *Glossarium Latinitatis*, s. v. 'laterna.'

<sup>2</sup> *Exercitationes in Caisi Julii Solini Polyhistoria*, Paris, 1629, i. p. 166 b. He refers to Olympiodorus, *Commentaria in Aristotelis Meteorologica*, iv. 8, § 30 (ed. W. Stüve, Berlin, 1900, p. 321, 9): ὡσπερ οἱ λαμπτήρες, τούτεστι τὰ διαφανῆ κέρατα, ἐν οἷς ἐντίθενται αἱ λάμπαδες νύκτωρ, and to the fragment of the historian Philistus, preserved by Pollux, *Onomasticon*, x. 166: Ἐκαλείτο δὲ καὶ λαμπτήρ ὁ λυχνούχος. Ἐν γοῦν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Φιλίστου βιβλίων εἴρηται "καὶ τὰς νύκτας ἐπαίρεσθαι λαμπτήρας ἀντιπεφραγμένους". ὑποδηλοῖ δὲ τὸν ἐκ κέρατος φανόν, where the explanation is due to Pollux. Salmasius also refers to Martial, xiv. 61.

<sup>3</sup> Phrynichus (Bekker, *Anecdota Graeca*, i. p. 50, 23): Λυχνούχος, λαμπτήρ, φανὸς διαφέρει. λυχνούχος μὲν ἐστὶ σκεῦός τι ἐν κύκλῳ ἔχον κέρατα, ἐνδον δὲ λύχνον ἡμμένον, διὰ τῶν κεράτων τὸ φῶς πέμποντα. Cf. also the quotation from an unnamed poet by Athenaeus, 699 A, of κεράτινος λύχνος, Pliny's statement that horns 'apud nos in lamnas secta tralucent atque etiam lumen inclusum latius fundunt' (*Hist. Nat.* xi. c. 37 (45), § 126, and xi. 16 (16), § 49), and Plautus, *Amphit.* I, 1, 188: 'quo ambulas tu, qui Vulcanum in cornu conclusum geris?'

<sup>4</sup> See the engraving and explanation in A. Baumeister, *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums*, Munich, 1887, ii. p. 812.

<sup>5</sup> *Historia Abbatum*, c. 5, where he says that the Angles learned from the Gaulish glass-makers imported by Benedict Biscop in the seventh century 'artificium nimirum vel lampadis ecclesiae claustris vel vasorum multifariis usibus non ignobiliter aptum.'

<sup>6</sup> *De Laudibus Virginum* (*Opera*, ed. Giles, p. 142, 4):  
Nec laterna tibi vilescat vitrea, Virgo,  
tergore vel raso, et lignis compacta salignis,  
seu membranarum tenui velamine facta, &c.

leather, by which he probably meant some transparent membrane. It is noteworthy that he does not refer to horn lanterns in this passage. It is clear that these lanterns were a novelty to the author of the Life. If they had been well-known objects it is inconceivable that even so circumstantial a writer as he was should have given such profuse details concerning them. It would seem that it was the planning of the lantern, not the use of it to shield his time-candles from the wind, that the author ascribes to Alfred, but his style is so involved and his thoughts generally so confused that it is conceivable that he meant merely that Alfred applied the lantern to this purpose. This use of candles as time-measurers seems to be, as the author says, a device of Alfred's own<sup>1</sup>.

105. This chapter is due to the author.

105, 4 *permitteret*. The dependence of what follows this verb upon the preceding clauses is so obscure as to raise the presumption that the scribe of the Cottonian MS. has omitted some words or passages. The compiler of the Annals of St. Neots substitutes a sentence of his own for this passage, but it would be hazardous to conclude from this that the imperfection existed in the copy of the Life used by him, since the matter passed over by him here is such as he elsewhere omits. If the scribe of the Cottonian MS. has here faithfully reproduced his original, this chapter may be adduced as evidence that he was copying from the author's unrevised draught, of which there appear to be other traces elsewhere<sup>2</sup>. The imperfect sentence at the end of this chapter may perhaps also be further evidence of this. The missing verb in it may possibly be represented by the *studebat* with which the next chapter commences. Parker added *inhiabat* in order to complete the sentence, so that it is probable that he had some manuscript authority for making *studebat* the commencing word of the next chapter. A removal of the latter verb to the end of the

<sup>1</sup> There is no mention of any such device in G. S. Bilfinger's *Die Zeitmesser der antiken Völker* (in the *Festschrift zur Jubelfeier des Eberhard-Ludwigs-Gymnasiums in Stuttgart*), Stuttgart, 1886. We have not been able to see Kindler, *Die Zeitmesser bis zur Erfindung der Pendeluhr*, 1898.

<sup>2</sup> See Introduction, p. cxxxi, above.

present chapter would merely transfer the imperfection to the first sentence of the next one.

106. This chapter, which is due to the author, presents serious difficulties. Apparently it represents the king as receiving appeals from the judgements of lower courts, and as exercising considerable judicial powers. The right of appeal to a higher court did not come into use in England until long after the Norman Conquest<sup>1</sup>, and the only way in which a suit could pass from one court to another was upon the failure of the lower one to do justice within a fixed time. Thus a suit might go from the Hundred Court to the Shire Moot. If the latter also failed to do justice (that is, to come to a decision of the suit within a prescribed time), the parties to the suit might appeal to the king for aid. In that case the king could remit the suit to the Shire Moot, with orders to render justice<sup>2</sup>. The author, perhaps from ignorance of West Saxon law, describes the ealdormen (*comites*) and sheriffs or reeves (*praefecti*) as judges, but, like the king, they had no judicial powers apart from the courts of which they formed part. The judges were really the whole body of the freemen who formed the Hundred Court, the Shire Moot, or the Witenagemot<sup>3</sup>. The Hundred Courts and the Shire Moots, which are evidently the courts referred to by the author, worked very slowly and inefficiently, and it is very probable that a great and influential noble could prevent justice being done in a suit brought against him. Such records as we have show great protraction of the proceedings in these courts, and it is clear that in many cases the parties to a suit agreed in the end to settle it by arbitration<sup>4</sup>, in which the king was sometimes concerned. The author describes the parties as giving sureties (*subarabant*) to abide

<sup>1</sup> Pollock and Maitland, *History of English Law*, ii. p. 661.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Adams, *The Anglo-Saxon Courts of Law*, in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon Law*, Boston (U.S.A.), 1876, p. 24 sqq., where the whole question is admirably dealt with.

<sup>3</sup> Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. p. 152.

<sup>4</sup> It is noticeable that in the O.E. document concerning land at Fonthill, in which we catch a glimpse of Alfred washing his hands at Wardour and listening to suitors for advice, the king remitted the question of the disputed ownership of the land to arbitration (*Cart. Sax.* ii. p. 236).



by the decision of the king, and he adds that the party who was conscious of having committed an injustice shrank from facing so careful and upright a judge<sup>1</sup>. There is nothing in this incompatible with an agreement to submit their differences to the king, and it would seem that this, and not an appeal to him against the judgement of a lower court, is what the author intended to convey to us. Kemble has noticed that Alfred is not described as reversing unjust judgements<sup>2</sup>. The author tells us that Alfred carefully examined into the conduct of the ealdormen and sheriffs or reeves in the administration of justice, and that he removed those whom he found incompetent or corrupt. Under the legal organization of the time it is difficult to see what other steps he could have taken to ensure the honest and capable administration of justice, for he could hardly punish the suitors of the popular courts, the real judges. The ealdormen and sheriffs and reeves would, no doubt, from their position have great influence in shaping the decisions of these courts, more especially as they seem to have supplied such legal and administrative knowledge as was required. Thus a foreigner such as Asser might imagine that they were judges. In later times we have a record of the punishment of an ealdorman by deprivation of office for unjust judgements<sup>3</sup>, so that the ealdormen were clearly held by that time to be responsible for the decisions of the courts in which they presided<sup>4</sup>.

106, 12 *quamvis per vim lege et stipulatione, &c.* This is one of several corrupt passages that has the appearance of being copied from a draught bearing certain alterations, which the scribe copied along with the original words<sup>5</sup>. Thus we may assume that the 'contra voluntatem tamen'

<sup>1</sup> Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. p. 43, curiously refers this passage to Alfred himself by what is a very forced translation and explanation.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> In the case of Wulfgeat in Florence of Worcester under 1006.

<sup>4</sup> In connexion with this chapter may be quoted the words of Abbo of Fleury in reference to St. Edmund of East Anglia: 'nec malignorum hominum reciperet contra iustitiam sententias, rem quam nesciebat diligentissime investigans' (*Passio S. Eadmundi*, c. 4). This, of course, is imaginary, and is written by a foreigner.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, p. cxxx, above.



and the 'voluntarie nolebat,' the 'per vim' and the 'lege et stipulatione' represent alternate phrases.

106 d. The Christian name John wrongly applied to Asser by Bale, from whom Parker derived this chapter, has obviously arisen from a mistake of Higden<sup>1</sup>, who, in abridging Matthew Paris<sup>2</sup> or the *Flores Historiarum*<sup>3</sup>, overlooked 'Asserum' at the end of the sentence corresponding to the beginning of c. 79 of the Life, so that his text runs: 'Aluredus igitur . . . Sanctum Grimbaldum, monachum litteratura et cantu peritum, de partibus Galliae, ac Iohannem monachum de ultimis Walliae finibus, scilicet de monasterio Sancti David Meneviae, ad se vocavit,' where Matthew Paris and the *Flores* have 'necnon et Iohannem, presbyterum et monachum bonis moribus adornatum; ex ultimis etiam Walanorum finibus de monasterio Sancti David, Asserum ad suum accivit consortium.' The *Liber de Hyda*<sup>4</sup> makes matters worse by inserting 'Asserum' before 'ac Iohannem,' so that both Asser and John are made to come from St. Davids. John Rosse similarly brings John and Asserus from Flanders with Grimbald, and, in addition, a 'Iohannes Walensis' from St. Davids<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Polychronicon*, vi. p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronica Maiora*, i. p. 407.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. Luard, i. p. 448.

<sup>4</sup> p. 29.

<sup>5</sup> Ed. Hearne, p. 76.

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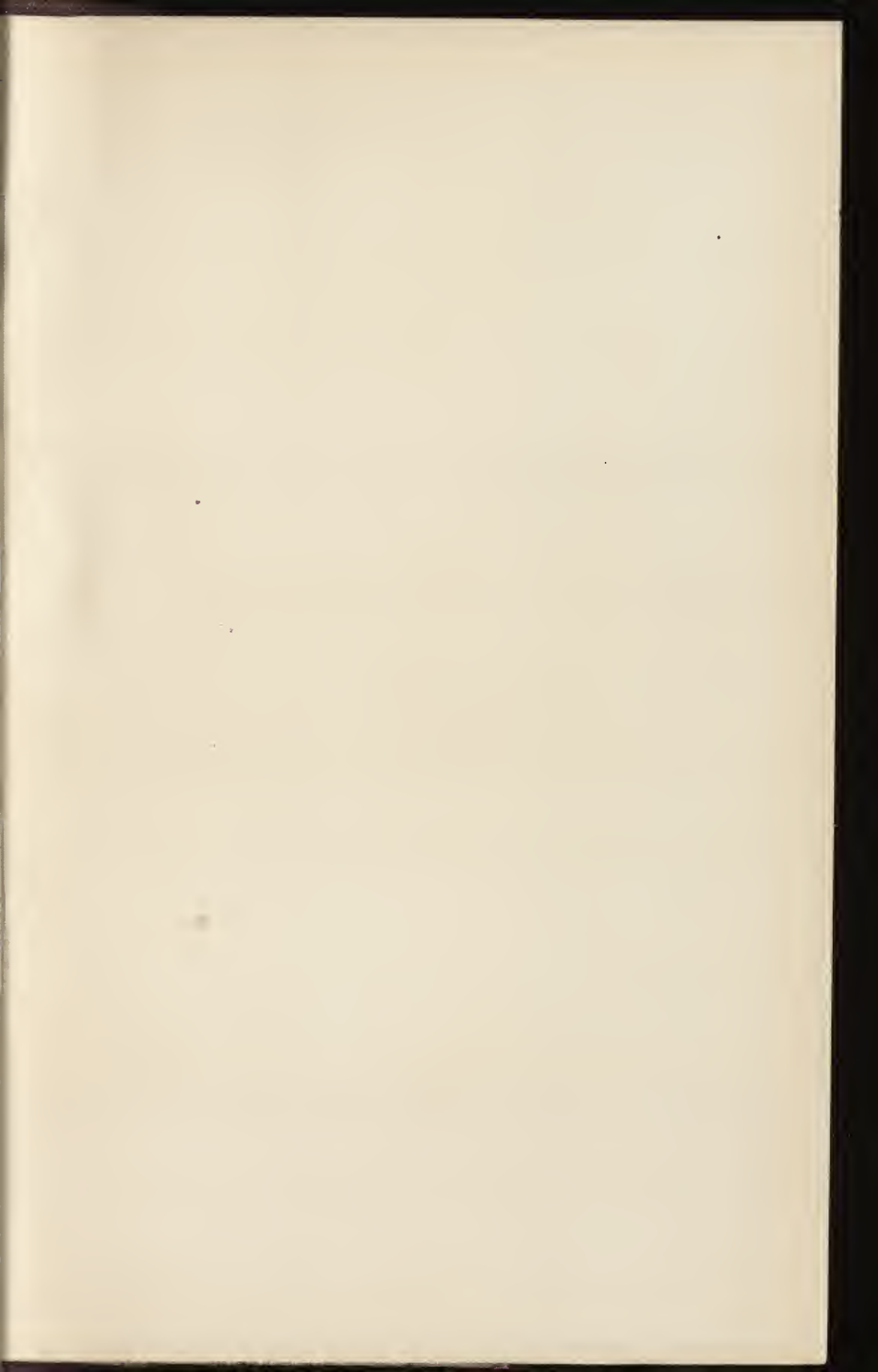
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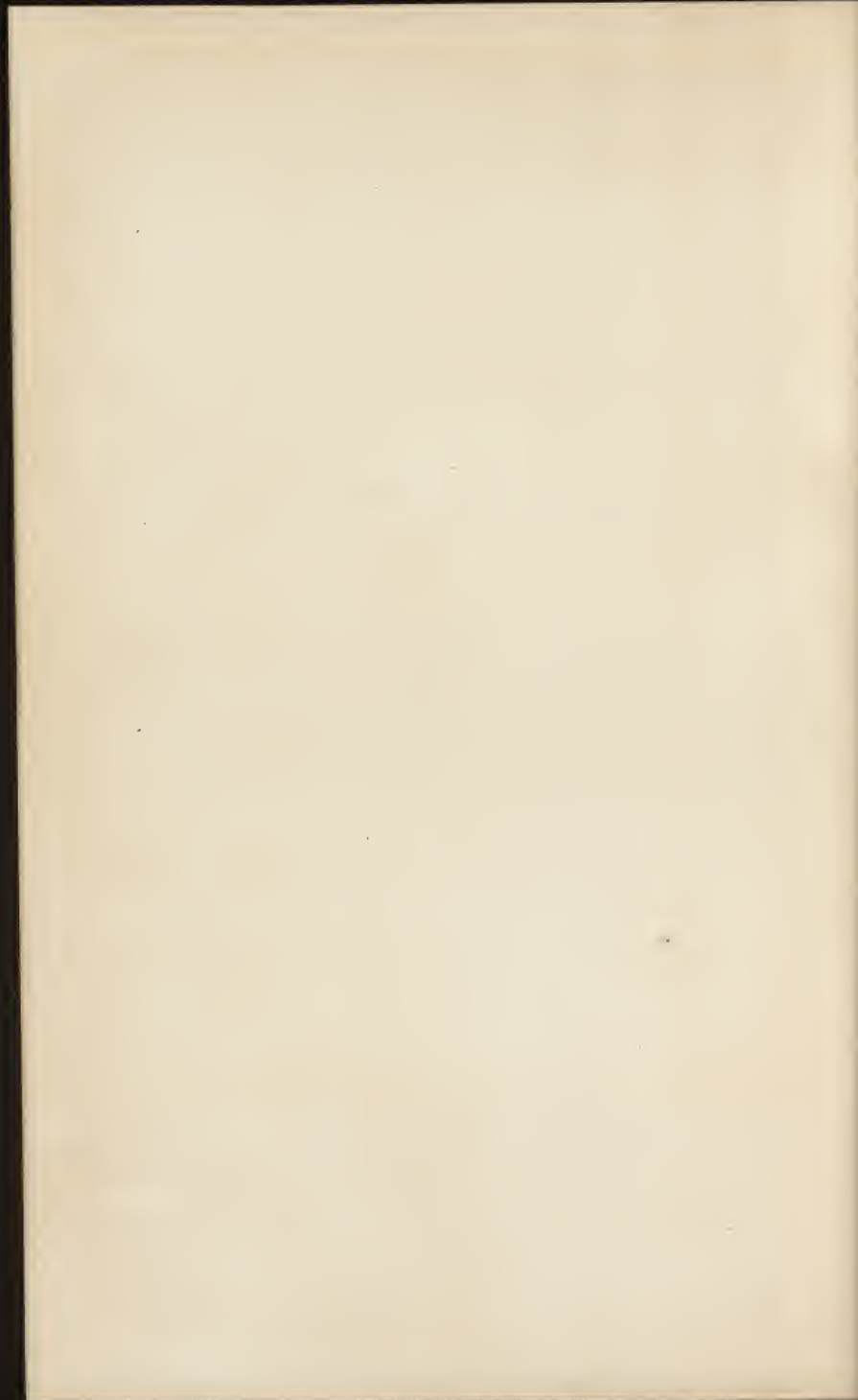


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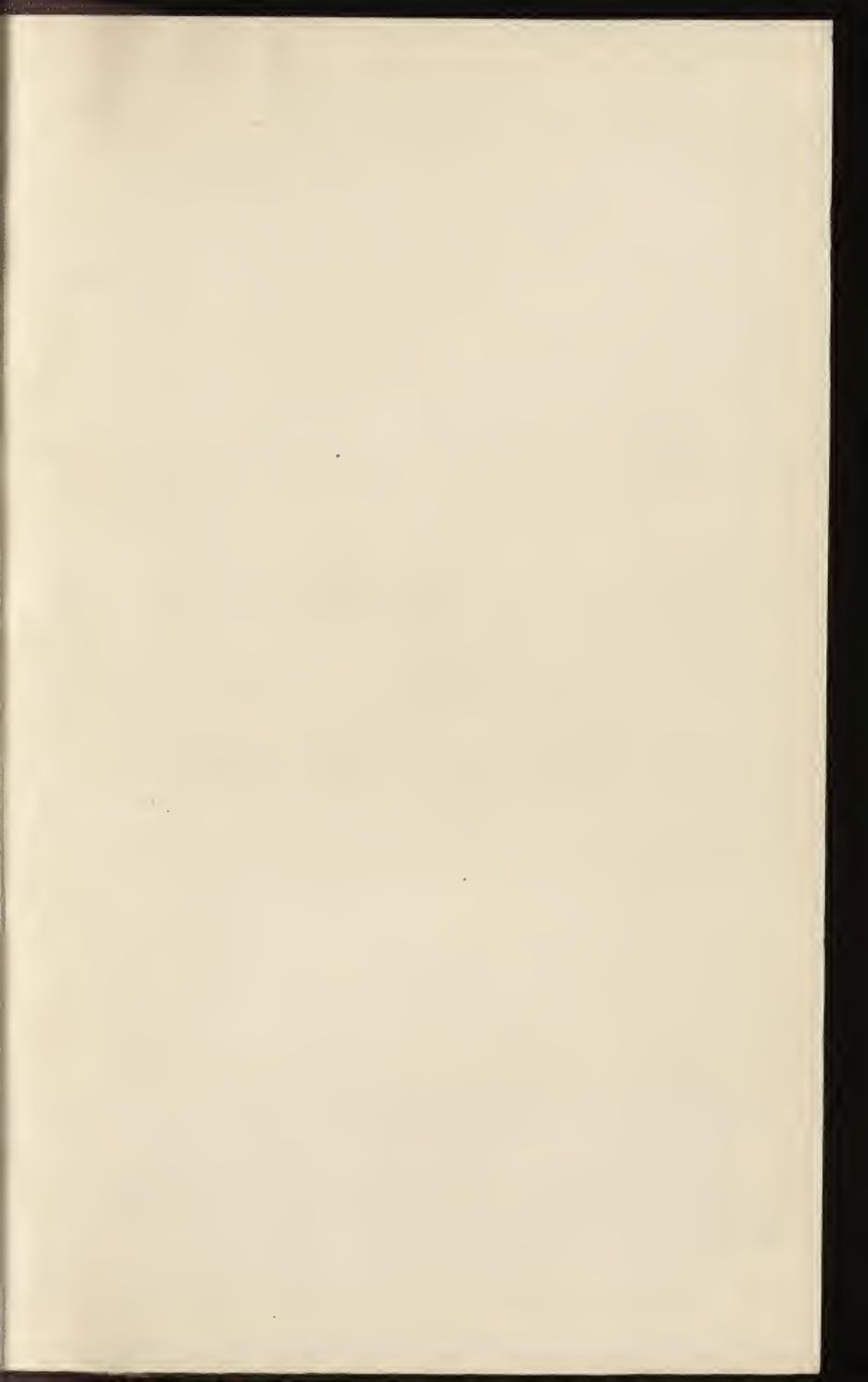
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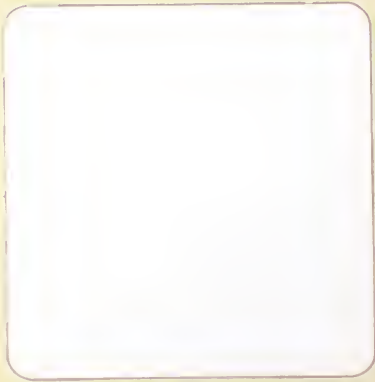








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